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1868.

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# The Church and the World:

## ESSAYS ON QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

IN

## 1868.

*BY VARIOUS WRITERS.*

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EDITED BY THE

REV. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A.

London:
LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER.
1868.

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# Preface.

It was feared by friends, and alleged by reviewers, that the publication of a Second Series of *The Church and the World* would prove to be a mistake. So far as respects the material success of the work, the predictions of the latter and the anxiety of the former were equally groundless. In a given period of time, the circulation attained by the Second Series exceeded, by nearly one-fourth, the sale, in a like space, of the First. This fact has encouraged the Editor to prepare, and the Publishers to issue, a Third Series of "Essays on Questions of the Day."

Part of the Essays in the present Series has been written by Contributors to the First Series, and part by other Friends. It is almost needless to add, that in this, as in the earlier Volumes, no Author is responsible for the contents of any but his own contribution. But the statement may, nevertheless, be made to prevent misconception. Three of the Essays are anonymous. Two of these are on important Social Questions of the Day—one of which is from the pen of a Lady. A Layman has contributed a Paper on one of the most pressing of the Theological

Questions. The remaining Essays, which are signed, speak for themselves.

In order to make the Essays on "Invocation of Saints," "Retreats," and "Prayers for the Dead," as practically useful as possible, three works connected with them are being prepared for the press. The publication of the Essay on "Invocation," and the enunciation of the doctrines it contains, appear to require the issue of some forms of devotion which may loyally be used by Anglo-Catholics; and a Manual, from both Greek and Latin sources, under the title of *Invocation of Saints*, will, it is hoped, provide for this necessity. An edition of the *Spiritual Exercises*, by S. Ignatius, is in course of translation, for the use of persons in Retreat. And Devotions on behalf of the Faithful Departed, translated from Offices of the Eastern Church, and not previously printed, will be found in a new edition of a small book of prayers for Spiritual Communion, entitled *The Daily Sacrifice*.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

*Easter*, A.D. 1868.

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# The Church and the World:

## ESSAYS ON QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

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### The First Report of the Ritual Commission.

> "Things done well,
> And with a care, exempt themselves from fear;
> Things done without example, in their issue
> Are to be feared. Have you a precedent
> Of this Commission? I believe, not any.
> We must not rend our subjects from our laws,
> And stick them in our will."
>
> KING HENRY VIII., Act 1, Sc. 2.

"MR. POPHAM," narrates Lord Bacon in his *Apophthegms*, "afterwards Lord Chief Justice Popham, when he was Speaker, and the House of Commons had sat long, and done in effect nothing, coming one day to Queen Elizabeth, she said to him, 'Now, Mr. Speaker, what hath passed in the Commons' House?' He answered, 'If it please your Majesty, seven weeks.'"

It is not recorded whether the royal lady who holds Elizabeth's place put a similar question as to the results of the nineteen meetings of the Ritual Commission in the Jerusalem Chamber in June, July, and August, 1867; but it is certain that the President might have truthfully given an almost identical reply. And such an outcome could have been, nay, actually

was, predicted before the Commissioners began to sit. It is only just to Lord Derby to say that he tried, according to his lights, to get together a fair and competent body. But he once publicly confessed, when apologizing for ignorance of some rudimentary truth, that he belonged to a pre-scientific age; and of all the sciences, that which is most unknown to him is Theology. He was thus at the mercy of extern advisers, who very probably did their best too; but that best was very far from being tolerable. The practice of appointing Commissions is one sufficiently often employed to leave little doubt as to the principle of selection needful to adopt. When the matter in hand is to acquire information on some intricate and unfamiliar subject, such as the currency, the decimal system, educational reform, medical jurisprudence, and the like, the method adopted is to assemble all the most eminent men whom we know to have studied the question, and who can speak with authority as experts. When the subject under discussion is a political one, forming a bone of contention between two parties in the State, the plan is analogous. Representative men are fairly chosen from both sides; and though the Government which appoints the Commission will not unnaturally try to secure a majority for its own party, yet the members must be all but exactly balanced in order to escape public condemnation of the choice, and rejection of the finding, of the Commissioners.

Tested by either of these standards, the Commission on Ritual is found absolutely wanting. In the first place, the question under examination is essentially a theological one, and not one single member of the Commission, from the Primate downwards, has the very smallest claims to be recognized as a theologian. There are, it is true, two Regius Professors of Divinity on the list, but they form no exception to the rule. The Oxonian, as the more distinguished of the two, claims precedence. He is a painstaking Syriac scholar; but, up to the time of his appointment to his chair, he had certainly made no special study of its duties. The Cambridge Professor's distinctions are even smaller. They can be traced only to a couple of forgotten prize-essays, composed more than forty years ago; and his later achievements have been confined to active participation in those peculiar views of patronage and pluralism which are entertained by the capitular body of which he is the head. Nor are these gentlemen to be considered as startling exceptions to a rule. On the contrary, it has been most rare, during the three centuries which have elapsed since the foundation of the Regius Professorships, to find them filled by men who have left their mark upon their times. Oxford

has but one name of any real note—Robert Sanderson, the Casuist, who became Bishop of Lincoln in 1660, and, not to be too fastidious, we may add the humbler name of Edward Burton, who executed some creditable, but not remarkable, works on subjects cognate to theology, if not directly belonging to it. Cambridge, though a little more fortunate, has not much to boast of. Bishop Overall in 1596, Bishop Gunning in 1661, Bishop Kaye in 1816, are her most eminent professors. The strongest panegyric will not set any of the five even so high as a secondary place, much less rank them along with the real influencers of religious thought in the Church of England in any age. It is not the individuals, but the principle of selection which is at fault, as we have lately seen by the choice of a distinguished metaphysician to fill the chair of Ecclesiastical History in one University, and of a popular novelist to discharge the duties of Professor of Modern History in another. Dr. Mansel has made no false step as yet; but scholars have hardly done laughing at the ludicrous folly of Mr. Kingsley's *Roman and Teuton*, contrasted, as it is, by the calm learning and judgment of the *Holy Roman Empire*, by Mr. Bryce, of Oriel. The choice seems usually made with the same clear view of the object as was shown when Sir Christopher Hatton was made Lord Chancellor for his good dancing. When so little can be said for the claims of the two professional theologians, it is needless to discuss those of other Commissioners under this head.

But there is a yet graver difficulty behind. There is a certain rough approximation to orthodoxy, which may be attained by men consciously loyal to their Church, so far as they know any thing about it; and it may be supposed that this would be sufficient for the present controversy. But much more is needed. The inquiry is threefold—liturgical, historical, and legal. Liturgiology is a new and exceedingly difficult science. Those who have devoted the longest time and the greatest learning to it, will confess themselves repeatedly at fault, where a sciolist would pronounce off-hand. And there is scarcely one member of the Commission who has even a smattering of it, albeit some of its toughest problems must incessantly be presented in the course of the inquiry. Law fares little better; for the law to be examined is that vast body of Canonical Jurisprudence which the modern Bar has ignorantly and contemptuously neglected. Sir Robert Phillimore has, indeed, some acquaintance with it; but so much cannot be affirmed for any of the other lawyers on the Commission. Lawyers will say, in defence, that a legal opinion must be always worth having, and of far more value

than a lay one, in all questions involving disputes as to the force of words and statutes. True enough, in a man's own special department. But what Chancery barrister would attach a feather's weight to the opinion of a criminal lawyer on an intricate point of conveyancing? Or what use would be an argument based on the custom of the county of Kent, in trying a cause which had to be settled by the Mohammedan code of India? To come to closer quarters—the two most abject legal blunders that have been committed of late years, are those of the Colonial Bishops' Patents and the New Bankruptcy Act; the first of which were void from the beginning, and the latter has proved to be costly, awkward in working, and to facilitate fraud. The offender in both cases was that legist whom his admirers never cease to laud as the ablest of his generation, no other than Lord Westbury. If he, so distinguished a lawyer, could exhibit such hopeless incompetence in comparatively simple questions, what are the prospects of men of inferior calibre, when dealing with Provincial Constitutions and the hap-hazard and conflicting enactments of Tudor Parliaments? Last of all, the historical part of the question is peculiarly obscure and tangled; and no member of the Commission, except Mr. Perry, can even pretend to know any thing about it. Thus the Commission breaks down completely as a body likely to know any thing beforehand about its subject, or to display any especial quickness in learning. And yet it would have been easy to get men of mark and character who could have supplied the deficiencies. In theology, Dr. Pusey and Mr. Liddon for the High Church side, Mr. Llewelyn Davies for Broad Churchmen, Dean Goode for Evangelicals; in liturgiology, Archdeacon Freeman and Dr. Jebb; in Church history, Professors Stubbs and Robertson, and Mr. Pocock; were all available.

The composition of the Royal Commission on Ritual is open to yet graver objection on the head of impartiality. When the famous Commission of the Savoy was issued, in 1661, there were forty-two Commissioners appointed, twenty-one Episcopalians and twenty-one Presbyterians—comprising, on the one side, such eminent men as Cosin, Sanderson, Walton, Heylin, Hacket, Gunning, Pearson, Sparrow, and Thorndike, and on the other, Reynolds, Baxter, Calamy, and Lightfoot. There was a clear determination to select the best men on each side, and to hear what they had to say. Now, if the present Commission was intended to examine fairly and report honestly, it ought to have been composed in somewhat similar proportions. Instead of this, its composition is as follows:—Five ultra-Puritans—Lords

Portman and Ebury, Sir Joseph Napier, Mr. John Abel Smith, and the Rev. Henry Venn; six Bishops, all of whom have pronounced more or less emphatically against Ritualism; four lawyers, of whom two have been active against the ceremonial school, and but one has any knowledge of canon law; three Broad-Church Deans, two of whom have also spoken out against Ritualists; two Peers and two Privy Councillors, who are also Broad-Church, if any thing; four titular high-and-dry members—two clerics and two laymen, of whom three had declared against the Ritualists before the Commission was issued; and, finally, two gentlemen—a Peer and a Curate, who may be taken as representing the inculpated school. Thus, on the very face of things, there were certain to be eighteen out of the twenty-nine members who would infallibly vote against the Ritualists, whatever the evidence might be, and only four who could be trusted to secure them a hearing. Even allowing a moderate freedom from bias (which is more than facts warrant) to the remaining seven, yet the natural attractive power of masses would, as always, draw most of them towards the larger body; and therefore a reasonably unprejudiced finding was an impossibility from the first.

The aim of any such Commission must, of necessity, be one of three. Either it is bound to confine itself to the accumulation of a mass of evidence; or to act as an arbitrator, in order to find some compromise in which contending parties may agree; or else it must be contented with being a "Jedburgh jury," to try a man after he has been already some time hanged. This last is the office which the organ of the now waning high-and-dry school, the *Guardian*, was good enough to indicate to the Commissioners before they sat—stating that their only use was to recommend the bringing about, in a constitutional manner, the partisan legislation which Lord Shaftesbury attempted by a more abrupt and direct road. And, not too much to their credit, they have accepted and acted on this view of their functions, to the neglect of the work actually assigned them by the terms of the Commission.

The first count of the indictment against them is the absolutely indecent haste with which they brought out their First Report. It is true that Lord Shaftesbury was clamouring, like the ogre in *Jack the Giant-Killer*, for Ritualists to devour, and declaring that he could not and would not wait any longer for his dinner; but that fact, instead of inducing the Commissioners to stoop to the indignity of purveying for him, should have urged them to give him a wholesome lesson of snubbing, and to let him

see that his place in the House, in the Church, and in public opinion, is far lower than the one which he apparently takes for granted, and which he certainly is accustomed to occupy at Exeter Hall. Considering how strongly men of opposite schools feel upon the Ritual question, what a variety of interests are bound up with it, and how large and statesman-like ought to be the mode of treating it, fuller inquiry and longer deliberation became imperative duties; and this indecorous eagerness to satisfy a local clamour was a breach of respect towards the Sovereign in whose name and by whose authority the Commissioners were assembled. If the Queen's cooks sent up Her Majesty's dinner an hour before it was properly dressed, in order to fling a cutlet to stop the howling of some troublesome cur in the back-yard, they would not be held to have earned their wages.

The second count against the Royal Commissioners is far graver. Not only did they exhibit unseemly speed, but, having been given a special task to do, they have neglected it, and done something else. To make this charge good, it will be needful to quote the Commission itself. It sets forth that

"Differences of practice have arisen from varying interpretations put upon the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for regulating the course and conduct of Public Worship, the Administration of the Sacraments, and the other Services contained in the Book of Common Prayer, according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland, and more especially with reference to the Ornaments used in the churches and chapels of the said United Church, and the Vestments worn by the Ministers thereof at the time of their ministration;"

And that

"It is expedient that a full and impartial inquiry should be made into the matters aforesaid, with the view of explaining or amending the said Rubrics, Orders, and Directions, so as to secure general uniformity of practice in such matters as shall be deemed essential."

The actual Report, divested of its preamble, its tail-piece, and its list of signatures, amounts to exactly eight lines of large type, and declares thus:—

"We find that whilst these Vestments are regarded by some witnesses as symbolical of doctrine, and by others as a distinctive vesture whereby they desire to do honour to the Holy Communion as the highest act of Christian worship, they are by none regarded as essential, and they give grave offence to many.

"We are of opinion that it is expedient to restrain, in the public services of the United Church of England and Ireland, all

variations, in respect of vesture from that which has long been the established usage of the said United Church; and we think that this may be best secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an easy and effectual process for complaint and redress."

That is, the Queen told her Commissioners to inquire into such matters "as may be deemed essential;" and they reply to Her Majesty by reporting on something which they declare nobody does deem essential. Perhaps the large Cambridge element on the Commission may help to account for such a logical *ignoratio elenchi;* but the Oxonians ought to have remembered their Aristotle and Aldrich.

But the third count against the Commissioners is the severest of all. It is that of having reported directly in the teeth of the evidence, having kept back facts which ought to have appeared, and having been influenced only by the prejudices of a majority of themselves. And this must be, as it can be, substantiated by an analysis of the answers drawn from the various witnesses. There were seventeen witnesses in all examined, of whom eight represent various shades of Anti-Ritualism, and nine as many of its opposite, ranging from the mild protest of the Dean of York and Mr. Beadon in favour of decency and order, to the developed ceremonial advocated by Mr. Bennett of Frome, and Mr. Le Geyt of S. Matthias', Stoke Newington. From these we must, for the present, deduct the evidence of Mr. Wilson of Islington, Dean Close, Dean Duncombe, Mr. Clay of Brighton, Mr. Kempe of S. James's, Piccadilly, and Mr. Droop, as not bearing on the Vestment question, even indirectly. We may also lay aside the evidence of Mr. G. C. White of S. Barnabas, Mr. Benjamin Webb of S. Andrew's, and Mr. Beadon, because these gentlemen do not themselves wear the legal Vestments, and yet are not prepared to impute blame to those who do. There remain eight witnesses, whose testimony does bear on the matter, and the result is as follows:—Mr. Le Geyt declares that his church is crowded with a devout and liberal congregation, that the Vestments he wears were purchased for him and presented by that congregation, and that no objection had ever been raised during his incumbency to ritual observances at S. Matthias'. Mr. Nugee, of Wymering, says that he has filled a once empty church, considerably increased the offertories, shut up the Dissenting meeting-house, and got its proprietor in his choir. Mr. Bennett tells much the same tale as Mr. Le Geyt, adding such important facts as the constant flocking into the Church of Dissenters, and that the parish has re-elected the Churchwarden who presented the Vestments to him in 1865. Mr. Wagner simply

states that services such as those of S. Paul's, Brighton, were once unpopular in the town, but that he believes them not to be so now. And Mr. Spiller, Churchwarden of S. Alban's, Holborn, has no words at command save those of eulogy. On the other side, the first to appear is Mr. Deverell, a retired solicitor, who is a landowner in Mr. Nugee's parish, and who has opened a conventicle, wherein a Nonconformist Minister reads from the Common Prayer Book. This looks at first sight like a crucial example. But a little investigation shows that Mr. Deverell's quarrel with the neighbouring clergy dates as far back as 1844, many years before there was any Ritualism worth disputing about; that his conventicle was opened in 1860, before Mr. Nugee began to wear the Vestments; and further, that only two of that gentleman's parishioners are in the habit of attending it, and the reason for their doing so is not assigned, nor, which is more important, are we told what their original religious status was. They may very well have been Dissenters, sent adrift by the loss of the meeting-house. Mr. Theodore Thomas Ford, a travelling agent of the "Church Association," a gentleman paid to get up and report grievances, not only brings forward no evidence as to any dislike to Ritualism being felt by even single members of congregations any where (save at Northmoor Green, of which he gives only hearsay), but he actually expresses no objection for his own part. It may have been through inadvertence or through flurry; but several of the questions put to him gave him full opportunity of testifying, yet he took no advantage of them. Lastly, Mr. Martin, the nominal prosecutor in the S. Alban's case, explained his own policy; but, like Mr. Ford, curiously omitted to say whether the Vestments offended himself or any of his friends.

Now, it would be perfectly irrelevant to the immediate matter in hand, if it could be shown that every syllable uttered by the Ritualist witnesses was untrue, or if a petition against Vestments with a million of signatures were sent in to the Commissioners. The charge is this: Her Majesty's Commissioners state that they find, *from the evidence*, and not from any other source, that the Vestments give grave offence to many. The evidence before them alleges such offence to have been given to Mr. Deverell alone, who took offence at something else twenty years earlier; for, though he has got two farmers from Wymering, he does not say why they have joined him. And therefore the Report is, in this particular, plainly, deliberately, and wilfully incompatible with the evidence; and the conduct of the Commissioners is precisely analogous to that of a jury convicting a traverser from

personal dislike, or, if you will, from records of previous convictions for other offences, in default of any proof alleged against him in court. The question at issue is, not whether offence is really given at all—the very existence of the "Church Association" makes such a query superfluous—but whether any testimony to such offence was laid before the Commissioners, so as to justify their language. And it can be answered only in the negative.

So much for the sin of commission. Now for that of omission. There is a total absence in the Report of any hint that there may be some fault to find with the Puritan school, or that its proceedings may give offence to some persons. And yet ample proof of both propositions is to be found in the Blue-Book. Thus, Mr. Wilson, of Islington, admits his practice of using the Words of Administration but once for a railful of communicants, instead of severally to each, as plainly enjoined, and alleges weak health as his excuse. He never uses the Church Militant Prayer, except when the whole Eucharistic Office is employed, and that because it was not his father's custom. He has Evening Communions, without even the plea of former use for them. He always omits the important latter clauses—on Confession—of the Exhortation to Communion. He has the Bread and Wine placed on the Holy Table before the Service begins, because it is a "matter of convenience;" and he, sometimes at least, uses extempore prayer in the pulpit. The Dean of Carlisle admits the same violation of the Rubric as to the Oblation of the Elements as Mr. Wilson, acknowledges that he abridges the Exhortation in the same way, and that he always changes a Lesson from the Apocrypha for one which he prefers. Mr. Clay confesses to Evening Communions, the direct invitation to Dissenters to participate in them, the insertion of an unauthorized clause in the Litany, the omission of the Church Militant Prayer, and occasional extempore petitions in the pulpit. And Mr. Beadon's language as to the effect produced upon reverent minds by these Puritan usages is very distinct. "I have known," he says, "many instances in which persons have ceased to attend their parish church in consequence of practices in connexion with the Holy Communion. I know a very important place in which quiet members of the Church of England have for years abstained from communicating because the Holy Communion was administered to a railful at a time, and they had not the comfort of individually receiving It. I know instance after instance of that." Again, speaking of other tokens of irreverence and meanness, he repeats:—"I have known very great distress of mind in many individuals. . . . . I have known quiet persons deeply shocked by those practices."

On this side of the evidence there are two circumstances which need to be dwelt on. First, that the Low-Church offenders against the Rubric do not even pretend that the law upholds them in these particulars, though they claim, however untenably, a legal dispensation from Daily Service, and for the black gown. They allege nothing higher than recent usage and personal preference, or physical infirmity, and thus stand at once on a different moral footing from men who urge, whether rightly or wrongly, that the law not only permits, but for the most part enjoins, all their ceremonial observances. Next, that whereas offence as given by the Vestments was hinted at in the evidence in but two cases (themselves resting on the testimony of a witness who has been flatly contradicted on several matters of fact, and who does not state at all that Ritualism of any kind affected the two farmers referred to), the words of Mr. Beadon point to many instances of offence caused by anti-Ritualist shortcomings, and yet there is positively no shadow of reference to them in the Report.

After such flagrant examples of failure in conscientiousness, it might appear surplusage to criticize the unfortunate document thus hastily issued by the Commissioners any further; but its sins have by no means yet been exhausted. The language it employs in dealing with the estimate in which Vestments are held, is at once inexact and disingenuous. The Commissioners declare that the Chasuble and its purtenances are not considered "essential" by any one, and that they give "grave offence" to many. There is an equivocation in the way these terms are employed, which merits severe condemnation. If "essential" be taken in its strict and technical sense, namely, that of "absolutely necessary to validity," then it was at once idle and mischievous to issue a Commission to come at a truism whose contradictory was never maintained any where. The only things that, in this sense, are "essential" to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, are a Priest, Bread and Wine, and a particular Form of Words. That definition does away with table and linen cloth, paten and chalice, written liturgy, and words of administration, and leaves the Rite almost as bare as it is among the Plymouth Brethren. And as several of the utensils and observances which are employed even in the most Puritan of English churches meet with disapproval from various sectaries, it might be urged that they also should be given up. But the meaning which the Commissioners obviously wish to be attached to "non-essential" is "trivial," or "insignificant." And this is in direct opposition to the evidence. Mr. Le Geyt distinctly says that "The use of the Chasuble would imply the belief in the doctrine of

Sacrifice." Mr. Bennett, yet more forcibly, "The ancient Vestments present to crowds of worshippers the fact that here, before GOD's Altar, is something far higher, far more awful, more mysterious, than aught which man can speak of, namely, the Presence of the SON of GOD, in human flesh subsisting." And again, "The Vestments are used with a specific respect to the Divine Person of the SON of GOD, to advance His Glory, to set forth His Real Presence, and to verify His Sacrifice upon the Cross." Mr. Beadon, himself no wearer of the Vestments, observes that "they would be conducive to the Church's welfare," and "to the restoration of the Service of the Holy Communion to its proper place in the Church of England." Thus the High Church view is, that the legal Eucharistic Vestments of the Church are of very great importance indeed, and at least equal to the distinctive Altar and Liturgy in religious and educational value; and it is simply a dishonest quibble to imply the converse of this in the Report. Then it is observed that they give "grave offence" to many. It has been already pointed out that, whatever truth there may be in this as an abstract proposition, there is no ground for it in the evidence. Besides this, the apt criticism of the *Saturday Review* may be cited, that the Commissioners, while calling the offence grave, have entirely omitted to say whether it is also reasonable. But it may fairly be said, in palliation of this fact, that the exceeding silliness of many of the questions put by several of the Royal Commissioners shows that they would have been very incompetent judges of such a matter, and therefore that silence was with them the safer policy.

Having thus misrepresented the evidence, the next step of the Royal Commissioners was to draw their conclusion. And herein lies, perhaps, the most discreditable of their evasions. One plain assertion of the Ceremonial school is, that the Vestments are legally permissible, if not binding, by reason of the Rubric of Ornaments. This proposition is scouted by all persons who know nothing about the facts of the case, and by some who are not so ignorant. Hence, there was a plain issue to be dealt with. It was a primary duty to the Queen and the public to state what the truth is in this matter, and for this reason—because, if the Ritualists are legally wrong, they ought to have been told so clearly; and if they are legally right, then they should, as a matter of ordinary justice, have been formally acquitted of the charge of unjustifiable innovation, so often urged against them. With culpable timidity and unworthy disingenuousness, the Report passes over the legal question entirely, without even

a hint at its existence, and confines itself to the general propositions that "it is expedient to restrain all variations in respect of vestures from that which has long been the established usage of the United Church;" and that "this may be best secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an easy and effectual process for complaint and redress."

It is well this precious clause is not part of an Act of Parliament affecting property, for its obscurity and inexactness are such that it would prove a fertile source of tedious litigation and conflicting decisions. The following questions at once arise out of it, and it gives no help towards an answer:—

1. Why is it "expedient" to restrain the use of Vestments?
2. What is the meaning of "restrain"?
3. What is the "long-established usage of the United Church"?
4. What is an "aggrieved parishioner"?
5. What is the "easy and effectual process" hinted at?

Reserving the first of these queries for fuller consideration hereafter, we may briefly advert to the remainder. "Restrain" may mean a great many things, and doubtless had a different force in the minds of various Commissioners; but it is clearly not the same thing as "prohibit." In this fact we are willing to see, and are pleased to record, that counsels of fairness and moderation were not entirely absent from the discussions of the members. There is no doubt whatsoever that the voices of at least twelve of the number would have been given, if unchecked, for absolute and unconditional prohibition of the Vestments, without the slightest regard to any consideration of their legality, intrinsic fitness, or acceptability to a large body of Churchmen. That they were not suffered to do so, is a tacit confession, on the one hand, that the Ritualistic practices are legal, and, on the other, that they are entitled, besides, to some measure of toleration. "Restrain" means to check, to hold back; and if it is intended to have any practical force in the sentence where it occurs, there ought to have been some explanation of the manner of so checking. It may mean a limitation of the Vestments to the churches where they are actually in use, in the hope of thus preventing them from spreading—a narrow-minded policy which has precedents in the gradual suppression of the wonderful Mozarabic Office throughout Spain, save in one church of Toledo, and the later attempt, now carried on under our eyes, to uproot the Scottish Liturgy, and to substitute for it the English. Again, "restrain" may mean some limitation of the conditions under which Vestments may be introduced in new places, such as consent of the Ordinary and a certain proportion of the parishioners.

Once more, it may be taken to refer to the time of use, confining it to certain extra services, and compelling the adoption of the common garb at the principal accustomed offices of the Sunday. Or, lastly, it may imply no more than that all sudden and startling change is highly unadvisable, and that a wise discretion and due regard for old habit ought to be exercised by clergymen when bringing in any alterations. None of these explanations is forced—all are more or less plausible, and can be defended; but the Commissioners have left the public at sea as to their own intentions, which may be something different still, and probably were no more than a vague acknowledgment that they reported for the sake of saying something, not because they had any thing to say.

Then, what is the "long-established usage," from which no variations ought to exist? Is it the usage, say, of 1567, 1667, 1767, or any date within this century? Every one of these usages was different; but the language of the Commissioners raises a still more important issue. For "established usage" is a strictly technical phrase, and is by no means synonymous with "common practice." If the latter was meant, the Commissioners ought to have used it; but, whether from a lust of fine writing, from sheer inadvertence, or from some higher and better motive, they have brought us face to face with the Law. For the only "established usage" which exists, because the only one which has been settled by the competent and concurrent authority of the Church and the State, is this:—

"The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed Place of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel; except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the Place. And the Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past.

"And here is to be noted, that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of *England*, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King *Edward* the Sixth."

Any variation from this Rubric of Ornaments, however popular and general, may be a "common practice," but it is a breach of "established usage." But even were this point waived, though it clearly should be pressed, a solution is no nearer. What, for example, is "long"? The Stole, once all but universally disused, has been revived every where within the last thirty years, varying, indeed, from the aspect of a black stair-carpet to that of a gay and embroidered ribbon, but still the same vestment. Is its present employment a "variation from long-established usage,"

or a compliance with it? If the former, is it to be "restrained" henceforward? If the latter, what is the difference in principle between it and the Chasuble, whose gradual re-appearance began about the same date? And what about the Surplice? The old Puritan hostility to it lasted, not merely into the reign of Queen Anne (as we learn from South on the one side, and Hickeringill on the other), but far into the Georgian period, causing its disuse in a great number of places. Even still the Low-Church clergy do not above half like it, and avoid it whenever they can contrive to do so. Once more, take the Cassock. It was the familiar walking garb of the clergy in the last century, as well as their under official vesture. Parson Adams and Parson Yorick wore it as habitually as did their predecessors of the fifteenth century. Dropped towards the close of the last century, it is now coming into use again; and one of the charges of Mr. Nugee's aggrieved legal parishioner against him is, that "from his peculiar clothes down to his heels, you could not distinguish whether he had a coat and trousers on"—an appalling instance of Jesuitical secretiveness. Is the exhibition of a pair of clerical legs, as commonly seen in the officiants of Low-Church places of worship, or the employment of the Cassock, the "long-established usage," and which is the variation to be restrained?

As if the amount of "meddle and muddle" evolved were not more than enough already, the most remarkable achievement of the Commissioners has yet to be stated. It is the creation of the Aggrieved Parishioner. The baby has been fractious from his birth, and has given his revered parents as little peace and comfort as Frankenstein's monster allowed to that weak-minded medical student. When one looks at him from a purely zoological point of view, and condones his deformities in the interests of science, it becomes a puzzling task to classify him. Neither adjective nor noun is much help. What does "aggrieved" mean? And what is a "parishioner"? Mr. Muntz's famous question, "What is a pound?" is not harder to answer. We will take the noun, as the more important member, first. If a parishioner mean any person domiciled in the parish, or having a settlement there, it follows that the Commissioners hold that local position, and not religious belief, is to give the right of interference. If Mr. A, who attends the parish church, is to have any control, direct or indirect, over the clergyman's Chasuble, why may not Mr. B, who is a Baptist, protest against the Surplice, and Mr. C, a Plymouth Brother, maintain that the preaching-gown is an unscriptural and carnal distinction between a preacher and his hearers? If, however, the word mean a member of the Church of

England only, domiciled in the parish, the Commissioners showed the grossest carelessness in not saying so. Even if they had said it, matters would not have been much mended. As the law stands at present, every inhabitant of England and Wales is assumed, in default of proof to the contrary, to be a member of the Established Church; and ecclesiastical proof of full membership rests on three receptions of the Holy Communion in a year. Add to this the fact, that various circumstances make it far more difficult for an Anglican clergyman to repel unfit persons from Communion than it is for Nonconformist ministers, and the danger of allowing the principle enunciated by the Commissioners to be set at work will at once appear. One argument which had very much weight in procuring the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, apart from their persecuting character, was the direct profanation of the Holy Eucharist to which formal and perfunctory Communion incessantly led. It is sufficiently obvious that far greater profanity would grow out of a rule that three Communions yearly should confer a share in the ecclesiastical government of a parish. The Low-Church clergy have been so active in teaching that no sacredness nor mystery attaches to that Rite which the Primitive Liturgies style the "awful, holy, spiritual, tremendous, and unbloody Sacrifice," that it is no matter of wonder that they are taken at their word, and that the example of scandalous irreverence which they set in such particulars as those complained of by Mr. Beadon, is carried out to its legitimate results—as by the ruffian who went up to the Altar of a South London church (where, by-the-by, Vestments are not used), in November, 1867, and instead of consuming the Species of Bread, carried It away with him, declaring aloud that as an English Protestant he had a right to do so, and that he meant to give It to his dog. He is an apt pupil of teachers like Bishop Waldegrave and Mr. Joseph Bardsley; but it may well be questioned whether he and those like him, whom the "Church Association" could and would at any time hire for the purpose of stirring up strife in a well-conducted parish, are exactly the persons whose preferences are to guide the Ritual of the Church of England.

Then, what constitutes a grievance by which the parishioner may be "aggrieved"? The late Dr. Hincks, a scholar of great repute in deciphering cuneiform inscriptions, had a living in the North of Ireland. At the suggestion of one of his curates, he resumed, one Sunday, some years ago, the use of his academic hood as a Doctor of Divinity. The next day some of his parishioners, without a word of previous objection, broke into the church of Killyleagh, entered the vestry, and tore the

hood into tatters. An "easy and effectual process of redress," no doubt, but open to cavil. Within the last few months, it has come to the writer's knowledge that several persons have ceased to attend a particular church on the alleged ground that Popery is being introduced. The example adduced in proof is, that the minister says "Ah-men" instead of "Ay-men," at the end of the prayers. Mr. Cowie, whose attempt to raise the standard of Divine worship at S. Lawrence, Jewry, has been crowned with such success, mentions that the three members of his vestry who entered a protest against his changes, have never attended the church at all: and one of them has since declared that he was driven into Dissent by the Ritualism of—Bishop Blomfield! It would be easy to centuple cases like these; but three examples are enough to show the frivolous pretexts which are considered sufficient for an "aggrieved parishioner" to make an uproar about. Wherever there is Dissent in a parish, there will be always a natural centre of resistance to the proceedings of the Church. Wherever there is a parishioner with a bad temper, or who has been rebuked for any vice, or interfered with in any profit or amusement, there will be always a temptation to worry the parson; and if he can be put to ecclesiastical annoyance as well as social inconvenience, why, so much the better. To all malignity, rivalry, squabbles of the kind, the Commissioners stretch out a helping hand; and it is not a little significant that their ridiculous manifesto was eagerly seized on by the emissaries of Protestantism as a lever wherewith to hurl a mass of roughs on the quiet congregation of S. Matthias, Stoke Newington.

So far, nothing has been adverted to, save the matter of open changes in Divine Service. But it is logically impossible to stop short at externals; and the "aggrieved parishioner" will claim a right to settle what doctrine is to be taught from the pulpit. This is no mere vaticination. The clodhoppers of Dorsetshire, eager to vindicate their county's reputation as the stupidest district of England—since Brighton alleviates Sussex, and Southampton and Portsmouth quicken Hants, while Dorset has no considerable town—have come forward to attack their Diocesan's Charge, and have had their impertinent folly reproduced in the House of Lords by one, not the wisest, of the Ritual Commissioners. That the whole Ceremonial and Vestment question is emphatically one of doctrine, is a matter to be shown presently; but now it is enough to point out that the Commissioners have acted with the same unmanly weakness as Mr. Walpole, when, weeping, he consigned the

British Constitution and the London Parks to Mr. Edmond Beales, M.A., and the rascaldom which demolished the railings. They have done much as the trustees of a school who should order the head-master to allow the boys to choose their own lessons and hours of study, as the governors of a hospital who should instruct the house-surgeon not to administer any medicines which did not suit the palate of the inmates, and yet expect the pupils of the one and the patients of the other to make progress.

Lastly comes the notable recommendation of the Commissioners, of an "easy and effectual process of complaint and redress." It has already been shown what interpretation a Protestant mob is likely to put on such an expression. Wrecking a building, and assaulting priests, women, and children, is easy, effectual, and amusing besides, which last even a spiritual County Court, with Mr. A. J. Stephens as Judge and Mr. Charles Collette as Registrar, might fail to be, though no doubt the former gentleman would make it as secular as could be desired. But as a matter of obvious fact, there are only three possible ways of dealing with the Ritual question: 1st, Enforcing the Law; 2nd, Changing the Law; 3rd, Letting things alone.

The first is impossible, because the Low Churchmen and Latitudinarians would rise as one man against it; and the Tractarians, whom it would favour in almost every particular, have no desire to persecute, if on no higher ground than the purely selfish one that they get plenty of converts now from the two other schools, who would consider it a point of honour to stay where they are, if oppressed because of their opinions. And partial enforcement would be too bare-faced an injustice to be practicable. Take a parallel case. The Orangemen and Ribbonmen in Ireland are both addicted to illegal party processions. The former, though as bigoted and violent as their rivals, differ from them in one most important particular, that of unfeigned loyalty to the Crown. What would be thought of a Government which, in order to curry favour with the disaffected majority, should systematically connive at Ribbon processions attended with all the marks of treason, and yet prosecute the Orange offenders with the utmost rigour? So, the Evangelicals openly fraternize with Dissent, as Fenians do with America, and daily vilify all the special doctrines which they both have sworn and are paid to teach, and which the Seceders of 1662 were too honourable to accept. It would be impossible to let their unaccredited usages go free while condemning those of the other school, each of which has a positive legal basis, more or less firm, to go upon.

In the second place, changing the Law is against the feeling of the whole High-Church party, ranking from the most conservative of the old-fashioned Churchmen to the vanguard of advanced Ritualism. It also displeases the temperate and respectable Low-Church section, and all Broad Churchmen who retain any feeling in favour of fair play. For change would be avowedly a confession that the Ritualists are in the right, and that only force can put them legally in the wrong; and its only object would be petty persecution of a party too strong to be crushed. If the state of the law were such that clergymen who do not wear the Vestments could be, and would probably be, subjected to penalties for non-compliance with the Ornaments Rubric, there might be a fair ground for passing a general Act of Indemnity with prospective as as well as retrospective force. But one unquestioned effect of long Non-User is that it practically annuls penalties, though it does not repeal a law. There was some time ago—there may be still—an old Act, making the cutting down an apple-tree a capital offence. Can any one dream that it would be enforced? And yet this is as likely as the punishment of a clerk for neglecting the use of Vestments.

Moreover, the change, if effected at all, can be done in only one of two ways. Either the Prayer Book must be tampered with by Parliament—a task for which that body is conspicuously unfitted, the result of which would be absolute and wide-spread secession; or arbitrary power must be placed in the hands of the Bishops. The former of these schemes is not only in itself most unsuitable, because, amongst other reasons, of the very mixed religionism of the assembly; but it would not be entertained or tolerated for one moment in other cases of the same kind. A Bill to regulate Nonconformist worship would be laughed out of the House; and if it be urged that the Established position of the Church of England places it on a different footing in this respect, the retort is obvious, that no one would think for an instant of calling in the State to decide the liturgical struggle now carried on by Dr. Robert Lee and his friends within the Scottish Establishment. The latter arrangement would approve itself to the Episcopal Bench, but, probably, to few besides. A writer in *Blackwood*, in a recent article, remarks that the Bishops are chosen because of their superior ability, learning, and piety. These qualifications are not always found even in those raised to the mitre by open election in the daughter Churches of the Anglican Communion. In this country, where the high position and the senatorial vote attached to Episcopal rank make Bishoprics nearly the most valuable of all pieces of Crown

patronage, it is not strange that political and personal considerations should frequently outweigh the public good. But it is scarcely known to what a remarkable extent these inferior grounds of promotion have prevailed over those cited in *Blackwood*. In truth, no Government, since the time of Charles II., has tried to get the best men, as such, to fill vacant English sees; and there were actually more prelates appointed in the twenty-five years from 1660 to 1685, who have achieved distinction in their office, and left their mark for good on the Church of England, than in the hundred and eighty-two years which have since elapsed[1]. And it is thus only too true that the union of ability, learning, and piety is not the motive which has usually swayed Ministers of State under the House of Brunswick in the nomination of Bishops; and, lacking that motive, they have not chosen as *Blackwood* says they choose; so that exception can be at once taken on this ground to far too many living wearers of Anglican mitres. In alleging that their Lordships are deficient in learning, the matter referred to is not their University degrees, for most of them were first-class men. The fault found is with their absence of what may be called professional knowledge. We do not think the captain of a frigate competent, if he can speak a dialect or two of Thibet or Central Africa, but does not know the use of a sextant, and has no idea of navigation. And the deepest acquaintance with the Athenian Constitution or with the Calculus of Probabilities will not make up for perfect unfamiliarity with Dogmatic Theology, with Ecclesiastical Law, and with the practical spiritual needs of the day. The fact that the Bishops of Ely and Gloucester are popularly supposed to be profound theologians, only points the moral more sharply:

"Parmi les aveugles un borgne est roi;"

and there was a time when Falconer and Akenside were in the foremost rank of living English poets.

[1] This proposition seems so startling, that it is a duty to verify it. The subjoined lists contain all the names referred to, and those in italics denote prelates whom the present writer does not himself hold to be intitled to commendation, but who are inserted to avoid any charge of unfairness:—

Charles II.'s Bishops.—Sanderson, Cosin, Morley, Walton (of the Polyglot), Reynolds, Sterne, Nicholson, Leighton, Hackett, Earle, Seth Ward, Isaac Barrow, Wilkins, Gunning, Sparrow, Lord Crewe, Pearson, Fell, Sancroft, Turner, Ken, Lake. Total, twenty-two.

From James II. to the Queen's accession.—*Burnet*, Stillingfleet, Patrick, *Tillotson*, Wilson (of Sodor and Man), Nicholson, Beveridge, Bull, Wake, Gibson, *Secker*, Butler, Lowth, *Porteous*, Horne, Horsley, Van Mildert, Kaye, Lloyd, Philpotts, Blomfield. Total, twenty-one.

Nor is it merely that their Lordships adopt, for the most part, views which are opposed to High-Church opinions. That would be, so to speak, a minor thing. There is no lack of great names in learning arrayed on the Protestant side. Calvin's grasp over Scripture must be recognized with respect by every one competent to form a judgment: Cocceius, Basnage, Le Clerc, Vitringa, Mosheim, in the past of the Continent; Baur, De Wette, Hilgenfeld, Olshausen, in the present day; Baxter, Howe, Perkins, Reynolds, Lightfoot, amongst English Nonconformists, are known to every scholar. But the Anglican Bishops do not even know their own side of the controversy, much less the opposite side; and their sermons and charges usually produce the same literary effect on the mind of a theologian that a Brompton school-girl's French exercise would on the critical taste of M. Henri Taine or M. Arsène Houssaye. A little clique, no doubt, applauds each Charge as it appears, but it is the purple, not the dignitary, that is eloquent.

> Quum stetit in scenâ, concurrit dextera lævæ.
> Dixit adhuc aliquid?—Nil sane.—Quid placet ergo?
> Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.

Therefore, as the questions involved in the present controversy require a profound knowledge of divinity to solve them, the Bishops may reasonably be asked to learn what these questions are, before they prepare to answer them, and that in a different way in each diocese. The imputation of a want of piety seems harsher; but it is by no means meant to imply that there are not many of the Bishops who may fairly pass muster as good ordinary Christians. All that is denoted is this, that in no case does their devoutness rise to such a pitch as to clash with the conventional usages of society; in very few instances is it in the least degree likely that any person labouring under deep religious depression would think of going to one of our present Bishops for advice and comfort; in none, that any one aspiring to saintliness would deliberately model himself on any one of them as an example. Nor is there any member of the Order of whom it can be said that great astonishment would not be felt, were it found at his death, that, while he was perfectly free from debt, he had not left enough out of his large income to defray his funeral expenses, owing to his unceasing charity to the poor. Such was the case with the late Cardinal Morlot, Archbishop of Paris; whereas an English prelate of similar rank, who died about the same time, had eighty

thousand pounds saved—a very comfortable sum, as Henry Erskine once said, to begin the next world with.

Again, take their Lordships in their senatorial capacity. They will throng to a mere party division, but they are absent or silent when national morality and religious decency are at stake, as witness the City Benefices Bill, and the Divorce Act. Lord Macaulay, writing in the person of a Pagan of old time, says—

> "And how can man die better
> Than facing fearful odds
> For the ashes of his fathers
> And the temples of his gods?"

The Bishops, by assenting to the City Benefices Act, or by failing to oppose it, have assumed an attitude below that of heathen reverence for sacred places, and have set Utilitarianism above religious scruples in a way which yields a very formidable precedent. Heaven knows, there is not so much ascetic contemplation and rapt devotion going on in the City as to need a check of this kind; and there is not a single doomed church which could not have been made directly useful, not merely as a hallowed place of intercession, but for private prayer during business hours, and for brief occasions of public worship, such as those provided at S. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate, and S. Lawrence, Jewry. It may well be that the silencing of the prayers and hymns, few and faint though they may have been, in the desecrated City churches, has marred the hymn of the Universe.. So, in the words of the deepest thinker amongst modern poets—

> "Thy voice's praise seemed weak; it dropped—
> Creation's chorus stopped!
> Go back and praise again,
> The early way, while I remain.
> With that weak voice of our disdain,
> Take up Creation's pausing strain."

And it is worthy of remark that Lord Harrowby, one of the Commissioners, who vainly tried to get a Churches' Demolition Bill passed in 1853, gave as his reason for not removing his monstrous family-pew over the chancel-arch of Sandon Church (scandal and eye-sore as it is), that he objects to breaking up old associations. But while the associations of the House of Ryder must be revered, those of mere plebeian worshippers need not be

regarded. It is certain that ten times the number of gin-palaces within the same area as the City churches would never have been interfered with on religious grounds.

Then there is the Divorce Act. Even men who are inclined to maintain that foul and godless statute on what they suppose to be good social grounds, and who shut their eyes to its facilities for collusion and its premium on vice, must acknowledge, as a plain historical fact, that it clashes in more than one point, not only with the universal law of the Christian Church, but with the express language of the Gospel.

> "Such an Act,
> That blurs the grace and blush of modesty;
> Calls virtue hypocrite; takes off the rose
> From the fair forehead of an innocent love,
> And sets a blister there; makes marriage-vows
> As false as dicers' oaths. O, such a deed,
> As from the body of contraction plucks
> The very soul; and sweet religion makes
> A rhapsody of words."

But it aroused no Episcopal protest; nay, to the shame of the Order, they were Bishops who helped it through the Lords, as a devout lawyer did through the Commons. What is more, a prominent No-Church ecclesiastic and a Broad-Church dignitary took advantage of the Act to contract unions which the Christian Church, in all ages, has branded as adulterous concubinage, whatever the opinion of the State might be, and that not only without any Episcopal censure, but without any loss of credit or influence with their party.

And there is one subtle test which not uncommonly brings out a man in his true colours—that of patronage. There are, in the aggregate, about two thousand benefices and dignities in the gift of the Episcopal Bench. An examination of the *Clergy List* will show that out of these there are not more than thirty held by men of any mark whatsoever—whatever be their school, and whether appointed by living or deceased prelates—and full a half of these thirty is utterly unknown outside of clerical circles. And yet the mere titular appointments, such as honorary Cathedral stalls, usually contain a sufficiently large proportion of respectable names to show that the Bishops know well enough who their best men are, though they prefer to job any thing of value, and sometimes to produce scandals. There is no trusting to their zeal for religion in general; for not only have they

shown complete apathy, as a body, in the presence of open denial of the leading tenets of Christianity, but they have been in some cases eager to screen such as have offended in this way, while loudly denouncing the Ritualists. The great majority of the Upper House of Convocation in the Province of Canterbury, refused to say whether they were in communion with Bishop Colenso or not. And it is to be remembered that the personage named has not confined himself to criticisms on the text of the Old Testament, for which some defence might be set up, but he has categorically denied the Divinity of CHRIST and the Resurrection of the Body. When we see Bishop Thirlwall and Dean Stanley treating him as a sufferer for conscience' sake, and acting exactly like the Fenian newspapers, which made martyrs of the wretched assassins who were so deservedly hanged at Manchester, it is impossible to help wondering at the curious digestion which can swallow such a camel as this, and yet wish to strain out the gnat of Ritualism. The Archbishop of York is another of these pious champions. He shuts his eyes and ears to the complaints made to him against a clergyman in his diocese whose views appear to be closely allied to those of Mr. Thomas Paine, and yet, when he can get the opportunity, he hunts down a Ritualist curate with hearty zeal.

Learning and religion being thus to seek, can we fall back on justice or courtesy? Let the cases of Dr. Neale, suspended for fifteen years, with no cause ever assigned; Mr. Poole, punished for obeying a plain command of the Church; Mr. Nihill, deprived of permission to officiate, without an opportunity of defence, speak for the first[1]. Let the habitual demeanour of the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Peterborough, the Bishop of Carlisle, and the Bishop of Durham answer for the second. The conduct of the last-named prelate towards his brother Bishop, Dr. Morrell, and to his Rural Dean, the Honourable Francis Grey, shows him to be even more deficient in ordinary worldly wisdom than even in good manners. But one happy result is being worked out, much against their will, by the Northern Metropolitan and his chief suffragans. Their systematic discourtesy and want of tact have won for them a far heartier dislike than the mere maladministration of their dioceses, discreditable as that is, could have aroused; and personal feeling, as usual, is

[1] If the Bishop of Manchester, who is an antiquary of some mark, wishes for a title going further back than 1847, he may justly adopt one of those given to that mock prelate of mediæval England, the Boy-Bishop, and call himself *Episcopus Nihilensis.*

begetting mental hostility, and bringing about a rooted aversion from a cause supported by such champions.

Withal, it may yet be urged, that whatever may be the shortcomings of individual Bishops, the practical agreement of the whole body ought to go for something in such a matter. That is true enough; and it is only their own fault that it does not. The last time that their Lordships put out a joint protest—at least before the Lambeth Conference—it was a solemn pastoral against Sunday excursion trains. Now, it is true enough that the secularization of the Sunday is a bad thing; but the fault of this pastoral was, that it did not, even by a hint, recognize any other motive at work in the practice it denounced than a mere lusting after sinful pleasures. There was not a word of sympathy with the toil-worn and sickly dwellers in the close and fetid courts and alleys of London—not an expression of a wish that they might be allowed to look on green fields and breathe wholesome air once in the week, on the only day that they could do so without forfeiting the means of procuring food, covering, and shelter. Their Lordships were comfortable enough in their palaces on Sundays, and did not require an airing, and therefore they could not see why an artisan, living with a wife and eight children in a room ten feet square, on fifteen shillings a week, might think differently. If they had said "It is all right and proper that you should get a little fresh air to strengthen you for your work, but you ought to go to church too, and therefore we will tell our clergy to have early Services for you before you start, and late ones after you come back," there would have been some point in their monition; but they said nothing of the kind. Now, Ritualism is a sort of excursion train on the Sunday, to bring the poor man out of his dull, squalid, every-day life into a land of beauty, colour, light and song; and the Bishops, having pictures, musical wives, spacious rooms, curtains and gilding in profusion, and being perfectly free from religious enthusiasm, do not see what the creatures can want with it.

It is not only Tractarians who are roused against the Bishops. The Evangelicals have declared by the mouth of one of their leaders, Dr. M'Neile, "the great and good," that Episcopacy is not essential—a view also put forward by the Bishop of Lincoln. The party of unbelief, as represented by the *Times* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, did nothing but make dreary fun of the Lambeth Conference, clearly showing that the only use of a Bishop in its eyes is to put down Catholicism, and that when he turns his attention to any thing else, he is to be snubbed or extinguished. A Scottish Presbyterian journal has lately said that the surest

specific against any leaning towards Episcopacy, far more effectual than any polemical treatises, would be a perusal of the Charges of Bishops Ellicott, Jeune, Jackson, and Gregg. The Bishops have thus every one against them except the flatterers and tuft-hunters who hang about their palaces looking for promotion; and it is truly just that it should be so, because they have put themselves in a perfectly false position. For the distinguishing peculiarity of the Episcopal office is that it is fundamentally anti-Protestant. While many functions of the English Priest are also those which a Nonconformist minister considers it his duty to perform, there is absolutely no speciality of a Bishop which is not formally denied and rejected by the sects. And, therefore, it was most logically that the Solemn League and Covenant set forth that "We shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries-Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, &c." For the claim of the Bishops to be sole administrators of the Sacrament of Order, is denied by every Protestant sect; their superior jurisdiction is treated as an encroachment on Christian liberty; their rite of Confirmation is rejected, and that of consecration of churches and the like ridiculed. And yet these are the only points of difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter. Wherefore, every Bishop who acts as a Protestant is a traitor to his Order, either from ignorance or wilful disloyalty, and is thoroughly despised by those who are happy to use him as a tool against the Church he has sworn to serve; and every Bishop who calls on his clergy to give up what they know to be the law of that Church, because he dislikes it, or because, while not disliking, he has not courage to maintain it against an outcry, is acting like that Spanish General Ortega, whom we saw, not so long ago, calling on his soldiers to follow him, as their chief officer, in rebellion against the Queen whose uniform he wore. There can be no doubt of what was the duty of the staff-officers, nay, of the rank and file, under such circumstances; and there can be as little doubt as to the line to be adopted by every honest ecclesiastic in such dioceses as those of York, Durham, Carlisle, Lincoln, and Peterborough. It is only justice to the Bishops of London, Worcester, and Chester to say that they have refused to become the tools of a persecuting party, and that a Ritualist gets at any rate a fair measure of toleration from them, which he might vainly look for in many other quarters.

A significant commentary on the principle of "follow

your leader" was lately put forward. There is a body called the "Anglo-Continental Society," whose pretext is that it exists for the purpose of circulating information on the Continent about the Church of England, to dissipate the prejudices entertained by foreigners against her. Its real employment is, however, the encouragement of schism from the Latin Church. Amongst the patrons and on the Council of this Society are several Bishops, many of whom have been active in their attacks against Ritualistic clergymen; yet the Council, not long ago, voted a grant of money to be employed for the benefit of a number of Neapolitan Priests who had been suspended by their diocesan, on the ground that they were sufferers in the cause of Reform; and this, although it was distinctly alleged, on the other hand, that in many, if not in all, instances, immoral conduct had been the chief cause of their punishment. And those who know the present state of Italy, and the type of ecclesiastics who take up Garibaldian views, will have little difficulty in siding with Cardinal Riario Sforza in the matter. Yet the very prelates who agreed to subsidize men of whom they knew nothing, except that they were censured by their Archbishop, are loud in denouncing the English Church Union for providing a Defence Fund, to prevent Anglican clergymen from being condemned without any legal reason, at the mere caprice of an Ordinary.

There are two pleas which, if the Episcopal Bench could have used them, would have entitled it to exercise a moral pressure greater than any mere legal power could give it. If the Bishops could only have said — "We recognize, and have recognized all along, the great value of much of the Tractarian movement; we have done what we could to foster all its best works, its restoration of churches, its multiplication of services, its promotion of beauty and order in Divine worship, its crusade against pews, its enlistment of devout women to work amongst the sick, the poor, and the fallen, its aim at a higher standard of clerical life, its encouragement of learning, its consecration of art and music: you have had our hearty aid so far, and you could not have done without it; but now you are passing beyond the reasonable limits of our Communion, and we must refuse you further countenance"—it would have been a most pregnant address, to be heard in respectful and obedient silence. But what are the facts? Every step in this long triumphal advance was won in the teeth of the most strenuous opposition, of the loudest censure, invariably led on by members of the Episcopal Order. While ascending the hill, like the princess in the *Arabian*

*Nights*, to win the golden water, the tuneful tree, and the prophetic bird—no unmeet allegories of the lost gifts they sought to recover—the adventurers were assailed with loud cries of hate and mockery from voices behind them, and all who turned to listen or remonstrate were transformed into cold stone, with all the life taken out of them. Another way in which the Bishops might even yet be listened to, would be if they made any attempt to bring about an Eirenicon between the contending schools in their several dioceses. The question here is not as to the practicability or the ultimate wisdom of such a course, but only as to the proof of sympathy and fairness. It is clearly unreasonable that one school should be asked to give up its most cherished peculiarities, which are presumably legal, and that the other should be left in full enjoyment of all it possesses, which are plainly illegal. A Bishop who would say, "Mr. Challis, if you give up your Vestments, Mr. Lowman will stop his Evening Communions," and who would undertake to see the conditions carried out on both sides, would have a claim to attention. But not one of the Bench has suggested a scheme of the kind; and therefore, on all grounds, the amount of obedience which they can reasonably look for, is exactly that which they can legally enforce, which Parliament is not likely to increase by conferring wider coercive jurisdiction upon them. It is, no doubt, most true, and a deep reason for thankfulness and hope, that the English Episcopate seems about to enter on a new course, and to abandon the obstructive policy it has pursued ever since the Revolution. The Lambeth Conference shows that the Bishops no longer regard the Church of England as a subordinate department of the Home Office. The Encyclical Letter to the Eastern Church takes a yet higher tone, and strikes at the root of our insular isolation, admitting, as it does, our subjection to Œcumenical law. We may look trustfully forward to the logical results of these premises, and may hope to see a Catholic-minded Episcopate winning cheerful and loyal deference from all Anglican Priests. But the good time is only coming as yet, and will not be here till the Bishops recognize the true source, measure, and method of their jurisdiction.

Administrative functions, extensive as they are, do not form the ultimate limit of just Episcopal authority and influence. There remain two large fields for the Bishops to occupy usefully, and with the hearty concurrence of the High Church clergy, but which they utterly neglect. One is that of practical and salutary legislation. A crying evil, which is due to false notions imported by lawyers into the Establishment,

is that benefices are treated much more as property vested in the holders, than as trusts for the public. It is desirable to have the truth vindicated, and to let it be clearly understood that a living in the Church, like a commission in the army, is tenable only during good behaviour. The principle might be simply enunciated; and a Bill, providing that conviction of a clergyman before a civil court in the ordinary way, for drunkenness, seduction, embezzlement, breach of trust, and the like, should be followed at once, in the Bishop's court, by suspension or deprivation, according to the gravity or the persistency of the offence, would rid the Church of many black sheep, whose expulsion is now enormously costly in all cases, and of very doubtful practicability in not a few. Then comes the whole noble labour of reform, of raising the standard of work in all directions. The Church of Wales, for instance, is not only helplessly inefficient almost everywhere, but is abnormally prolific in moral scandals, and is a grand mission field for any Prelate. Bishop Blomfield, with no very shining talents or great force of character, and without a glimmer of theology to his dying day, won honourable fame by his reforming work in Chester, his organizing success in London, contrasting with the ignominious failure of another episcopate, that of the far cleverer Archbishop Whately. But the Welsh Bishops (with one honoured exception, him of S. Asaph) content themselves with denouncing the Catholic doctrines and the ceremonial practices which are unknown in the Principality; and have left clerical ignorance, drunkenness, and profligacy uncensured; have done nothing to communicate a zealous, self-denying, missionary spirit to the Church. Of what use have the great talents and learning, the logical brain and keen wit, of Bishop Thirlwall been in this category? The poor and barren Church of Wales needs a Nile to wash down rich alluvium upon it—a Pactolus to bring it golden sands; but nothing issues from Abergwili Palace except streams of frozen venom, like to that river flowing from the Eddaic Niflheim, the deadly Elivagar.

Yet, as there are many excellent persons who cannot persuade themselves that Bishops, with so many inducements to do right, should persistently do wrong, and who therefore think that the Ritualists are resisting, not upholding, the majesty of the law, it may not be inexpedient to cite three stages of episcopal anti-ritualism in another land and generation, to show its true meaning and result. The place shall be Paris: the time, the French Revolution; the narrator, Mr. Carlyle.

*Scene the First.*—"Looking still into this National Hall and its

scenes, behold Bishop Torné, a Constitutional Prelate, not of severe morals, demanding that 'religious costumes and such caricatures' be abolished. Bishop Torné warms, catches fire; finishes by untying, and indignantly flinging on the table, as if for gage or bet, his own pontifical cross; which cross, at any rate, is instantly covered by the cross of *Te Deum* Fauchet, then by other crosses and insignias, till all are stripped; this clerical Senator clutching off his skull-cap, that other his frill-collar—lest Fanaticism return on us."

*Scene the Second.*—"On the 7th of November, a certain Citizen Parens, curate of Boissise-le-Bertrand, writes to the Convention that he has all his life been preaching a lie, and is grown weary of doing it: wherefore he will now lay down his curacy and stipend, and begs that an august Convention would give him something else to live upon. '*Mention honorable,*' shall we give him? Or 'Reference to Committee of Finances?' Hardly is this yet decided, when Goose Gobel, Constitutional [Arch]bishop of Paris, with his Chapter, with Municipal and Departmental escort in red night-caps, makes his appearance, to do as Parens had done. Goose Gobel will now acknowledge 'no Religion but Liberty;' therefore he doffs his Priest-gear, and receives the Fraternal embrace."

*Scene the Third.*—"Next week, it is still but the 10th of April, there comes a new Nineteen: Chaumette, Gobel, Hébert's widow, the widow of Camille; these also roll their fatal journey; black death devours them. . . . Gobel, it seems, was repentant; he begged absolution of a Priest; died as a Gobel best could."

Archbishop Thomson, and some of his Episcopal friends, have gone as far as the first of these stages; not, indeed, by laying aside their own singular costume, but by vilifying and opposing the symbolical vestures of Christendom. They have very nearly advanced to the second stage by conniving at open unbelief. If the whirlwind comes, for which they are sowing the seed, let us hope they will repent as Goose Gobel did, and die like men and Christians.

The third way of dealing with the Ritual question is Lord Melbourne's admirable panacea, "Let it alone." And this for three reasons. First, because the party is a very much larger one than is commonly supposed, not only in its own special numbers, but in its allies. It is very hard to say where Ritualism ends and where Anglicanism begins; and a sense of common peril has bound the two sections of the same school in close alliance, as the great meeting of November 19, 1867, in S. James' Hall, amply testified. This school is now numerically the largest in

the Church of England, and out of all possible comparison the most active. On its diptychs stand all the most illustrious names of the Anglican Communion—Hooker, Andrewes, Herbert, Laud, Taylor, Cosin, Pearson, Mede, Ken, Bull, Wilson, Butler, Horsley, Keble, Neale, and a host of other worthies. To uproot it without destroying the Church of England, is impracticable; and to uproot it, it is necessary to abolish the doctrines of Baptismal Regeneration, Apostolical Succession, the Priesthood, the Real Presence, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, Prayer for the Dead, and Auricular Confession, of which the Vestment Question forms merely an outwork, attacked, not because it is the citadel which the enemy wishes to capture and raze, but because it is the nearest in position to the sappers, and is presumed to be the least strongly defended. The only result of destroying the ceremonial of churches like S. Alban's, Holborn, would be to force those like S. Barnabas into the forefront of the battle, as they were in 1850, and not to bring about even the semblance of a truce.

The second reason for letting the Ritualists alone is this: The ceremonial movement of the day is not an isolated and unaccountable phenomenon, as so many seem to regard it. It has flowered, indeed, in a night, after a lapse of centuries, as the *Furcræa longæva* is said to do. But the buds have long been visible to attentive eyes; and all who knew what the plant really is, must have forecasted its full development from the first. The point to be borne in mind is the one already referred to, that every step of the gradual reform which has so unspeakably raised the English Church, was violently opposed, and often by good men. In particular, nothing was so denounced as choral service. Added to the long catalogue of theological and legal objections which were raised, there was one which looked very plausible indeed, and which was used again by an Irish Dean a little while ago, as a reason for not having such a service in his cathedral. It is, that this innovation interfered directly and at once with the congregation. People who had been accustomed all their lives to read the responses, prayers, and psalms (and, for that matter, the Absolution and Consecration too) after the minister, found themselves practically silenced, and their share in the Service taken away, and put into the hands of a parcel of little boys. There was a great uproar, and no wonder. But it did not last long; and it was soon found, not only that the new plan was very much more congregational, and enlisted a far larger body of voices than the old, but it became the most popular; and now it is well known that nothing "draws" like a good musical service. Every diocese has its Choral Union, and almost every rural

deanery a service of Cathedral type in it. Now, it is obvious that the dress of the minister does not at all in the same degree interfere with the people. Their share in the service remains unaffected by his change of garb; and therefore they have nothing like so specious a grievance as they had in 1850. But though riots, and petitions, and foolish speeches in Parliament, and Protestant meetings throughout the country, were a great deal more abundant then than now, no step was taken by the Government of the day to follow up the meek and gentle suggestions of the Durham Letter. Nothing is less doubtful than that a Commission, if appointed then, would have declared that it was "expedient to restrain any variation from the long-established usage of the United Church" in the matter of saying the service in parish churches; and nothing is plainer, in the light of present facts, than that it would have been a consummate blunder to have done so.

In almost every instance where the Vestments have been re-introduced up to the present time, a previous request for them has come from the laity, they have in most cases been presented by lay donors, and they are generally popular wherever they are used, save in one or two instances where the temperament of the clergyman is so peculiar that his flock would be certain to dislike any thing he approved, whether it were a jewelled Cope or a Geneva gown. And now, few things are commoner than to find Bishops speaking of all the Tractarian reforms, up to the actual date of the last development, as though they had invented them, or at least had encouraged them—neither of which theories accords with facts—and expected to be praised for their zeal and foresight. No change, however beneficial, can be brought about without a certain degree of displacement, of interference with vested interests, of breaking up old habits. Moderate men cannot do this work. A moderately good Churchman is like a moderately fresh egg or a moderately virtuous woman. No one would like the one for his breakfast, nor the other for his sister or wife. And no one could trust a moderate Churchman to put life into a parish expiring of spiritual atrophy. So there is no use in acting like the frame-breakers of 1812, and trying to stop the advance of new machinery to provide for new wants. The Bishops deal with the restorers of the English Church, after the fashion of the farmer in the Russian fabulist Krilof's apologue. The farmer is attacked by a huge bear, and is on the point of being devoured, when a servant rushes up and kills the savage brute with a pitchfork. "You scoundrel!" exclaims the rescued man; "you have made two holes in that skin, and spoiled it for the market." Others, remem-

bering the former peril, recollecting how Broad Churchmen and Low Churchmen together had made the Establishment stink in the nostrils of the people—who does not know Cobbett's *Legacy to Parsons,* written just before the Tractarian movement began?—will be slow to retort on their rescuers in this wise, and will be inclined to think that they who are confessed on all sides to have been right so far in their reform, are more likely to be right now, in this one step onwards of natural advance, than the sluggards who are shrieking anathemas.

The third reason for letting the Ritualists alone is stronger than either of the preceding ones. It is this—that the ceremonial revival, whatever may be its errors, defects, extravagances, or sins, is emphatically a religious movement. It is in this day what John Wesley's revival was a hundred years ago, and it meets with precisely the same hostility from the press, from the dignitaries, from the magistrates, and from the mob. It has also this note about it, that it is much more probable, antecedently, that all its members are honest men, than can be said for the other sections. It may have fools in its ranks—every great party has them, and even fools have souls to be saved—but it is not likely to have rogues, for Tractarianism is a very bad pecuniary speculation indeed. Not only is no member of the Ritualist school a Bishop, a Dean, an Archdeacon, or a Canon, but actually only one of them—Mr. Bennett of Frome—even holds a valuable living (and that the gift of a private patron, after episcopal treachery had driven him out, homeless), or is in the least degree likely to get one. All three parties in the State, the whole influence hitherto of the Court, the entire weight of the Episcopate, and the enormous majority of the Press, are thrown into the scale against them, and yet are seen to kick the beam. A skilful physician, now dead, once said to the writer of this paper: "I don't hold with you Tractarians, but I like you better than the other two parties, and for this reason: I see that a man is of no account amongst you, and never attains to leadership or note of any sort, unless he does something, and plenty of it; but with the others it is only necessary to talk, in order to get on." Men who certainly work and say their prayers, as even their enemies confess (though Dean Close, in his notorious orison, declared this to be only a mask of diabolical hypocrisy), who are put to heavy personal expense in order to carry out their views, and who knowingly put themselves outside the pale, not merely of promotion, but of the ordinary protection due to citizens, and the ordinary courtesy due to gentlemen, and who persevere in this course for long years together, are, if not

sincere, certainly the most admirable and purposeless mimics in the world.

But what shall be said of their opponents? Putting aside those conscientious Evangelicals who believe themselves to be loyal and consistent members of the English Church, and who have, for the most part, avoided all complicity with the sayings and doings of the "Church Association," it is plain that the great bulk of the Anti-Ritualist movement is made up of political Dissenters, of open unbelievers, and of the very scum of the rabble. There are many Dissenters who are cordial and honest enough to see that the new energy has revived the failing powers and beautified the waste places of the Church of England, and who are large-minded enough to rejoice in the result, however they may doubt the wisdom of some of the means. But the merely political section, which has sacrificed religious life for the sake of Parliamentary tactics, is strenuous in denouncing men who have obtained a new lease of indefinite term for a property on which it had cast a covetous eye, and which it expected to see in the market. The unbelievers are not less explicit. Dr. Colenso's hostility to *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was not merely based on its addresses to that LORD, all reference to Whom he has carefully erased from his own hymnal, but was avowedly expressed on the ground that the book was used by the Ritualists. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, which openly protests against the smallest admission of a supernatural element in Christianity, devised the "easy and effectual mode of redress" over which the Commissioners are puzzling, in the compendious form of a fine of a hundred pounds for each of the two first occasions of wearing any vestment besides the common surplice, hood, and stole, and deprivation of all preferment for the third. The *Times*, which sits like Macheath between the Polly of Durweston and the Lucy of Crown Court, and which is always ready to attack any part of the Christian religion which does not approve itself to that amiable couple, follows in the same track, and cries out for legislative suppression.

Mr. Smiles, in his late book about the Huguenots, speaks with great disgust of the laundresses of Paris, under Louis XIV., passing a by-law to allow no Protestant amongst them, though they took no measures to exclude women of unchaste life. He evidently thinks this a specially Popish enormity. Here is a worse case on the other side for him. The Sisters of S. Margaret's Convent, East Grinstead, opened a Refuge for fallen women at Ash, near Aldershot, and kept it up at great labour and cost for some considerable time. They were compelled to

abandon it at last, through the undisguised hostility of officers in high command at the camp, who thought it very little matter that women should be harlots, but a most terrible thing that they should run any risk of becoming Tractarians. This is precisely the line adopted by the opponents of Ritual. They know that, even if we were to fill all our churches, there would still remain tens of thousands of people in every great city of England who have no acquaintance with Christianity, no conception of religion as a comfort and a guide in the troubles of life. But instead of seeking them out, and giving them, it may be, a purer article than Tractarians have to offer, they snatch the morsel and dash the cup from the hungering and thirsting lips to which others are ministering, and pass on their way, exulting in having struck a blow in the cause of selfishness and obscurantism. Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne is one of these benefactors of society. He is, no doubt, great on sewage, and his opinion touching sanitary reform is not without value. But that does not make him a logician or a theologian, much less fit him for his post of public accuser. And while the highly secular Rector of Durweston may well stand for the type of the "disappointed popularity-hunting parson," which Lord Melbourne long ago declared him to be, the Seer of Crown Court represents with equal fitness the Nonconformist element which the *Times* plays off, when even a Whig cleric does not go far enough for its purposes. The Prophet Isaiah bracketed just such a pair twenty-five centuries ago—"The ancient and honourable, he is the head; and the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail." As for the rabble, there is no need to search. S. George's-in-the-East in 1859, Northmoor Green, Stoke Newington, and S. Alban's, Birmingham, in 1867, are enough to cite. No one can pretend that any religious zeal influenced the mob in these instances, or the gentlemen who hired its services and kept aloof themselves. Now the conclusion which any thoughtful Christian, who heartily believed the sayings of the New Testament, would draw from seeing all the vials of infidel hate and mob violence poured out upon the head of one religious party alone, would be, that it was the one which was putting the Gospel most plainly forward, and that the offence of the Cross had not ceased. Wesley was in this position a hundred years ago, the old Evangelicals fifty years later. It would have been easy to have issued a Commission against them, to have passed an oppressive Act to abridge their liberties; but would either process have stopped the movements?

Letting alone, then, is the true policy, because the party is too

powerful to be meddled with safely; because it is merely crowning a work which competent voices allow to have been good up to the present time; and because it is a witness for Religion against unbelief. Nay, remark the Commissioners, it is expedient to restrain it. When that word "expedient" crops up, there is generally something sneaking and dishonourable not far off. But let us look at it as though it were the most unblemished adjective in all the Aryan tongues. "Expedient" means good for a present necessity; and there are only three possible objects which can make it wise to tamper with the intricate machinery of the Church. They are—

1. To attract outsiders into the Church.
2. To prevent Churchmen from seceding.
3. To quiet disputes within the Church.

As regards the first, we ought to have some distinct intimation on the part of Dissenters that they wish to come in, before pulling down part of our fortifications, to save them the trouble of knocking at the gate. There is a pregnant passage on this subject in Swift's murderous piece of irony, the *Argument against abolishing Christianity*. It is as follows:—"It is proposed, as a singular advantage, that the abolishing of Christianity will very much contribute to the uniting of Protestants, by enlarging the terms of Communion, so as to take in all sorts of Dissenters, who are now shut out of the pale on account of a few ceremonies, which all sides confess to be things indifferent; that this alone will effectually answer the great ends of a scheme for comprehension, by opening a large noble gate, at which all bodies may enter; whereas the chaffering with Dissenters, and dodging about this or the other ceremony, is but like opening a few wickets, and leaving them at jar, by which no more than one can get in at a time, and that not without stooping, and sideling, and squeezing his body. To all this I answer, that there is one darling inclination of mankind, which usually affects to be a retainer to religion, though she be neither its parent, its godmother, or its friend—I mean the spirit of opposition, that lived long before Christianity, and can easily subsist without it. Let us, for instance, examine wherein the opposition of sectaries among us consists; we shall find Christianity to have no share in it at all. . . . . If the quiet of a State can be bought by only flinging men a few ceremonies to devour, it is a purchase no wise man would refuse. Let the mastiffs amuse themselves about a sheep's skin stuffed with hay, provided it will keep them from worrying the flock."

None would be better pleased than the Ritualists to see some frank overtures made to the Wesleyans, for example, to heal the schism due to careless, worldly, and timorous Bishops, and to violent mobs, a century ago. But there is no sign of any step of the sort on the part of dignitaries. And yet common sense tells us that if we wait for a sensitive and powerful sect to come suing *in formâ pauperis* to us, we shall never effect any thing. We ought to come with liberal offers to them, instead of frightening them off by letting them see the same blundering policy which drove them out directed now against a school which teaches, as John Wesley taught, the Real Presence, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and Prayer for the Dead. There is another fact equally plain. Men will not break up old associations and forsake old habits for nothing, or next to nothing. If a workman hears that the rate of wages in Australia or America is exactly that of the home labour-market, or only slightly higher, he certainly will not emigrate. And similarly, it is not in the least worth a Dissenter's while to join the Evangelical party in the Church of England, because he can get, in his own sect, a better article of the same kind as they have to offer. There are no Low-Church preachers who have the repute of Mr. Spurgeon, Mr. Punshon, Mr. Landells, or Mr. Newman Hall. There is certainly not one of them who can write such vigorous, thoughtful English as Mr. R. W. Dale. Their own services and hymns suit Dissenters best, and are heartier than those of Low-Churchmen. If they like set forms of devotion, they can and do employ any parts of the Prayer Book that suit them, without having to make wry faces in vainly trying to swallow Catechism, Absolution, or Baptismal office. They are free from State worry, and from Episcopal bullying, and are not averse from dwelling on these facts with a certain complacency. There is nothing for them to come for, except the social position of the Establishment; and that is not so high relatively as it was, owing to the altered position of commerce, many of whose princes are Nonconformists. But the Tractarian offers to unfold to the Dissenting neophyte the august Mysteries of a grand, loving, and harmonious creed; to give him that pardon he longs to hear, but which no minister of his own is empowered to speak; to feed him with the Bread of Angels; and to enshrine all this teaching in a stately Ritual which is not, like that of the other school, his own with the chill on, but which suggests to him the blended visions of Sinai and of Patmos. Thus, large numbers of Dissenters yearly join the worship in Ritualistic churches, at first from curiosity, and eventually from conviction.

There is abundance of evidence of this kind in the Report. Mr. Nugee, as already pointed out, testifies to having shut up the Dissenting meeting-house in his parish; Mr. Bennett avers that Nonconformists are constantly flocking to him; and Mr. Benjamin Webb, of S. Andrew's, Wells Street, declares that many Unitarians attend that church. But it may be observed that the last-named gentleman, whose views and practices are much less advanced than those of the two other witnesses, asserts no more than that Unitarians attend his florid choral service as a matter of æsthetic taste. He does not say that they become converts to Christianity. On the other hand, Mr. Hillyard, Rector of S. Lawrence, Norwich, whose ritual and teaching are of the pronounced Catholic type, not only draws many Unitarians to his church, but keeps them there, and brings them to Holy Baptism. The difference of degree merits attentive notice. To so great an extent has this leakage increased, that in a warm and animated discussion on Public Worship at the autumnal meeting of the Congregational Union in 1866, it was urged by more than one speaker that some introduction of Ritualism into their services was absolutely needed, in order to keep any hold on the younger members of the flock, who were going elsewhere to look for it. And the matter has not been confined to words; for choral services, and even the surplice, have already made their way into the elaborate but questionable Gothic buildings of the sects—a more important innovation on their traditions than the chasuble is upon ours. These facts may be set against Lord Shaftesbury's remarkable statement, when moving his abortive Vestment Bill in the Lords, to the effect that several Dissenting chapels had to be enlarged to provide seat-room for the people driven out of the Church of England by the excesses of Ritualism. He would not find it easy to substantiate such a proposition, especially as there are plenty of half-empty churches everywhere, served by anti-Ritualists, which could serve as a refuge. And finally, the main hostility of Dissenters now-a-days is not theological, but political. It is to the State connexion they object, rather than to the Common Prayer. Therefore there is no use in conciliating them with parings of rubrics and weedings of formularies, any more than in offering a bunch of turnip-tops to a hungry jaguar. When the Bishops declare themselves ready to strip themselves of their temporal rank and wealth to please the Nonconformists, it will be time enough to believe them in earnest; but as yet they are not willing to sacrifice any thing but the truth, and that (it would almost seem) because, as with the child claimed by the woman whom Solomon detected, they feel that it is none of theirs.

The next ground on which it is said to be expedient to restrain the Ritualists, is to keep ordinary folk from being driven into Nonconformity by their extravagances. The first obvious retort is, that the anti-Ritualists are in such a majority at present that there must be more than enough of them to protect and accommodate the sufferers. An aggrieved parishioner of Mr. Mackonochie, for instance, can very readily step over the way to S. Andrew's, Holborn, or to S. Bartholomew's, Gray's Inn Road, where there are no inconvenient crowds, to obtain relief for his conscience. But if S. Alban's be shut up, where are its worshippers to go? The second reply is connected with the previous objection, and is that, even if it be true that some persons are driven into Dissent by their dislike of Ritualism, the number abstracted by Ritualism from Dissent is much larger; and the gains ought, in common honesty, to be set against the losses. The third rejoinder is an appeal to history. It is simply to ask at what time and under what circumstances did the various sects (some ninety in number) which have arisen during the last hundred and fifty years in England separate from the Established Church and from each other? A little reflection will show that it was something very different from hostility to ceremonial which instigated their secession, and that the temporary supremacy of Low-Church views, from the rise of the elder Venn to the death of William Wilberforce, did nothing to diminish it. Next, we may appeal to the state of the Irish Church, out of which the devouter class of country gentlemen is now flocking in shoals, because it finds that the Plymouth Brethren, while teaching substantially the same tenets as the clergy of the Establishment, are more thorough and consistent in acting up to their principles. If Calvinistic sermons and irreverent services could keep men from Dissent, Protestant Nonconformity would be unknown and impossible in Ireland, instead of being a rapidly growing power. Nor is this result the only evil arising from the same cause. The poorer class of Irish Churchmen is also injuriously affected. The Dean of Cork, Dr. Magee, stated not long ago, at a Diocesan Conference in Oxford, that the class referred to is almost unrepresented in congregations; whereas the Roman Catholic poor throng their churches. And the reason he assigns is the presence of a dramatic Ritual in the one case, its absence in the other. Not only so; but, despite the descent in the social scale which conversion to the Roman Church involves in Ireland, and the natural repulsion between aristocracy and a wholly peasant clergy, the number of persons of rank who there become Roman Catholics is as large relatively as it has ever been in England; and the poor

would probably follow in crowds, if their one dogma, hatred of the Pope, were removed or weakened.

Again, the scrupulousness of the various schools of thought within the Anglican pale, as tested by the conduct of their members, is of exceedingly different degree. After all deductions for the comprehensiveness of the English Church, for the vagueness of formularies, and for the blindness of men to the defects of their own position, it is yet clear enough that there are limits somewhere to possible conformity for honest men, and that those limits are constantly overpassed by Low Churchmen in the direction of some sect, and by Broad Churchmen in that of some form of unbelief, ranging from Semi-Arianism to the creed of M. Comte. And there are also limits in the direction of Rome which have been overstepped by many, and are still occasionally overstepped by some, High Churchmen. But the fact is there, that all the Low and Broad Churchmen who have vacated their place and income in the Established Church for conscience' sake, may almost be reckoned on the fingers of one hand. Can any reader, on the spur of the moment, add a fourth name to those of Mr. Baptist Noel, Mr. Richard Congreve, and Mr. James Anthony Froude? On the other hand, High Churchmen passed over to Rome in numbers, at the cost of all worldly advantage, and thus showed that a higher standard of honesty exists among them than among their rivals. What has happened once, will happen again. The admirers of Dr. M'Neile and the friends of Mr. Henry Bristow Wilson will never quit the Established Church so long as social and pecuniary advantage can be derived from remaining in it. Hence that fancied peril may be dismissed.

Lastly in this category, it is obvious that the very men who, within the borders of the Church of England, are raising the cry of Comprehension for party purposes, are striving to expel from the pale of the Establishment one section which is already in it. This is no matter of inference, but has been avowed on several occasions by their accredited organs; and hopes are entertained that the Ritualist party, if driven to extremity, may be forced into the arms of Rome, or induced to set up a Free Church. This is no place to enter into a historical proof of the tenability of our position. It is enough to cite the homely old proverb that "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush;" and several thousands of actual Churchmen are surely as valuable to the Establishment as half-a-dozen problematical converts from Dissent, as difficult to identify as Falstaff's men in buckram. That was a very foolish old woman who, finding that her blanket did not cover her feet, cut a piece off the top end and stitched it on to the bottom, to

lengthen it. But, at any rate, there the flannel was, and the thread and the needle too. How much more silly she would have been, had she thrown her cutting away, and waited in the hope that some hypothetical person or other might at some future time give her a bit of cotton rag to patch her blanket, but neither matching its pattern nor possessing the warmth of the rejected stuff!

Thirdly, it is urged that restraining the Ritualists would quiet disputes. *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant!* This comes in prettily enough, after all that has been dinned into our ears of late about the "conflict of opinion," the "results of variety of religious thought," and the like secondhand clap-traps of Balliol. Religious polemics are not usually very good spiritual diet, but they are at least a token of life and of interest in religious questions; and a Church which is free from them is no more likely to be in a healthy condition than a child who never makes a noise, shouting, dancing, singing, or quarrelling, but goes creeping silently about a house. Such a child may suit the views of a fretful and selfish invalid; but a skilful physician or a clever man of the world will shake his head over him.

Warmth of personal interest in ecclesiastical matters, the moment that it reaches the stage of enthusiasm, must make itself unpleasantly prominent to cold and sluggish minds. And the greatest curse of the Church of England has been the dull obstinacy with which its rulers have long striven to proscribe enthusiasm. "Enthusiasm!" exclaims the Protestant Sir James Stephen; "our pulpits distil their bland rhetoric against it; but where is it to be found? Do not our share-markets, thronged even by the devout, overlay it—and our rich benefices extinguish it—and our Pentecosts, in the dazzling month of May, dissipate it—and our stipendiary missions and our mitres, decked, even in heathen lands, with jewels and with lordly titles—do they not, as lightning-conductors, effectually divert it?" Hear a deeper voice, the pathetic farewell of John Henry Newman to that Mother who drove him forth at the bidding of Bishops whose aggregate powers of heart and mind were as a feather in the scales when weighed against his, and all of whom could have been better spared than he:—"O my Mother, whence is this unto thee, that thou hast good things poured upon thee, and canst not keep them, and bearest children, yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatever is generous in purpose, and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom, and finds no home within thine

arms? Who hath put this note upon thee, to have 'a miscarrying womb and dry breasts,' to be strange to thine own flesh, and thine eye cruel towards thy little ones? Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee, and would toil for thee, thou dost gaze upon with fear, as though a portent, or thou dost loathe as an offence—at best thou dost but endure, as if they had no claim but on thy patience, self-possession, and vigilance, to be rid of them as easily as thou mayest. Thou makest them 'stand all the day idle,' as the very condition of thy bearing with them; or thou biddest them begone, where they will be more welcome; or thou sellest them for nought to the stranger that passeth by. And what wilt thou do in the end thereof?"

But even were the old policy to be continued, and an attempt made to bring back quiet by ostracizing the advanced Catholic School, is there any reason to suppose it would be successful? It would appear not. The immediate result of any disabling statute directed against Ritualists would be to arouse a burning sense of injustice in their minds; and would lead to a series of struggles for freedom on the one side, and for further means of coercion on the other. And, as the High Church party is nearly a match for its two rivals together, and far stronger than either singly, it may be readily conjectured that its efforts to liberate itself would be neither brief nor feeble. The meeting of the Trades' Union of Church-ratteners in Willis's Rooms on November 26 and 27, 1867, removes all doubt on the subject, as to the hopes of quiet from the Puritan side, and a few citations from the principal speakers will show that it is so. "I should be heartily glad," observes Mr. E. Garbett, "to see changes made in our Liturgical Service—not for my own sake, for I never had any difficulty. But though I have had no difficulty in my own mind, I know that others have, and I know that there are expressions here and there in our services that tend to produce misapprehension. . . . . Therefore I should be glad to see these changes made; but it is not a pressing question to me. It is not a question of life and death that now stares us in the face, but it may be put forward upon the principle which Professor Creasy mentions as that on which the Ottoman armies put forth the worst troops first, *in order that over the bodies of the slain they may gallantly win the breach.*" A most pregnant warning as to what is meant by "unessential changes." "I most distinctly deny and abhor every approach to the notion that the Elements [in the Holy Communion] *are any thing more than the simple Bread and Wine which they were when placed upon the Table.*" So spake

Dr. Miller, of Greenwich. "We speak of Vestments and the prosecution of Mr. Mackonochie," goes on Dr. Cowan, "but what does that amount to? If we succeeded with respect to the question of Vestments to-morrow—if all the outward man-millinery of the Church of England were to disappear—all the poison will still lurk in the system." There is plenty more of the same kind, added to a very strongly-worded determination not to trust the Bishops, much less to put more power into their hands.

As long, then, as the doctrine of the Prayer Book remains intact, so long will the war be carried on by the Puritan section. The only difference caused by abolishing the Vestments would be that, whereas the battle-ground has been gradually shifting since 1833, and the wild dreams of each decade have become the sober realities of its successor—as Puritans, losing heart, have been driven further and further back, the transient gleam of prosperity would draw them again out of their retreat, to harry the settled country thus left bare by the demolition of its frontier castle. The High non-Ritual Anglicans, who are now tasting the sweets of comparative repose, would find themselves once more in the most exposed part of the battle; and the din of 1850, compared with which the present clamour is but a whisper, would sound in our ears again. But a whisper—for nothing is more significant than the very small area which has been sensibly affected by all the labours and outlay of Lord Shaftesbury and his friends. They have done all they could, and a great deal more than they ought, to rouse the whole public of England to fanatic rage against their theological opponents, and have produced, after three years of stump-oratory, inflammatory lectures and handbills, indecent publications[1], and considerable outlay, nothing more than the Stoke Newington Rioters, with their cry of the "Accursed Virgin Mary," and the Dorsetshire bumpkins' protest against Bishop Hamilton, to show as the results. The public does not care in the least, and is quite willing to let the disputants fight it out between them, and let the best man win. Then comes up the question, "Which is the best man?" The Blue-Book gives ample help to an impartial student in coming to a conclusion on this head. Each side has been allowed to speak for itself, with one marked and unfortunate exception, which is, that while Low Churchmen were called to give evidence against Tractarian places of worship, yet no High-Church layman was asked to detail his experiences of

[1] *The Confessional Unmasked* was offered for sale to the girls of Clapham boarding-schools in the room at a "Church Association" meeting in Kennington, against Ritualism—and that with one clergyman in the chair and others on the platform.

Islington, Bath, Cheltenham, or Liverpool; nor was an "aggrieved parishioner" who had been driven from S. Philip's, Clerkenwell, or S. Mary's, Kilburn, where new incumbents had overthrown the good work of their predecessors, invited to make his complaint. Nevertheless, there is something very marked in the contrast between Carlisle and York, between S. Margaret's, Brighton, and S. Paul's in the same town, between Islington and Frome Selwood, between S. James', Piccadilly, and S. Barnabas, Pimlico.

Before giving a few brief examples, there is one thing which merits attention. It is the recurrence of emphatic and flat contradictions of the Puritan statements, which appear either in the Report itself, or in the journals which were issued after its publication. Mr. Richards, the clergyman with whom Mr. Deverell has been quarrelling these last five and twenty years, lodges a written refutation of that witness's account of the dispute. Mr. Wagner prefaces his evidence with a negation of certain statements volunteered by Mr. Clay; and a heavier blow has been since dealt to the same gentleman's character for veracity, by a positive and categorical denial of another story of his in a solemn affidavit of the lady who figures as the heroine of one of his rambling charges against Ritualism. Mr. Clay has since rejoined with the counter-check quarrelsome. It remains to be seen whether he will proceed to the two final stages of contradiction. The founder and the Incumbent of S. Saviour's, Highbury, have written to the papers to declare that Mr. Daniel Wilson's statements regarding that church are not merely garbled, but totally inaccurate; and several old inhabitants of Islington testify to the existence, within the term of Mr. Wilson's incumbency, of Altar-candlesticks and a processional Staff headed by a figure of the Blessed Virgin, in that very parish church which he asserts to have never had any thing of the kind. And the writer of this paper, at the Wolverhampton Congress, finding himself in the midst of a knot of Cumberland clergymen, asked them, without assigning his reason, a few questions as to the musical taste and capacity of their people. All agreed in giving a favourable account of them, and thus supplied a contradiction to Dean Close's statement. And those who remember his unseemly squabbles with his Precentor, soon after he went to Carlisle, will think that the Dean has more to do than the music in keeping people away from the Cathedral.

It is unnecessary, however, to impute wilful falsehood, save in a single case, where the act is but one in a long series of

detected slanders. Rather let us say, with Miss Nightingale, "It is a much more difficult thing to speak the truth than people commonly imagine. There is the want of observation *simple*, and the want of observation *compound*, compounded, that is, with the imaginative faculty. Both may equally intend to speak the truth. The information of the first is simply defective. That of the second is much more dangerous. The first gives, in answer to a question asked about a thing that has been before his eyes, perhaps, for years, information exceedingly imperfect, or says he does not know. He has never observed; and people simply think him stupid. The second has observed just as little, but imagination immediately steps in, and he describes the whole thing from imagination merely, being perfectly convinced all the while that he has seen or heard it; or he will repeat a whole conversation as if it had been information which had been addressed to him, whereas it is merely what he has himself said to somebody else. This is the commonest of all. These people do not even observe that they have *not* observed, nor remember that they have forgotten." But we are entitled to say that the frequent repetition of the same peculiarity in the small body of Puritan witnesses (four out of six, and that excluding Mr. Spiller's direct contradiction of Mr. Martin), two of whom are acknowledged chiefs of their school, justifies us, and would justify the Commissioners, in paying, henceforth, the minimum of attention to charges and statements, however detailed and explicit, which come from a similar quarter. To simplify matters, and to facilitate comparison, the subjoined citations will be opposed to one another only according to the pairs as given above, though more telling contrasts might be produced by indiscriminate juxtaposition.

In Mr. Wilson's evidence, the first thing that calls for notice is the answer to Question 4. "I believe no changes have taken place in the mode of conducting public worship in the parish of Islington for 100 years, or for ninety-five years at least." This statement has been, as noted above, contradicted; and it is plain that the standard has sensibly lowered during the thirty-five years of the present rule—confessedly so, indeed, by the introduction of Evening Communions. But take it at its best, and we find the net result to be, that the type of worship adopted is that set up at the exact time when the Church of England was at its very lowest nadir of degradation and incapacity, after the Nonjurors had died out and the Wesleyans had been driven out, and before the old Evangelical school had arisen to do its good work. No words which an enemy could have used would have put the

Islington Use in such an unfavourable light as these brief words of the Vicar. Mr. Bennett is asked in his turn (Q. 2253) whether he has made changes, and he answers that he has made very many. He found five services a week, three of them on Sundays, and a monthly Eucharist. He now has a daily Communion, daily Morning and Evening Prayer, and additional services on Festivals and in Lent, having thus a minimum of twenty-two services weekly, and the majority of these fully choral.

Q. 40 (Mr. Wilson). "What is the proportion of free sittings to appropriated sittings in your church?" "We have 900 appropriated seats and 500 free seats." Q. 41. "Have you any service at which, by consent of the seat-holders, you throw all your seats open?" "I attempted it at one time, but I was obliged to drop it, it gave so much offence to the seat-holders." A pretty conclusive test, one would think, of the weight of Mr. Wilson's personal influence, and of the practical value of the teaching he offers. Now for Mr. Bennett. Q. 2745. "Is your church perfectly free?" "Perfectly free." Q. 2747. "Is that a new arrangement, or has it been always so?" "When I came, I found that a certain number of persons did pay pew rents, and thinking it illegal, it was at once abolished." Q. 2748. "Any poor person coming to your church is sure to be accommodated?" "Yes." Q. 12 (Mr. Wilson). "What number of communicants have you?" "In my own church it has sometimes approached 200. When I first became Vicar, the Sacrament was administered to every one or two persons. I was compelled by positive necessity to make a change. My health was not very strong: [!!] I nearly fainted under the fatigue, and was compelled by the necessity of the case to do what your Grace is aware the Bishops are accustomed to do at the time of Confirmation, the rubrics being very nearly the same in reference to each." Despite this admission of another descent from even the low standard of 1767, Mr. Wilson almost deserves to be let off here for his delicious *Tu quoque*. Q. 2960 (Mr. Bennett). "You did not tell us how many communicants you had on Easter Sunday at all the celebrations?" "I should say about 500." Q. 2960. "Did you administer to all those 500 separately and individually?" "Yes." Q. 2962. "Did you find that it was very exhausting?" "It was exhausting; but we have five curates, and we all help."

Let us now take the two Deans. Q. 2476 (Dean of Carlisle). "What is the influence of the Cathedral service on the minds of the people?" "I can sorrowfully say that it certainly keeps away the working classes." Q. 1650 (Dean of York). "What is the

number on the average at the services in the Nave?" "Not less than 2,000, and sometimes 3,000." Q. 1467 (Dean of Carlisle). "How often is the Holy Communion celebrated?" "Once a month." Q. 1573 (Do.). "Have you ever any early Communion?" "No." Q. 1723 (Dean of York). "How often is the Holy Communion celebrated in your Cathedral?" "Every Sunday, on Holy Thursday, on four Saints' Days, and twice on the Festivals." Q. 1724. "Have you any early Communion on a Sunday?" "On Whit Sunday, on Christmas Day, and on Easter Sunday." Q. 1746 (Dean of York). "Have you noticed whether the good attendance at your Cathedral is only owing to the Yorkshire people's love of music, or whether it appears to you to be a religious act?" "I should say very strongly a religious act." Mr. Clay is so long-winded that it is impossible to extract his evidence, so as to contrast it with that of Mr. Wagner, but his replies to Qq. 3193 and 3194, as to his non-use of Daily Service, are curiosities of casuistry in their way, and worth studying. They outdo any thing urged by Lord Peter or by Jack, in the *Tale of a Tub*. His plea that he has no "cure of souls," while his district is just as much entrusted to him as S. Paul's is to Mr. Wagner, is, to say the least, remarkable; and the comparative table of services at the two churches is highly instructive. Mr. Kempe, of S. James', Piccadilly, has a daily Morning Service, attended by twenty or thirty persons in the full season, but by much fewer at other times of the year, and even that number is decreasing (Qq. 1884, 1917). Mr. White of S. Barnabas, who has a daily Evening Service also, has an average of from 100 to 150 at it (Q. 689), increased on Fridays to 250 (Q. 706).

Such are only a few of the more salient points of contrast with which the Blue Book teems; and it is no wonder, with so much instruction and entertainment in it, that it proved by far the most popular book of the season. The more the evidence is sifted, the lower will be the estimate formed of the moral honesty of the majority of the Commissioners who could put out such a Report in the face of such overwhelming proof that all the work and all the semblance of legality was on the side of the inculpated Ritualists and their sympathizers. Nor will the effect be diminished by a careful perusal of the documents in the Appendix, especially the rival Cases for Counsel on the disputed usages, and the blank cartridge fired against Ritual by twenty-four Archbishops and Bishops in 1851, with the single, but double-shotted, gun of the Bishop of Exeter in reply, which, as the *Christian Remembrancer* aptly observed in a recent number, looks exactly as if it had been forged in 1867 by the

Catholic school as a weapon of defence, so utterly does it pierce through the false assumptions of recent Episcopal allocutions and this present Report of the Commissioners.

Having proceeded thus far in criticism of the Report, and in brief analysis of its leading points, it seems not unfit to close this paper with a terse apology for the present attitude of the Ritualist school, and a compendious summary of replies to some popular objections raised against it.

In the first place, it is incessantly urged against the members of that school, that their conduct towards their ecclesiastical superiors is uniformly defiant and insubordinate. But there can be absolute subordination only where there is no responsibility. If the captain of a man-of-war direct the helmsman to alter the course of the vessel, and she be wrecked in consequence, the blame will fall on the superior officer alone, because his inferior is accountable to him only; but where there is separate responsibility, there can be no such unquestioning obedience. The law, for example, would not exonerate a parish Priest who celebrated a marriage at an uncanonical hour, at the desire of his Ordinary; and, as a general rule, the monitions of Diocesans in all matters bearing on the Ritual controversy, are usually directions to refrain from doing something undoubtedly legal and edifying (as when the Bishop of Norwich called on Mr. Hillyard to give up Daily Communion and return to a monthly use), or to do something distinctly illegal, as to bury a suicide. Sometimes the Bishop gets some worthless legal opinion on his side, and the Priest, knowing better, treats it as waste paper, and then is denounced in a country which honours Granville Sharpe for having fought out the question of the free-soil of England in the teeth of opposition from such famous legists as Lords Hardwicke, Talbot, and Mansfield, and the yet more illustrious Blackstone—a lesson which they would do well to ponder on, who still profess to believe in the exploded Opinion of four much less eminent lawyers of our day.

As to defiance, that charge is still less capable of being maintained. It might be shown, from repeated examples—not merely that the Ritualist school acknowledges in theory the high claims and wide jurisdiction of the Episcopate, but that it is ready to yield any thing which is merely personal, which is doubtful, or which belongs to the large class of new plans now daily suggested, by all schools, to meet our new needs, such as extra services, out-door preachings, reconstruction of the parochial system, and the like, to the judgment of the Bishops.

Compare, for instance, Mr. Bradley Abbot's large concessions to the Bishop of Winchester's requirements, as cited in the Blue Book, and Mr. Mackonochie's cessation of censing "persons and things," with the utter refusal of all Islington to obey certain plain laws of the Church, when urged in Bishop Blomfield's charge of 1842. But Ritualists have no more moral right to acquiesce in demands which are generally illegal and often irreligious, than John Hampden had to submit to the opinion of the Stuart Judges in the matter of ship-money.

Further, in addition to the very inadequate theological acquirements of the Bishops, to which reference has been already made, there is their total unfamiliarity with the practical part of the questions at issue. The matters under dispute are the way to work a parish, and the method of influencing religious belief. These can no more be learned by theory than a man can learn to play the violin by reading a treatise on counterpoint. They must be learnt in the parish, and in the confessional. Now, out of the twenty-eight English Prelates, thirteen, including the two Archbishops, have had no parochial experience at all; and five of the remainder were unsuccessful as parish Priests, while only two achieved actual distinction in that capacity—Bishop Powys, of Sodor and Man, as Rector of Warrington, and Bishop Claughton, of Rochester, as Vicar of Kidderminster. And the number of them who have any knowledge of psychology, gathered from closer pastoral intercourse than the pulpit and the tea-table can yield, must be exceedingly small. Consequently, their advice can rarely be of the least value, and may often be exceedingly perilous to follow. No man had a stronger sense of official duty and subordination to higher orders than the Duke of Wellington, and yet he was incessantly obliged to disobey the commands of the Cabinet during his Peninsular campaign, simply because they were issued in perfect ignorance of the true state of affairs, and compliance with them would infallibly have ruined the army and the cause.

The Bishops put affectionate deference away from them. They are Fathers, indeed; but such as (contrary to Apostolic precept) provoke their children to wrath. Their plea nearly always is—

> "Faith, I have been a truant in the law,
> And never yet could frame my will to it,
> And therefore frame the law unto my will."

The subjoined letter, which appeared in the *John Bull* about Christmas, 1867, affords an instructive illustration:—

"In an article last Saturday week you said, 'that unless the Ultra-Ritualists submit to the loving counsels of their Bishops, legislation must follow.' Now, let me give my experience of an Ultra-Ritualist and his Bishop, whom I have watched carefully for four years. I call him an Ultra-Ritualist, for he wears vestments, uses lights, the mixed chalice, and incense, though I think the term a misnomer. Now, his Church is full on Sundays: forty to fifty are every evening at the plainest but heartiest of Evensongs; there is a daily average of eight to nine communicants; a large body of communicants at the greater festivals; good confirmation classes twice a year; a crowd of children interested to a wonderful degree by the Sunday catechising; a handful of baptized adult dissenters; an earnest body of lay helpers; the parish worked by a Sister, with ladies under her; a gradually increasing offertory, and every sign of life and religion in an exceedingly poor parish, and with an endowment of less than 100*l.* a year. Yet the parish Priest has done for more than three years, and continues to do, this work single-handed. Now, what loving counsels has the Bishop given him? None whatever. Nothing but an exhibition of violent temper, and ineffectual authority. At the commencement of the Ritualistic practices a correspondence took place. At this time a few words of direction, lovingly, kindly, or earnestly given, would perhaps have kept the Priest from some of his extreme practices. But I have read the correspondence, and there is nothing but dictatorial demands, which no Priest or gentleman, who had a conscience or a dignity, could possibly obey. The correspondence on the Priest's side was most patient, containing always a simple refusal to an immoderate demand. At last, the letters ended with a fiery monition to close the Church on week-days, to cease the daily Communion, to stop the weekly Celebration, to revert to the dreary lifeless phase of Protestantism in which the Church and parish had previously existed. Well, four years have passed; there is no more *love* at the palace, for a gentleman was anxious to come as a volunteer Curate a year ago, but was immediately prohibited, though he reported himself to the Bishop the day after his arrival. Yet again, another Clergyman, seeing this hardworking Priest, asked permission of the Bishop to assist his friend. This was flatly refused; and the Bishop was obeyed. At the end of the year the same Priest applied again, but again was refused, this time with the intimation that he was as bad as his friend. The latter Clergyman, I may add, has no regular duty, but free permission to preach in any other pulpit in the Diocese. No, Sir, before you condemn the ultra-Ritualists, and

lay the necessity of a change of the law on their shoulders, be sure that loving counsels have an existence."

The only argument urged on the Diocesan's side in this dispute is that of Shakspeare's Cardinal Beaufort:—

"Am I not a prelate of the Church?".

What reply can the public make, save Duke Humphrey's retort?

"Yes, as an outlaw in a castle keeps,
And useth it to patronage his theft."

Then, as regards criticism of the acts and words of the Bishops, it must be noted that the sole possible plea which their Lordships can adduce to escape it, is their high spiritual office; but it should be remembered, that in this respect the difference between them and the Priesthood is very much smaller than between the Priesthood and the Laity. Yet no Bishop ever blames the laity for criticizing a Priest (nay, many of their Lordships not only receive, but invite such criticism); nor is any Anglican Priest foolish enough to suppose that his office entitles him to escape all public censure, should he do wrong. If, then, a layman may point out a Priest's shortcomings, *à fortiori*, a Priest, who has to administer the same law as the Bishop, may justly show where his superior is contravening his duties. It is not strange that Bishops should not think Priests exempt from criticism, for some of them, particular and touchy enough about their own dignity, have been perfectly apathetic when that of the very Founder of Christianity has been impeached. It may, however, be pertinently asked, why not leave the Bishops to lay criticism, which does not always spare them? The answer is easy. The misdeeds of a Bishop, save in a few startling cases, which at once arrest public attention, are usually of a technical kind, like those of a commanding officer; and none, except professionals, can know at once whether the acts are only a rigid exercise of just authority, or a wanton display of arbitrary caprice. It is sometimes necessary for the good of the service for subordinate officers to bring their superiors to a court-martial, invidious though the act be, and fatal to their own future prospects. The necessity in the case of Bishops is increased by the fact that having had the law-making in their own hands, they have treated themselves as impeccable; and there is, consequently, no bar, save that of public opinion, at which they can practically be tried, for silence is treated as consent, and consent is tortured into precedent. An apter parallel than that of naval officers and their captain may

be found in the relation of the Bar to the Bench. An advocate is not thought insubordinate or defiant if, while showing in court the personal deference due to the rank of a Judge, he yet, in the interests of his clients, or of abstract justice, protests against a ruling or a summing-up, declares his intention to appeal, and does so, criticizing strongly the disputed judgment. It happens daily, although no one will question that the abilities, character, and professional acquirements of an average Judge rise higher above the ordinary level of barristers, than those of an average Bishop do over the usual clerical standard. And there is one thing which they ought, for their own sakes, to bear in mind. When the time comes that they must "set their houses in order," there will be no one to whom they can look for help, save those very High Churchmen whom they have systematically insulted and annoyed. For they alone respect the office, and deem it essential, even when it is impracticable to esteem some of its holders; but the other two sections in the Church despise both the spiritual office and the men, and admire only the peerage, the palace, and the pay. But, instead of recognizing this fact at its true value, the inference the Bishops draw from it is that it may be worth while to attempt the conciliation of wavering allies or open enemies, but that no consideration need be shown towards those whose principles make their support in any grave crisis certain. This is Charles II.'s policy over again, neglecting and ill-treating the Royalist survivors of the Civil War, as being assured that their legitimist views would prevent them from bringing a second revolution about. There is not even worldly common-sense about such tactics, to say nothing of honour or good feeling.

And here it may be observed that, when persons quote that saying of a Primitive Father, S. Ignatius, "Do nothing without the Bishop," it is to be wished, not only that they would tell the public how much of the work of the last thirty years could have been done "with the Bishop," but that they would also finish the passage honestly as it stands—"Do nothing without the Bishop; *and be ye also subject to the Priesthood,* and to the Apostles of JESUS CHRIST." (*Epist. ad Trall.* ii.) The position which we look on ourselves as occupying at this moment, is that of a Constitutional Opposition, struggling for the law and for the rights of the people, and threatened therefore with all manner of pains and penalties by an Upper House, which is endeavouring to erect itself into an irresponsible oligarchy, and has wheedled, bribed, or terrorized a majority of the Lower Chamber into acquiescence. What the silencing of the Opposition would be in

Parliament, that the suppression of the Tractarian party would be in the Church. It may appear, at first sight, as though this policy of opposition necessarily led to anarchy. In truth, it is a reaction from existing anarchy back to cosmical law. For there are no less than three views now contending for supremacy. 1. That of the Bishops, that each Ordinary shall be a Pope in his own diocese, which gives twenty-eight dissimilar and often conflicting standards of practice, each liable to be changed afresh at every avoidance of a See. 2. That of the Evangelicals and Broad Churchmen, that every clergyman (except a Tractarian) may do whatever he thinks convenient and edifying, without reference to law, and—to cite the *naïf* remark of Dr. M'Neile, in his remonstrance to the Bishop of Chester—"without any reasoning on the subject." 3. That of the Ritualists, that all usages explicitly enjoined, or implicitly permitted, by the existing law of the Church, shall continue to be tolerated, and be allowed to compete with practices which rest on no firmer ground than connivance; and that the Bishops be upheld in their office as administrators of the law, but that they are not to be suffered to extemporize new statutes, nor to contravene old ones. Thus, the Ritualist aim is distinctly limited by a definite legal goal, independent of private caprice, and fairly ascertainable. Whether the goal be good or bad in itself is another question; but it is clear that its attainment is at any rate inconsistent with anarchy. Some will say, and say truly, that it is not the *ultimate* goal, since even so much (assuming it all secured) would not be enough for that scheme of Reunion of Christendom which is part of the avowed programme of the Ritualists. That also is true, but the ultimate goal is equally definite and cosmic with the nearer one. Here it is:—*The restoration, or the full acknowledgment, in the Church of England, of every doctrine and every usage common to the Greek and Latin Churches before their schism, and still retained by both.*

There are, however, other difficulties with which we have to contend, chiefly arising from sedulous misrepresentation of our aims, ends, and character.

First in order comes the constant assertion that the movement is entirely that of young, hot-headed men, actuated by a desire of notoriety, and by personal vanity. If the first part of this assertion were absolutely true, it would make our claims all the more imperative. For it has been wisely said by a great thinker that the destinies of a nation depend mainly on the opinions of its young men under five-and-twenty; and it is certain that the Evangelical party, at any rate, draws few or no recruits from them, nor, confessedly, the religious section of the Lati-

tudinarians. Thus, a writer in the *Contemporary Review* for September, 1867, dealing with the Ritual Commission, observes that while there is (as he alleges) a "deep-rooted aversion in the minds of the mass of English men and women of all ranks, *who have come to any thing like middle age*, from every thing which can be represented, without gross unfairness, as an imitation of Popish ceremonies," yet, on the other hand, "it is certain that where there are any habits at all of hearty religious devotion in the *young men and women* of our day, the preference for musical services and richly-decorated churches, and a tone of thought alien from dogmatic Protestantism, is usually very decided."

This is the testimony of a writer himself opposed to Ritualism; and it may be most reasonably asked, in the face of such a truth, what is the practical use or the moral justice of passing an Act which will irritate all the young religion of the country, and which must, therefore, be, like the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, a dead letter and a laughing-stock from the first, and lie on the shelf awaiting an ignominious repeal? There will be, as has been said twice already, plenty of anti-ritualistic Churches to last the time of all the middle-aged ladies. But as regards the facts of the matter, a very large percentage must be allowed for persons who have attained or passed middle life, and who are ardent votaries of Ritualism. It was remarked as noteworthy in the crowded Tractarian meeting in S. James' Hall on November 19, 1867, how very few young men and lads were in the great room. It was crammed chiefly with men—for no ladies were present—whose ages ranged, judging from appearances, from five and thirty up to seventy. But a clearer indication may be given by citing the dates at which various clergymen, more or less identified with the Ritual movement, and still alive, took their first degree, usually, it may be assumed, as they came of age. Mr. Davies of Abbenhall graduated in 1808, Mr. Cecil Wray in 1826, Mr. Bennett of Frome in 1827, Mr. Hawker of Morwenstow (who has worn the Vestments for a quarter of a century), in 1828; Mr. Rodwell of S. Ethelburga's (a well-known Oriental scholar), in 1830; Mr. Chamberlain of S. Thomas', Oxford (a wearer of Vestments for fifteen years), in 1831; Mr. Upton Richards, in 1833; Mr. Fuller Russell (Editor of *Hierurgia Anglicana*), in 1837; Mr. Prynne, in 1839; Mr. Nugee and Mr. Stuart, both in 1842; Mr. Lowder, in 1843; and, to quote no later dates than twenty years ago, Messrs. Wagner and Mackonochie, in 1846 and 1847 respectively.

The second charge is widely different: it is that the Vestments encourage Priestcraft and Bigotry. It will be convenient to

take this charge separately under its two counts. Priestcraft, then, properly means a Priest's knowledge of his profession, as we speak of "woodcraft," "fishercraft," and the like. If there are to be Priests at all, it is certainly better that they should learn their business thoroughly. And the more they do so, the less likelihood there is of their doing wrong, especially by meddling. No man is so unlikely to trespass on his neighbour's grounds as he who has thoroughly surveyed his own. There is a doctor-craft which we call quackery, and there is a lawyer-craft which we call pettifogging; and these two do infinitely more mischief daily amongst us than all the Priestcraft in the country does in a year; but they are not accepted as reasons for a general howl against law and medicine. Rather, it is felt that a higher professional training might have made the quack and the pettifogger honest and useful citizens. So, too, whatever tends to keep the fact of his character and duties before a clergyman's mind, is a brace to him, just as the well-known Blue-coat dress puts a Christ-Hospital boy on his good behaviour for the credit of the old place. The danger of the English Clergy is having too little, not too much, Priestcraft; and as all spiritual teachers will have devotees of both sexes at their feet (Mr. Spurgeon not less than Dr. Pusey), it becomes evident enough that the best check to apply is to increase the sense of sacred trust and responsibility in the teacher. And if the general public, with a free Press and a free Parliament, and a fine solid mass of practical worldliness and unbelief, and a thousand lay voices to every clerical one, cannot protect itself against Priestcraft, it must be in a very curious condition. Besides, taking away the dress, while leaving the doctrine, is just as wise and effectual as that Act of Parliament, not repealed till 1850, which allowed Dissenters full liberty of public worship, but forbad them to use a bell to summon their congregations. An attempt was made, some twenty years ago, to enforce this silly Act in an eastern suburb of London. The Dissenting Minister complied, but put up a gong instead, which made twice the noise—a lesson that the Commissioners would do well to ponder before they settle how to restrain the use of Vestments.

As to Bigotry, that properly means—not fanaticism, nor even intolerance, but—a dishonest way of exhibiting those feelings, by gross misrepresentation of the character and arguments of one's opponents, or by trying to drive them into a position which will humiliate and perhaps demoralize them, without crushing them after all. When a Broad-Church Dean, for instance, asserts in

an editorial article that men who are anxious for Re-union do not, as a rule, pay their tailors, and that the High-Church party has no tolerable preachers, this is bigotry. But what bigotry there can be in one man wearing a Chasuble, so long as he does not force his neighbour to do so against his conscience, is not easy to see. Here, however, comes in the real doubt. "You," say our opponents, "must, from your principles, be intolerant. If we do not put you down, you will persecute us some day." Perhaps we may, if we are taught the lesson too thoroughly now to forget it. But the probability is all the other way. First of all, Tractarians are not so illiterate as not to have read history, and not so foolish as to misunderstand it. Nothing is plainer there, than that persecution, to be of any use, must be, as it was in Spain, Japan, and Sweden, thorough, unsparing, and unceasing. Any reservation, any mercy, any respite, undoes all the work. And the conditions of modern European society make any such successful persecution in our day simply impossible. Therefore we should not try it, if on no higher ground than knowing beforehand it would not succeed. But there are two higher motives which would influence us. We are thoroughly aware that, though particular tenets, now held by the Puritan and Latitudinarian schools, are open to grave objection, yet the schools themselves, in their general temper of mind, are necessary for the full development of a Church. A healthy Low-Church element tends to keep in relief the great truth of individual responsibility, sometimes forgotten in the yet grander truth of Catholic brotherhood. It acts like the French system of drill, which, though looser and less adapted for concentrated masses than the English method, yet makes each soldier, taken apart, far more self-helpful and dexterous. Again, the Broad-Church party has its use. Not that which it so boastfully proclaims as its peculiar mission, to teach toleration, for it never extends that toleration to the uncompromising preachment of historical Christianity. That imposture was unmasked but the other day by the false step of the protagonist of the satyric drama of Toleration, Dean Stanley, in refusing Westminster Abbey to the Bishops at the Lambeth Conference, and his deeper plunge into the mire by his shuffling and insincere apology addressed, first to the Archbishop, and then reiterated in brief to the Bishop of Vermont, and replied to by that aged prelate in a stinging reproof. Imagine the head beadle of the Royal Exchange locking its gates against the chief merchants of the Empire, because it was known that Sir John Dean Paul was not to be asked to their meeting, that Sir Morton Peto had declined to attend it; and that, while

the beadle had not been consulted or confided in beforehand, there was good reason to suppose that measures would be concerted against future rigging of the market, which might inconvenience some of that functionary's speculative friends!

The following forms the text of the correspondence above mentioned—in which the letter of the Dean is too characteristic, and the reply of the Bishop is too valuable to be lost sight of in the ephemeral columns of a weekly paper—printed from the *Guardian* of Dec. 4, 1867. The rejoinder of Dr. Stanley had not been made public when this Essay was sent to press:—

## DEAN STANLEY AND THE BISHOP OF VERMONT.

(*From the New York Church Journal, Nov.* 13.)

THE refusal of Dean Stanley to permit the use of Westminster Abbey for the closing service of the Council of Lambeth, except under conditions which were at once unanimously rejected as humiliating if not insulting to the Council, produced such intense feeling as a wanton discourtesy to the guests of the Church of England, that the Dean, in his distress at his blunder, has tried to break the ungracious effect of it by addressing the following letter to the Presiding Bishop. The reply of the Presiding Bishop is appended:—

Deanery, Westminster, Oct., 1867.

My Lord Bishop—Understanding that some misapprehension exists on the part of the American Bishops, as to their invitation to a service in Westminster Abbey, I beg that you will do me the favour of communicating the following statement, in as public a way as you think fit, to your Episcopal brethren.

It was impossible for me, as guardian of a building like the Abbey, which belongs to the whole Church and people of England, to take the responsibility of giving its sanction to a meeting that included only a portion of the English Bishops, and of which the objects were undefined, the issues unknown, and the discussions secret. But I was so anxious to show every courtesy to the Bishops from the United States, that, chiefly on their account, as I particularly specified in my letter to the Archbishop, I deviated so far from the usual rules which guide the services in the Abbey as to propose the use of the Abbey for a service which should gather them there, either for some specific object of charity or usefulness, or for the general promotion of good will and mutual edification of all members of the Anglican communion. I was encouraged the more to make this offer by the pledge which I had received, that no question exciting party differences should be introduced into the meeting, and I was therefore in hopes that his Grace would have felt himself able to accept a proposal which I had reason to believe would have been gratifying to our American brethren.

The proposal was, however, declined; and I must therefore, through you, beg to express my regret that such an opportunity was lost, of cultivating that feeling of amity between the two countries which is at all times so welcome. The circumstance of the severe domestic affliction which has recently befallen us, whilst it prevented me from showing that hospitality

which I should otherwise have offered to you, makes me doubly anxious that in a country from which we have received expressions of such sincere sympathy, there should be no misunderstanding as to the cordial desire which I entertain to welcome Americans on all occasions to our great national sanctuary.—I remain, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR P. STANLEY.

Burlington, Vt., Nov. 9, 1867.

Very Rev. and dear Sir,—Your letter of October, addressed through me to all the American Bishops, reached me last night, and I have sent it for publication to the editor of the *Church Journal*, New York.

The high reputation which you enjoy as an author of acknowledged ability, concurs with your elevated position, as the Dean of Westminster to give importance to your course, in withholding the use of the venerable Abbey from the Pan-Anglican Council. How far your explanation will be satisfactory to my respected colleagues, it is not for me to say. But with regard to myself, I frankly confess that I do not understand it.

You state, as the reason for your decision, that you are the guardian of the Abbey, which belongs to the whole Church and people of England, and that you could not give its sanction to a meeting which included a portion only of the English Bishops, and of which the objects were undefined, the issues unknown, and the discussions secret.

Here are several points to which I cannot assent, in accordance with true Church principle.

In a certain sense it may be said that the Abbey, and every Cathedral—nay, even every parish church—belongs to the whole Church of England. But in the strict and proper sense of jurisdiction, the Abbey belongs to the diocese of London and the province of Canterbury. You are, indeed, the Dean, and, so far, the guardian of the edifice; but I do not comprehend how this can discharge the vows of ordination which bound you to 'obey your Bishop' and Archbishop, and 'follow, with a glad mind and will, their godly admonition.' Nor do I perceive on what ground of ecclesiastical law you thought fit to take a course directly contrary to what you knew to be their design in holding this important Conference of Bishops from every quarter of the world. The call was given by your own Archbishop, to whom you owe respect and deference. The Council was attended by your own Bishop, to whom you owe canonical obedience. It was fully sanctioned by the great majority of the other English Bishops. It had the express approval of the Convocation of Canterbury, to which you belong. It had the cordial concurrence of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, the Metropolitans and Bishops of the Colonies, the Bishops of Scotland, and those of the United States. And its proceedings were marked by the unanimous consent of the whole. Are you, on any ground of true Church principle, or even of common sense, to be regarded as the representative of 'the whole Church and people of England,' in withholding the use of the venerable Abbey from an assembly like this? What previous meeting of Bishops has ever been held within its walls which would bear a comparison in numbers and in dignity? And are you, by virtue of your office as the Dean, an absolute autocrat, to deny, in opposition to your own Archbishop and Bishop, and all the other prelates of the English communion, the use of the Abbey by the Council of Lambeth, on the sole pretext that some three or four of the Bishops, who have no authority whatever over the diocese of London, thought fit to dissent from the judgment of all their brethren?

You disapproved the Council because "its objects were undefined, and its issues unknown." I pray you to remember, if you can, any Council of the Church, whose action could be known beforehand. Was it not enough to be assured that an assembly called by your own Archbishop, and consisting of the Bishops of the Church, could not possibly be supposed to have any object, or arrive at any issue, inconsistent with truth and duty? Could not the Dean of Westminster trust seventy-six prelates of the Church with the care of her sacred interests? Or was he really justified in regarding them as a band of conspirators against her honour and dignity, so that he was conscientiously compelled, in despite of all real canonical principle, to shut his Abbey doors against them?

This, my dear sir, is the position in which your strange course has placed you, in my humble judgment. You will pardon me, I trust, for speaking plainly. I cannot do otherwise, on a question in which the honour of the Church is concerned. I have no hesitation in saying that I think you made a great mistake, and that, as a justification of it seems altogether impossible, it would be more frank and candid on your part, to call it by its proper name, and let it be forgotten as soon as possible, since the remembrance of it can only be attended by mortification.

Your allusion to your offer to receive our Bishops, provided they came in their official capacity and without any connexion with the Council, renders it proper for me to say that the invitation, thus limited, was unanimously declined, as being, indeed, an assault upon the Council, and upon ourselves for coming to attend it. I am very willing to suppose that you did not so intend it; but it could hardly admit of any other fair construction.

And your reference to your own domestic affliction, of which I had heard nothing at the time, while it certainly calls on me for sympathy, and furnishes a sufficient apology for the absence of any social hospitality, would have been better made when we were on the spot, since then we could not have been led to suppose that your antipathy to the Council was the cause of your seeming discourtesy.

But this, being merely a private and personal matter, is easily explained, and could not be the ground of any unpleasant feeling. I am persuaded that the kind and cordial attention which our Bishops received from other quarters was quite as great as we could have expected or desired. And we had certainly no reason to complain of any failure in English hospitality.

The only question of any real importance is the very serious one, whether the Dean of Westminster has a right, on true Church principles, to withhold the Abbey from the meeting of a Council called by his Archbishop, and sanctioned by his own Bishop of London. This question extends itself to St. Paul's Cathedral, as it was openly stated in Council that the Bishop had no power to tender either of those buildings for the closing service of the great assembly, though no one doubted that one of these sacred edifices would have been the proper place for that solemn occasion.

If the Dean possesses such a right,—if the Bishop of London has no power over the use of the Cathedral of St. Paul or Westminster Abbey,—I must distinctly aver that I regard the fact as a serious blot upon the ecclesiastical system of our venerable Mother Church of England, entirely inconsistent with primitive practice, and existing nowhere else in Christendom. The Bishop is the rector-in-chief of all the churches in the diocese, and hence the promise of obedience to his godly judgment is an essential part of the vows made in ordination. But especially is he the rector-in-chief of his own cathedral,

which is the place containing his official seat, and called *cathedral* for that very reason, because the Bishop's chair is there.

It was understood in the Council that the Dean of St. Paul's, like the Dean of Westminster, was hostile to our assembly, and that they had the legal authority to close, against their own Bishop and Archbishop, so far as the Conference at Lambeth was concerned, the doors of both the Cathedral and the Abbey. And this is what I stated, in the beginning, that I could not understand. Believing that our Mother Church is truly Catholic in all her essential principles, I certainly do not understand how she could have fallen into so flagrant an inconsistency, and so gross a departure from ecclesiastical law and order as they existed universally in the purest ages of the Christian dispensation.

I trust that your own part in the late case may have the good result of turning the attention of the Church of England to this anomaly, and restoring to the Bishops those ancient rights in their own cathedrals and quasi-cathedrals which have been so long withheld. It is this hope which has led me to write so much at large upon the subject, because it is one which deserves the serious attention of all concerned. For it must be remembered that the affront was not offered so much to the American Bishops as to your own.—With all personal respect and regard, your faithful brother in Christ,

JOHN H. HOPKINS, Bishop of Vermont.

To the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster.

The real use of the Broad-Church party is, that it acts as a useful check on over-clericalism, whenever that danger is imminent, and brings the Priesthood back to primary social truths and duties, sometimes forgotten in the strife of tongues. It represents, when at its best, the mere human side of Christianity with great faithfulness; and therefore it cannot be spared, though many of its members might depart without arousing any special pangs in those they left behind.

Another useful function which the Broad-Church party discharges is to act as a safety-valve during the first revulsion of minds which have been trained in the belief that Calvinism and Christianity are the same thing, and have suddenly awoke to the horrors of the Supralapsarian creed. In a large proportion of cases they would hurry at once into infidelity (as Switzerland, Holland, and New England know only too well), were it not that they find a refuge in Broad-Churchism, which, though lying perilously near the frontier of the desert, is yet within the Christian pale, and affords ready access to safer and more fertile regions. Principal Tulloch and Dr. Norman Macleod are doing this work for Scottish Presbyterianism now; and if the picture of the state of religious belief amongst the thoughtful peasantry drawn by Mr. George MacDonald be at all correct, not before it was needed.

But the claim to be the hierophants of toleration, the sole

inculcators of a truly Catholic spirit, which the Broad-Church leaders set up, is manifestly unfounded. Catholicism means, not the rating of all religious opinions as equally tenable, and equally trivial, but the union and harmonizing of every element of spiritual truth, wherever found, in one homogeneous body. Every sect which has any spiritual vitality at all, lives by the force of the fragment of truth which it possesses, not by the mass of error in which that truth is embedded. And the Catholic Church is able to say to every sectary, "Come to me, and I will give you the truth which you hold already, and many others with it of which you are still ignorant." She will acknowledge, with the Calvinist, the absolute sovereignty of God, and the inscrutability of Divine decrees; she will confess, with the Methodist, the need of conscious conversion from sin; she will proclaim, more clearly than the Secularist, that it is man's duty to subdue the earth, to put order, industry, productiveness, in the stead of confusion, sloth, and sterility. But let any really thoughtful Broad-Churchman ask himself if he can assert this many-sidedness to be a note of his form of belief? A little reflection will show that no devout Evangelical or High-Churchman would find in it the food necessary to him; and that it is too purely abstract and intellectual to affect the enthusiastic, the suffering, and the uneducated at all. As to toleration, that is a still greater delusion. Fanatics have never persecuted so violently as unbelievers; and the true parent of modern Broad-Church tolerance is not Hales nor Chillingworth, nor Jeremy Taylor—far less Origen, or S. Gregory of Nyssa—but Julian the Apostate. That able champion of dying Paganism encouraged alike, at first, Catholics, Novatians, Eunomians, Macedonians, Arians, Donatists, and Photinians, in the hope that their quarrels would overthrow Christianity; and his favourite means was one not unknown to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council in our day—the re-instatement of Bishops and Priests who had been deprived for heresy. Withal, he secretly encouraged persecution of the Catholics, wherever it was practicable, through the good-will of mobs and the subserviency of governors. And, to make the parallel more exact, Julian, who thought it as monstrous as Bishop Thirlwall does, that Christian teachers should use their schools as centres of proselytism, was the author of the first Conscience Clause applied to Church Schools. In the famous Edict of June 17, 362, he provided that Christian schoolmasters and professors were either to confine themselves strictly to religious teaching only (that is, in effect, to Sunday Schools alone); or, if they did teach the Pagan poets, historians, and philosophers, to abstain from any comment imply-

ing doctrinal error in them, and from any open profession of Christianity themselves; and, finding even this insufficient, he withdrew all grants and licences from educational establishments which had not certificated masters chosen by the town-councils, and approved by himself as non-Christians. Verily, history does reproduce itself!

Although a Low-Church and Broad-Church party are by no means unimportant integers of a perfect Christian community, yet they are not to be classed for a moment with the Catholic element, which ought to be dominant. They are not primary and co-ordinate with it, but subordinate and secondary in function —corrective, but not originative. They are the feathers on the arrow, the grooving of the rifle, to prevent excentric trajectories; but they confer neither the initial force nor the penetrative power. With Christianity in its statical aspect, to wit, the complex organism of the Church, they have only the very faintest relation; with Christianity in its dynamical character, as a living Faith, Broad Churchmanship has nothing, and Low Churchmanship but little, in common. And this because the statics of Christendom imply unity, continuity, permanence, and concentration; whereas Protestantism is intrinsically isolating, dispersive, intermittent, both as a philosophical entity and as a social influence. And its effect upon society is consequently like the dropping and random fire of musketry against a strong fortress, contrasted with the results worked by a well-served park of artillery placed in battery. Dynamically, the fault of both schools is that they fail to see Christianity in its true light as a historical creed, whose essential feature is the Incarnation, the visible manifestation of Deity to humanity, and whose essential characteristic must, therefore, be objectivity, because its whole scope is our relation to a Person. Broad-Churchism, evaporating more or less of the historical element, according to the particular stage it has reached, is content to find a certain moral and human philosophy, ennobling, indeed, and august, but not Divine, underlying the surface of Christianity. And thus the Faith of Nicæa, so far as it is received at all by Latitudinarians, is not an integer of their system, but a mere adjunct to it. And therefore a representative man of the Broad party, pure and simple, without any such leaning in the High direction as, for instance, the Dean of Ely manifests, or in the Low direction as Dr. Vaughan, is only accidentally a Christian. He moulds the creed, not it him, save so far as it influences all Europeans; and, stripped of his share in it, he would be little changed, because his virtues, marked as they often are, and his principles of action, do not differ at all in kind, and

but little in degree, from those which swayed Socrates, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. So, too, the Low Churchman, regarding Christianity as a system of abstract dogmas, and not as a form of intense personal loyalty to the King of a visible monarchy, fails to apprehend several of its deepest principles, and seldom attains a higher relative spiritual level than that which has been reached by the votaries of a lower creed, the great Saints of Islam, Ali Ibn Abu Zhalib, Schakran, Hasan Yesar, and Fodheil Abu Ali Zalikani; because, like theirs, his belief is purely subjective, and thus, of necessity, divergent from that revealed in the Gospels.

That either the Evangelical or the Broad-Church party can reasonably look forward to being the dominant school in the Church of England is thus very improbable. As regards the latter, it is not merely dissociating itself more and more, as time goes on, from the traditions and laws of the great Christian body, but it has found it impracticable to create a school of its prophets. Essentially laic in all its themes and aspirations, it has no attractions to offer for men with a vocation for the office of religious instruction; and thus, though it may very probably influence society as a philosophy, it cannot long affect the Church as a clerical section. The Evangelical peril is somewhat similar; they are a decaying school. In the meeting at Willis's Rooms, already referred to, where all the most distinguished of the merely polemical section of their body were found in person or by letter—the temperate, the devout, and hard-working, stayed away, all but Mr. Cadman—it was noticeable that the youngest man of any mark or promise was Mr. Garbett, who graduated in 1844. It would hardly be too much to say that there are not, at this moment, a score of educated and religious gentlemen, under thirty years of age, who can be looked on as members of the Evangelical school; and the Ordinaries of Puritan dioceses have to find sympathetic pupils amongst shop-boys, sextons, and the like, to eke out their scanty Ember lists. In the next place, its old working-power is well-nigh extinct. It is not that it does not do the kind of work which High Churchmen think best, but it does not do its own. For example, the Evangelical puts Sermons where the Tractarian puts Eucharists. If, then, he wish to rival or surpass Tractarian zeal, he ought to preach daily, if the other celebrate daily. If he will not have daily Matins and Evensong, he ought to have a daily adult Bible-class, or something analogous. If he objects to Sisters of Mercy, he should train women of his own mode of thinking to do similar work in a Protestant way. But he does nothing of the kind; and

therefore the Tractarian undersells him in the market, giving more and better goods to the purchaser. And consequently the cry of the bankrupt merchant is for Protection, for the enforcement of a spiritual tariff which will crush his competitors, and leave him a monopoly. It is for this that fifty thousand pounds are being raised—and being contributed, as Mr. Denton has pointed out in a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, by men who will not give to help the starving poor, but are only too glad to subscribe for the prosecution of the clergymen who are toiling amongst those poor.

There is another and graver reason behind, showing not merely that the two sections which contend with the Catholic school not only cannot, but ought not, to be dominant amongst us. It is this: that Protestantism, from its uncertain and shifting standard, never can be a safe moral guide for a nation. John Sterling, in one of those flashes of clear thought which almost atoned for the normal cloudiness of his intellect, once said—"The worst education, which teaches self-denial, is better than the best which teaches every thing else, and not that." That is, in other words, the worst form of Catholicism is a better religion than the best form of Protestantism. Not, of course, that the worst Catholic is better than the best Protestant, which would be a criminally foolish statement; but that Catholicism, in its lowest state, at any rate acknowledges and looks up to a lofty ideal. A wicked Catholic knows what a Saint is, because the standard of his creed never varies, however the practice may, and self-denial is at the root of nearly all saintliness. Protestantism, on the contrary, having no permanent standard, and having learnt from its great patriarch—

> "Wer liebt nicht Weib, Wein, und Gesang,
> Er bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang,"

alters its teaching and morality by purely conventional and popular rules; and allows a man who is wallowing in what Saints in all ages would count as gross sin, to consider himself a very good Christian. Again, the Reformation is not merely like the French Revolution, but is an act of the same drama. Both were necessary, but never meant to be chronic. A hurricane often sweeps away malarious vapours, but no one could live in a ceaseless typhoon. Protestantism can no more be accepted as a positive Creed, Luther, Knox, and Latimer can no more be followed as spiritual guides, than the Committee of Public Safety could be accepted as a permanent government, or Robespierre, Marat, and St. Just as masters of political philo-

sophy. It has sometimes been urged that Catholicism lays, indeed, great stress on purity, but is indifferent to verbal truth; and Protestants have adopted the view, and boasted of themselves as fast young fellows, who were sowing their wild oats, but who would scorn a dishonourable action. Morality is low enough in England; but dare any one say that there is a counter-entry on the side of truth? Is it not notorious that, whereas we were once known as a "nation of shopkeepers," now we are called a "nation of swindlers"? Corruption has penetrated everywhere, and the ermine of peers and judges is no purer than the hand of the trader. Where this is so, and with so little protest, there must be something thoroughly rotten in the religious teaching. But with what face can a Priest who has vowed at his Ordination to recite his Office, publicly or privately, fourteen times a week, and who never does so more than twice (often not that), blame a merchant for labelling a reel of a hundred yards of thread as containing thrice the quantity? Comte, with his keen, logical insight, has pierced to the root of this condition of things. Protestantism, revolving round the principle of Self, must, if unchecked, be destructive of corporate morality; and, as he points out, has always produced some definite evil as the fruit of each departure from Catholic dogma. We can understand how this is, by one example amongst ourselves. If the Seven Sacraments had been consistently taught amongst us, the Divorce Bill, which degrades marriage to a temporary civil contract, and makes it what Sophie Arnauld called the "Sacrament of Adultery," would have been impossible to pass. There may be as much adultery in Roman Catholic countries as there is here; but the main educational difference is, that a Catholic adulterer knows full well that he is sinning; while a Protestant, under Low-Church and Broad-Church teaching, may know nothing of the kind, if only he have kept within the limits of Parliamentary law. For the only Seven Sacraments which Protestant teachers acknowledge are the five loaves and two fishes of Establishmentarian temporalities; and when they vanish, as they will ere long, there will be nothing left for such men to revere. Respectability and industry may still be preached, but there are no more respectable and thriving bodies in the world than those obscene Protestant sects of North America whereof Mr. Hepworth Dixon has told us.

And so we might conjecture, with reasonable certainty, if we did not know it from experience, that the idea of Worship would be utterly lost by Puritans and Latitudinarians. It is

not only lowered, it is not merely obscured, but it is absolutely non-existent amongst them in its public character. The pulpit has supplanted the Altar, the "reading of prayers" to a congregation has ousted the notion of united intercession. And this is the reason why Daily Service is ignored and depreciated by them. Failing a class to lecture to, they see nothing in the idea of regular acts of homage to a Divine and Royal Person, of perpetual intreaty on behalf of those who cannot or do not pray for themselves. And the logical result of this indisputable truth is, that any attempt on their part to determine the type of public worship which is to be enjoined amongst us would be as fraught with error and danger as the suggestions of an inhabitant of Central Asia as to the construction and equipment of a fleet.

For this reason, it is sufficiently clear that the instruction given to the Royal Commissioners to attempt the creation of liturgical uniformity is premature, even if the doubtful premiss be conceded, that such uniformity is, abstractedly, a good to be striven after. That it is so, may well be questioned, not merely from the theological absurdity of enforcing outward unity while every effort is being made to prevent harmony of belief; but from the reasons laid down by Mr. John Stuart Mill in those pregnant passages of his *Essay on Liberty*, written before he—

> "To politics narrowed his mind,
> And to party gave up what was meant for mankind,"

wherein he defends the claims of individuality against that dead level of sameness which modern Philistinism yearns after, but which tends only to destroy all ideal excellence, and to reduce European progress to Chinese stagnation. Any concise rule now laid down must needs be, as we know from Bishop Blomfield's failure in 1842, little, if at all, raised above the lowest standard now prevalent, which scarcely comes up to the level of decency, not to say devotion. It would be easy enough to lower the tone of religion any where. It is a harder matter to elevate it. And though the waters are rising, yet the Nilometer of worship shows that great tracts of country are still parched and barren in this Church of England. While quarterly Communions, and one service on the Sunday, are still the rule in hundreds of parishes, with hundreds and thousands of others ascending above them by almost imperceptible degrees to a moderate state of efficiency, it is too soon to bid the reformers hold their hands. For they communicate the necessary impetus, and naturally so. The fact that a church like

S. Alban's, Holborn, is regarded as an extreme type, takes away that reputation from one like S. Andrew's, Wells Street, which was, a dozen years ago, itself looked on as extreme. Therefore scores of churches are now free to approximate to this now comparatively moderate standard, as they could not have been earlier; and they act in their turn to draw up hundreds below them. When the movement has gone down so far that we can honestly say that a filthy, neglected church and a slovenly, irreverent service, are exceptional cases, then, and not till then, will it be time to talk of uniformity. Now, it would act on religion much as Christian Art would have been affected had the church-building and restoration of the present time been all completed thirty-five years ago, when it was beginning to be felt that Gothic was the right style to employ, but no one knew how to handle it. Cold, mean, academical, tasteless, unadorned buildings would have become universal; and a public worship fixed by the average standard of to-day would deserve harsher epithets. Till Low Church and Broad Church have learnt what worship is, we ought rather to pause, accumulating knowledge and experience, doing like that Bishop of a former generation (was it not Sparke of Ely?), who left a fund for putting stained glass into his Cathedral, with special injunctions that it should not be touched till the art, then lost, or but tentatively coming to light again, had been recovered. And when we remember what Worship is, what it is meant to effect, our disposition to promote its speedy consolidation amongst us will be very small. On the one hand, we have to provide for those whom a long course of spiritual starvation has brought so low that nothing but concentrated and stimulating food can revive them. On the other, we must cater for the healthy appetite of a vigorous spiritual digestion. The Commissioners would, at best, mete out to us only the slops and messes which suit the habits of chronic dyspepsia, but which are neither sapid enough to tempt, nor abundant enough to satisfy.

Not only for our own sakes, then, and for the benefit of healthy competition, would we refrain from persecuting, but for the sake of others. We look on the Church as a great hospital, meant for the cure of all spiritual ailments, and especially for that zymotic disorder called Protestantism. The prospect of cure within the walls is, we believe, far greater than it is for out-patients, and therefore, while not willing to relax unduly the necessary regulations of the house, we should never think of turning out some poor cretin whose faculties allow him to count up to exactly thirty-nine articles, and no more, or an unfor-

tunate who has driven himself into spiritual *delirium tremens* by addiction to Orange bitters; but we should rather keep them till cured. The people to expel are not these hapless sufferers, but the good-for-nothing nurse who refuses to give the patients the medicine ordered by the Chief Physician (by-the-by, who is that newly-made Dean, who boasted that he never had given absolution in his life, and never would give it?), and the yet more culpable surgeon who administers poison that he may get a fresh subject for scientific dissection. And, indeed, the Church of England itself, when the Tractarians tried to revive it, was not unlike a hospital patient almost at the last gasp. Injudicious treatment, neglect of cleanliness and regimen, and incessant depletion, had brought its system as low as might be. Then, a bold and yet simple method of dealing with the case was undertaken by the new doctor, despite the remonstrances of elder and less skilful brethren. The heavy eyes are open now, the palsied tongue has begun to speak clearly, the unnerved hand once more can grasp, the trembling feet can walk a little—it is a living being, not an unburied corpse, that is before us. But the cure is not yet complete; and now that the same physician who has done all this, prescribes a fresh stimulant of the same kind, in logical course of his treatment, immediately all the old women of the faculty shriek "Unprofessional!" and all the quacks yell "Murder!"

It seems almost absurd to offer any defence on the next count of the indictment, which is that a motive of personal vanity, analogous to a fine lady's love of fashion, is at the bottom of the vestiary revival. The case might here well be left to the jury, without calling on counsel. But there are two facts which may be adduced in full exculpation. First, the full adornment and beautifying of the fabric of the churches came first in point of time, though it is only second, or rather third, in logical sequence. Personal vanity would have postponed it; but now, were we to hold our peace, the very stones would cry out. The other is, that the curled and scented clerical dandies—the men of fine broadcloth, delicate cambric, varnished boots, lavender gloves, and generally faultless get-up—are not to be found in the Ritualistic churches. You may find them simpering over Evangelical tea-tables, or dawdling in Broad-Church salons, or flirting in High-and-Dry croquet-grounds; but not saying Low Mass in a Chasuble for a tiny company before light on a cold winter morning. And it may be hastily thought by some that there must be a strong consciousness of being finely dressed present to the mind of a richly-clad officiant, keeping his mind off higher things. Perhaps there may be, the first or second time he is so vested,

exactly as a recent M.A. is aware of his new hood, a young Low-Church deacon of his Geneva gown. But after a couple of days he thinks no more of it than a veteran staff-officer thinks of his uniform when on parade or in battle.

Another common charge is, that Ritualism is un-English. This is an exceedingly popular clap-trap, but more of a mere wind-bag than most others. For it must be remembered, in the first place, that Christianity itself is eminently un-English. It was cradled in Palestine, amidst Aramaic-speaking Jews; it was published in the East by Greek-speaking Hellenists; it was brought to our shores by Latin-speaking Italians. The most solemn of its Rites cannot be celebrated without a liquor which England does not produce. Druidism may, perhaps, have been indigenous to Britain in some particulars, but Christianity in none. Secondly, Christianity was, in its very origin, a protest against the narrow bounds of nationalism, a plea for universal Humanity. Hence its persecution by Jewish priests, by Greek philosophers, by Roman statesmen. It would seem, then, on the face of things, that a creed which claims acceptance on the ground that it is distinctively English, has nothing to do with primitive Christianity. The oldest and most worn foreign silver is of more value than the newest Britannia metal. Then, as a simple piece of history, Ritualism held its place with the hearty assent of all Christian England for nearly a thousand years, while its temporary suppression, at most but partial, and of three centuries' date, was brought about by forcing the crude and novel theories of French, German, and Swiss Protestants on the reluctant and insurgent people of England, with the swords of foreign mercenaries. And it must be remembered that the main alterations in our Ritual which tend to encourage Puritanism, were not the deliberate work of the home Church, but were forced on by the clamour of the "Marian exiles;" men, as Mr. Froude truly says, who were no credit to any nation or any religion, whose congeners in our day are the Fenians, prowling about the Bowery of New York; the French and Italian Reds, lurking in the purlieus of Leicester Square; and who brought us from the "Land of Luther," instead of the old wine, an Elbe Sherry, all potato-brandy and no grape-juice. The very men who call our national Rite un-English, import, some of them, the whole system of Geneva; and others, even less happily, take up at second-hand a few ill-assorted fragments of modern German garb, when Germany has done with them, and cast them aside. As to saying that Ritualism is un-English in the sense that Englishmen dislike it, and that

it does not suit them—that begging of the question is met by the plain fact that it is spreading so fast, with hearty lay assent, that the Legislature is called on to interfere to protect those indolent clerical traders who fear nothing so much as fair competition.

Then, Ritualism is an Innovation. So, for that matter, is steam, so is the telegraph, so is the four-course system of tillage, so is every fresh adaptation of agencies to meet new or increased wants. When, out of twenty millions of English people, at least five millions are Dissenters, and five millions more heathens, it is pretty clear the road we are on wants mending. But in truth, most of the rites and usages we are bringing back are as old as Christianity itself, and several of them, after being subjected to the severest criticism from a hostile point of view, are confessed to date from the fourth century, that is, from the first moment when Christianity was able to emerge boldly into the light of day, and let the world see what her usages were. This is true of Vestments, of Lights, of Incense, of the Mixed Chalice, of Elevation of the Host, and other similar customs. Nor are they obsolete. Three hundred millions of Christians throughout the world retain them still, and a very large proportion of those who reject them, refuse at the same time to accept truths which loyal English Churchmen of all schools agree in counting fundamental. And besides, the question at once arises, Is all Innovation in religion a bad thing, or is it sometimes good? If the former answer be given, then the Reformation, and the changes brought in by the old Evangelicals, must be rejected at once. If it be conceded that innovation may be good, we appeal at once to the altered character and prospects of the English Church within the last thirty years. Dissenters and Secularists despised it, as well as hated it, at the date of the first Reform Bill. They may not love it yet, but no contempt now mingles with their dislike. It may be said, however, that all is not primitive or national in the Ceremonial Revival, and that some things are borrowed directly from Rome. Let it be so; but what possible matter can that make, if the things be good in themselves? Their number is infinitesimal as compared with our own revived usages; and some of them, like the Three Hours' Service on Good Friday, have at once commended themselves to all devout minds—as Sunday Schools are accepted, though their invention is not due to Mr. Raikes of Gloucester, but to S. Carlo Borromeo of Milan, two centuries earlier. The case is this: Our ancient Service, though having many national peculiarities, was, in its main outlines, the same as the Roman in

its Ceremonial. That Ceremonial having been rudely, and, for the most part, illegally, interrupted, we are compelled now and then to appeal to a living Use, where our own tradition is lost or imperfect. Suppose a crisis of despotism or of oligarchy were to suspend Parliamentary Government for a century in one of our colonies, after independent separation from the mother country, what would be more natural, when the Constitution was restored, than to be guided in some of the revived details by the contemporary practice of the English House of Commons, and that without any intention of submitting anew to the Imperial Government? Innovations such as ours are the mere washing away the successive coats of dirt, of linseed, and of copal with which ignorant curators have suffered the glowing master-piece of some great old painter to be encrusted and obscured. We have not sketched the design, nor laid on the colours which we bring to light.

Then, there is the Simplicity clap-trap. Mr. F. T. Palgrave in some intelligent, though not very profound, remarks he has recently made on the ceremonial movement, treats it as being merely a natural outcome of the enormous increase of material wealth, and as giving religion a share in the beauty and luxury which we lavish freely for domestic enjoyment. And he anticipates, in the whirl of time, a reaction back to simplicity. This is all true, so far as it goes; but it is only half the truth. It is most true that there is a gross and selfish inconsistency in making religion the one thing which is to be kept bare and poor; in maintaining that while no wood is too costly for my Lord Bishop's drawing-room table, the Altar of his Cathedral should be of rickety deal; that while his wife walks in silk attire, and silver has to spare, baize, holland, and electroplate are good enough for Divine worship; that while he has hot-houses and conservatories, a few poor flowers may not be offered to their Maker; that eau-de-Cologne and frangipanni may perfume the Episcopal person, but that the sweet savour of incense must not ascend in the Temple of God. But there is a good meaning of Simplicity, which does not exclude richness, nor care, but which rather consists in the absence of minute details, while keeping the spirit of the Rite uninjured. If such simplicity as this, like the plain yet costly and spotless garb of Quaker ladies, were seen every where in churches unaffected by the Tractarian revival, there might be some plea for its retention, as against a more ornate (and, indeed, a more Scriptural) system. If the Church were scrupulously cared for; if the linen of the surplice and Altar were faultlessly

white; if the service-books were clean, whole, and well bound; if the worship were conducted with reverence and care, a strong case would be made out for the advocates of Simplicity. But in truth it is not simplicity, but squalor and profanity, which we have to oppose. It is not as though we were trying to force a well-clad gentleman of 1868 to wear the garb of a Plantagenet noble; but as though we were taking care that some stray wanderer of the street, ragged, grimy, and starving, should be bathed, and clothed, and fed. But there is another plea for Simplicity. It is, that it produces a hardier, more manly Christianity than the ornate theory. If this be so, it is like the training of savage life, wherein the average adult male is stronger than the average man of cities; not because the training has made him so, but that it has killed off all the weaklings. The triumph of modern sanitary reform is that it keeps alive thousands who would otherwise die. And Protestantism kills its tens of thousands of weaklings for the sake of rearing a few athletes, who, when reared, do not seem to be as good as those of the other school, if we may judge by a comparison of the lives and deaths of the French soldiers of the Cross in Annam and Corea, within the last few years, with the accounts given of the Church Missionary agents in the same period. Where is the list of recent Protestant martyrs to set alongside with the muster-roll of Catholics who have died for the Faith? Of what well-paid married Missionary do we hear of his coming to ask for help to put a new roof on the clergy-house, on the ground that a new Priest had arrived, who was too tall to stand upright under the old one? This happened but a little while ago at a Roman Catholic Mission in the East, and it would be interesting to find a Protestant parallel. But, in any case, true simplicity and Ritualism are not at war. They can and do subsist side by side. The humble village Low Mass of the Continent is strongly contrasted with the gorgeous High Service of a Cathedral; and in the Middle Ages the stern poverty of the Cistercian rite held its ground with the stately magnificence of Sarum. Only, the Cistercians were consistent. Whatever their churches might be, they were richer than the cells and refectory of the brethren. When a clerical advocate for simplicity in our day makes his parsonage or his palace barer than his cathedral or his church—when the ritual of his dinner-table is abridged to anchoretic asceticism, it will be time enough to admire and to emulate him. And, moreover, it is not the splendour, but the tone, of Tractarian services which is objected to by opponents. No change would satisfy Puritans which did not involve the denial of certain

tenets. Then, the service might be costly or cheap without exciting any comment.

One more plea urged for the suppression of Ritualism is a very ignoble one, but not the less common. It is that it is the view of a Minority. The fact is true in one way, eminently delusive in another. The ceremonial principle is upheld by the enormous majority of Christians of every time, age, and country—so that, if we look further than this country and this age, we shall find anti-Ritualism to be in a wholly insignificant minority. But, without availing ourselves of this argument, which, indeed, is simply inconclusive to men who have never conceived the idea of an Œcumenical Law of the Church, far clearer and more harmonious than that Law of Nations which jurists acknowledge, and on which all diplomatic intercourse depends, we may take another ground. The representation of minorities, and above all, of educated minorities, in the State, is a principle which is gaining ground with all thoughtful politicians. Now, the High Church party is emphatically an educated minority. The Low Church party, collectively, is not educated at all, and does not even read the works of those Reformers it lauds so highly; so that the Parker Society publications, which contain them, are such a drug in the market that they fetch little more than the price of waste paper. The Broad Church leaders are men of wide and varied cultivation, but their rank and file are more ignorant than those of the remaining schools, for Broad Church cant is easier to learn by rote than any other; and if its disciples contribute to what is called in burglarious circles a "friendly lead" for some associate who has come to ecclesiastical grief, no more is expected of them, and so they have not even the smattering of practical knowledge which work brings with it.

We have seen the triumph of two educated minorities, against hope itself, in our day—Abolitionism in America, Constitutionalism in Hungary. The Ritualist school is spreading with unexampled rapidity; and, though the Bishops may plead Mr. Pickwick's advice, and urge that they are shouting with the largest crowd, yet their position, when they find that all the real strength of their crowd has passed over to the other, as the daily accretion of devout Evangelicals and cultivated Anglicans to Ritualism is bringing about, will be uncomfortable as well as undignified. Rats run from a falling house. Do any creatures run into a falling one?

Last of all, because time presses, not because matter fails, we may briefly consider the charge of Formalism. It is said that the ceremonial school appeals merely to the senses, and never

attempts to deal with the heart, and that its ministers are so taken up with little finical details that it is impossible for them to give their minds to the worship in which they are nominally engaged. The crowded confessionals, and the abundant attendance at early Services with very little pomp, seem to dispose of the first part of this charge. And, at any rate, two things may be said. No Ritualist incumbent with a large congregation has had to confess, like the Vicar of Islington, that he had made no impression on his people when urging a duty of common Christian goodwill, costing nothing, for their assent, and that he retreated in alarm. No members of any Ritualist congregation, however fanatic or hot-headed, have gone of themselves, not to say have been instigated by their pastor, to harass and insult any quiet Puritan congregation, much less to brawl profanely in time of Divine Service, or, like a Missionary-curate of Islington, to make open mockery of a solemn rite, and to profane a Sacrament of the Church to which they profess to belong. But a wider reply may be given, in the words of a Protestant writer already quoted in these pages. Sir James Stephen says of the great Apostle of the Indies: "It is indeed true (though the truth be uttered in the contemptuous tone best calculated to provoke contradiction) that a Christianity, nominal, formal, and external, was, after all, the best fruit to be gathered, or to be rationally expected, from the rude efforts of Xavier for the conversion of the Paravas. But where is that country, and what is that time, in which Christianity has been more than this amongst the great multitude of those who have called and professed themselves Christians? The travellers in the narrow path, who are guided by her vital spirit, have ever been the 'chosen few.' The travellers along the broad way, wearing the exterior and visible badges, have ever been the 'many called.' And yet he who should induce any heathen people to adopt the mere ceremonial of the Church, to celebrate her ritual, and to recognize, though but in words, the authority of her Divine Head, would confer on them a blessing exceeding all which mere human philanthropy has ever accomplished or designed. For such is the vivifying influence of the spirit of the Gospel, that it can never long be otherwise than prolific of the highest temporal benefits to all, and of the highest spiritual benefits to some, in every land which acknowledges it as a rule of life, and receives it as a system of worship. If Xavier had succeeded so far only as to diffuse through the East that kind and that degree of Christianity which at this day exists amongst the Formalists of Europe, such a success would almost justify the Papal apotheosis

which has assigned him a throne in heaven and a perennial homage on earth." Suppose we are teaching the heathens of our streets to be Christian Formalists, are they better or worse for the instruction?

But we must now look to the teacher. He has got a set form of public worship to celebrate, and therefore must do it in a set and formal manner, unless he varies his mode of performance on every occasion, which might fail to edify his flock. The only question practically open to him is, What shall his accustomed Formalism be? It is assumed by most persons who know nothing about the subject, that Ritualism involves a perpetual strain on the memory, in order to miss no detail, and that this is fatal to all devoutness of mind. An ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory in such a matter; and the fact is, that the routine soon becomes too familiar to cause the least distraction. Take the analogous case of reading, or, still more, of singing from notes. Every separate letter or note has to be separately apprehended by the eye, to be combined in syllables, words, and sentences, or in intervals, bars, and cadences, as the case may be. To a perfectly uneducated person it seems well-nigh impossible that this most complicated process should be unconsciously carried on, and yet the fact is undoubtedly so. And if any layman who attends a non-Ritual church, will, just for once, note the various gestures of the officiant (especially in a Cathedral) during the Service, the fixed angle at which he folds his hands, the exact moment when he flourishes his pocket-handkerchief, and the like, Sunday after Sunday, the observer will confess that, were all this set down in Rubrics, it would be not less hard to master than the *Directorium Anglicanum.* The main difference between the two is that the Protestant Ritual means nothing, but the Catholic is full of religious symbolism. The only piece of symbolism to which Protestant ministers cling is the black gown; and it would be a pity to deprive them of it. For, on the one hand, being a lay dress, and not a clerical one, it denotes that its wearer puts off his character as God's servant along with his surplice, and comes as a mere uncommissioned man to teach something which is not in the Bible. And being of the mourning colour, it well suits the bad tidings of everlasting damnation so constantly proclaimed from Calvinist pulpits. Then, besides, it should be remembered that, supposing a Ritualist and anti-Ritualist to be equally sincere and religious men, the former gives more to God in worship than the latter, because he brings the body as well as the soul, the costly alabaster-box along with the precious spikenard. And if they be both inde-

vout, the Ritualist will at least do no harm to the congregation till he ascends the pulpit, because the solemn rites will have their own weight, while his rival will spoil the prayers too, by hasty and irreverent gabble, fatal to the devotion of auditors, and by no means compensated for by the subsequent harangue.

Such, in brief, is a statement of the case of Ritualism against its detractors. Such are a few of the reasons why it, which, according to the primeval and universal rule of the Catholic Church, might justly claim supremacy, asks merely for that toleration which it is ready to accord in turn. There is a Ritual movement going on in the Established Kirk of Scotland, much to the dismay of old-fashioned Presbyterians. There is one yet more developed amongst English Nonconformists, and both alike contrary to all the traditions of the sects, although, or rather because, in harmony with Christian precedent. The State has not been called on, nor would it presume, to interfere, by taking a side in the dispute, in order to secure victory for either. Why should it meddle any more with the Anglican Church, and attempt to frighten us, as if we were babies, with the worn-out bogie of Royal Supremacy? And when those who have made the sanctuary desolate, who have reduced the worship of God to a minimum of quantity and quality, and who are the cause of factious schisms, reproach us with being nearer to Rome than we are to them, we may well retort, in the burning words of Josephus to John of Giscala, "Truly, thou hast kept the city wonderfully pure for the sake of God; and, moreover, the Temple is quite unpolluted! And thou hast not been guilty of any impiety against Him for Whose help thou lookest! He still receives His wonted offerings! Base wretch that thou art, if any one should take thy daily food from thee, thou wouldst account him thine enemy; yet thou hopest to have for thine helper in this war that God from Whom thou hast taken His everlasting worship; and thou ascribest thine own sins to the Romans, who, to this very time, take care to have our laws observed, and almost use force to procure the continued offering of those sacrifices to God which by thy means have been neglected" (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 2). It will be vain to attempt to stay a movement which all the adverse influences of centuries have successively failed to destroy. The sacred doctrines, the solemn rites, which have come down to us from the "pattern of things not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," are themselves immortally youthful and vigorous. The tyrant Henry, the apostate Cranmer, the wild waves of revolution, the savage

fury of mobs, have all done their worst upon them, and still in vain:

> "They were doom'd by a bloody king:
> They were doom'd by a lying priest:
> They were cast on the raging flood:
> They were track'd by the raging beast.
> Raging beast and raging flood
> Alike have spared the prey,
> And to-day the dead are living,
> The lost are found to-day."

Never more to die, never more to be lost, so help us God!

Ay, the Royal Commissioners may talk of expediency, and suggest restraint; but when the wise men of Gotham tried to keep the nightingale in with a hedge, the bird flew over hedge and heads, carolling in the open sky above them. The terms of the Royal Commission are very wide, as extensive, almost, as those of that given to the men who drew up the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1661. The utter failure of the present Commissioners in dealing with the comparatively simple and minor issue of their preliminary report, augurs ill for the wisdom, learning, or courage they can bring to bear on the intricate and momentous subject of Liturgical Revision. They are not fit to be trusted to mould the devotions of a nation, and the Crown might as well discharge them at once, as wait to receive useless suggestions, which must needs be shelved along with the mischievous, but happily abortive schemes of their predecessors in 1689.

As this paper began with a citation from Bacon's *Apophthegms*, hinting how the Ritual Commissioners had shown How not to do it, it may fitly end with another passage of the same book, which may help to bring them back into the safe road:—

"Sir Francis Bacon, who was always for moderate counsels, when one was speaking of such a reformation of the Church of England, as would, in effect, make it no Church, said thus to him: 'Sir, the subject we talk of is the eye of England, and if there be a speck or two in the eye, we endeavour to take them off; but he were a strange oculist who would pull out the eye.'"

RICHARD FREDERICK LITTLEDALE.

## Defects in the Moral Training of Girls.

It has been truly but severely said, by a recent critic, that at the very time when women are showing themselves completely incompetent to perform their natural duties, as mistresses and servants, they are beginning to clamour for a more extensive sphere of labour. They cannot rule their households, and therefore they would rule the nation; they cannot prevent wasteful expenditure, therefore they turn their thoughts towards gaining money; they cannot attach to themselves the rank below them, so as to secure the faithful servants of a past generation, and therefore they look to establish a state of society which will make them less the inhabitants of their home than of the world at large. Servants, on their side, prefer independence and liberty to the ties even of affection. Their object now is not to do their work well, but to do as little, and be paid as highly as possible. The demand for them has increased, partly in consequence of increased habits of luxury, and partly because few mistresses now, in any rank, will undertake the work which, in the last generation, was not considered beneath them. The farmer's wife, who once needed only a stout girl under her, will now keep two or three servants. Her daughters learn music, and look back on the making of butter and cheese as customs of a barbarous age; just as the squire's daughters do, when they hear some lady telling of her exultation over the shirt she made for her brother, when she was twelve years old. Servants, therefore, can choose their mistresses, instead of being chosen; and they find no charm in the prospect of a long sojourn in one family, till its interests become their own, and servitude has changed into friendship. They would far rather pass rapidly through a succession of situations, each affording higher wages and more agreeable occupation than the last, ending with a marriage, where the bride's savings, at least, are no part of the provision for any future time of need. This want of interest is reciprocated by the mistress. Few ladies now even know their servants' surnames; and the mistress would most likely be the last person from whom her domestics would seek sympathy in their joys and sorrows.

Meantime, the two classes have come into antagonism instead of being mutual helps. The lady's wish is to diminish expenditure, and the servant's to promote it. The lady desires to gain as much for as little as she can in the way of comfort and show, while the servant is aggrieved at any thing short of what she considers liberal housekeeping, partly as lowering her in the eyes of her fellows, and partly because it saves her the trouble of management and care. Once servants prided themselves upon saving their master's money; but now their glory is in detailing what he can be induced to spend. While they are becoming more unwilling to be controlled, their mistresses have less power to control them; and, as servants find out that it is easier for them to obtain other places than for their employers to find substitutes for them, they are less and less inclined to surrender their claims.

It is useless to talk of this state of things, as if it were in the power of any one to alter it, and as if it indicated only neglect of duty on both sides. The old times have passed away for ever, and with them our duties and our social relationships have changed. Both mistress and servant have still mutual duties, but they are not the same in their details. No one would wish to see the young lady of the present day stitching the fronts of shirts, as her grandmother did before her; or getting up early to polish the tables and dust the ornaments of "the best parlour," as did her great grandmother. Neither do we want to see her in the kitchen, arrayed in a white apron, and presiding over the currant jelly and strawberry jam, any more than we wish to see our servants with bare arms, clumping shoes, and short petticoats. Evils are not to be cured by their opposites; nor can the defects resulting from highly civilized life be remedied by anachronisms. We must take the world as we find it, and endeavour to discharge its duties by bringing the highest principles to bear on existing circumstances, and not by trying to change the circumstances in a retrograde direction.

Essentially, woman's duties are the same from the beginning of the world to the end. To be in subjection to man, and minister to his comfort, to bear and bring up children, to guide and control her household, and to be a central point of delegated authority, are duties which no conditions of civilization can ever change. But it is only a narrow view which insists that the details of those duties are the same in all ages. The obedience required of an intelligent Christian woman is not that demanded of the degraded squaw. Ministration to a husband's comfort includes his mind and intellect as well as his body. The charge

of children involves more than it did in days when, if they were fed, and clothed, and amused, and taught, a mother's duties were fulfilled. It is a game of skill now, instead of a plodding routine; and, like the management of the modern servant, also requires knowledge of the human mind. To order a set of negro slaves is one thing, and to bring a number of active and intelligent minds to co-operate with yours is another. In old days, servants and children were overawed by the mere force of domestic authority, which they could not dispute without finding it the worse for themselves; and, in the circumstances with which they were surrounded, that plan succeeded at least as well as any other. Habit became second nature, and the conscious need of protection supplied a sufficiently powerful motive for submission. Habits now are less easily formed, and more easily abandoned and reacted against. We must bring up our children, not only to do what is right, but to *want* to do what is right, and with a desire so deeply rooted that it will withstand the temptations of after-life. Some minds stiffen into the required mould more easily than others, but these are becoming less and less common. One girl may be educated never to touch a novel, or open any but a theological book on Sundays, and the impression so made will last through life; while, in another case, and probably in general, it will only lead to a violent reaction. You may throw a stone, and you may throw a living animal in the direction you wish them to go, and with the same results for the moment, but with very different consequences eventually. It is too often a domestic dogma, that if obedience is secured, a child is being well brought up. Some theorists have been bold enough to to lay down the canon, that a child's training in obedience should be accomplished by the time it is five years old. If such a child ever existed, it would be an object of the sincerest pity, and its death a blessing to itself and to mankind generally. Training in obedience has to be begun again and again, from the beginning, in all the stages of childhood and youth; and the "implicit obedience" held up for imitation in story-books, would, in real life, be no hopeful promise for the future character. A real virtue is never attained without a contest, and that contest must be fought with disheartening losses, in proportion to the value of the final victory.

In these days, when beyond all other times of the world the necessity is greatest, mothers shirk this important part of education, and are contented with obedience, without the training of the will, and, in many cases, without any real obedience at all. Insubordination, or reluctant compliance, among the

servant class, and self-willed want of consideration among their mistresses, are the results of these educational mistakes. Among the upper classes, children are left to nurses and governesses, necessarily and wisely in many things, but the mother is a far less important element (so to speak) in education than she used to be; while, from the rapid development of infant mind, will, and judgment, her care is more necessary than ever before. The management of the child of to-day is far beyond the power of any but the most refined and educated women; and, instead of being, as it is regarded in America, a degrading occupation, it becomes more and more of a science, only to be learnt by experiments, which are each one made formidable by the consciousness that blundering may blight for ever a human being's destiny.

From whatever cause or causes, the present race of children and young people are not hopeful for the future of our nation. We bring them into the world, surrounded with the advantages and defects of an advanced civilization; and we have not known how to counteract the latter, or we have not liked the trouble and the self-sacrifice it involves.

A state of high civilization, if properly balanced by self-control and Christian self-discipline, leads to refinement and the development of our higher nature; but without these safeguards it sinks into self-indulgence and selfishness, from which the descent is very easy into obtuseness and brutality. A religion like Protestantism, which teaches self-indulgence in things lawful; and scorns, as superstitious, all self-inflicted suffering by fasting and its adjuncts, offers but a poor defence against the gradual transformation of luxuries into necessities, and it considers the requirements of Christian self-denial fully satisfied by abstinence from unlawful or impossible pleasures. Gratification of every sense and bodily appetite is therefore, as a rule, encouraged among young people. If the body shrinks from cold, it is to be indulged with warm rooms; and if it requires easy attitudes, it is to be gratified with sofas and lounging chairs. Nice things to eat are to be provided at meals, and on all manner of occasions beside; and, in fact, pleasure, so long as it does not interfere with health or obvious duty, is allowed to be the guiding star of life. "Let us make ourselves always as comfortable as we can," is the expressed or unexpressed rule of English life. In theory, the young are taught that their comforts and pleasures must give way to those of others; but the necessary consideration demanded by tender and unsettled constitutions, soon passes into a habit of self-consideration, and all

notion of abstaining from luxuries, because unnecessary, or enduring hardness for the sake of acquiring self-mastery and independence of outward circumstances, is cast to the winds. Protestantism only teaches duty towards God through duty towards our neighbour, and recognizes self-denial for the sake of our neighbour, but not for the sake of our God.

It may be said, and with truth, that the constitutions of our young people are not what they were; and that the cold rooms, scanty clothing, and untempting food which hardened our grandmothers into able-bodied women, would cut short the lives of modern English girls, or sow the seeds of chronic disease. It is not that life is shorter now; it is better taken care of, and therefore prolonged: but there is all the difference between the constitution of to-day and of last century that there is between a loosely woven and a tightly woven fabric. One will ravel and drop to pieces when the first thread gives way, and the other will be unhurt beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the original injury. The intellectual culture of our women is one cause among many of this degeneracy. The more a woman's mind is cultivated, the less fit she is for the animal functions of motherhood. The mind can only be developed at the expense of the body, and therefore at the expense of any other organism to be formed from the body. The refined and intellectual woman brings children into the world at terrible cost to herself; and they can only derive from her a physical system of more or less delicacy, which, insufficient as it is, has taken away strength from the mother that probably can never be replaced. The child so produced is most likely to inherit a nervous system conducing to great intellectual development, but with still less prospect of a healthy offspring in the next generation.

We cannot alter these facts, or seek to make our women less intellectual; we can only regard them as part of the circumstances of our time, with which we have to deal as best we may. It might indeed be well for women whose minds are highly developed, to hesitate before they enter on married life. It is only in exceptional cases that marriage will conduce to their happiness. They will either neglect, or have to perform with disgust, duties which are pleasant or indifferent to ordinary women, and they are nearly certain to encounter a life of more or less ill-health. The too frequent alternative is to marry and leave the duties to take care of themselves, with sadder consequences to the spiritual and physical lives of themselves, their husbands, and children, than such persons are aware. Women whose duties are their

pleasures also, will probably be the happiest; but, setting aside the exceptional cases above spoken of, there are women who can be happy in the fulfilment of distasteful duties, from affection, or from higher motives still, but at a cost which it is advisable to count before they enter upon the life which entails them. Our girls should marry, with the distinct understanding that, in all probability, for many years to come, their principal duties will be in the nursery. Rank and riches may take from them the part of their work that can be as well or better performed by others; but the companionship of her children, and their moral and religious training, is as much the duty of the Countess as it is of the mother who has also to make and mend her children's clothes, and is obliged to be governess and housekeeper besides. To some women, baby-talk instruction and amusement are a never-ceasing delight, and to others an intolerable nuisance; but whether liked or disliked, they are duties which a mother cannot surrender to others, whether her income is a hundred and fifty pounds a year, or a hundred and fifty thousand. The mother must *educate* her children herself, in the highest sense of the word. She may have nurses to take care of their bodies, governesses and tutors to teach their minds, and confessors to guide their souls; but that which determines their future characters, she alone can regulate in their early years. The offices of father and mother gradually change as years go on. At first, the mother is the disciplinarian, and the father does little more than pet and often spoil. But, as children grow older, the head of the house gradually becomes the authority, while the mother becomes friend and companion, and the softening influence between authority and the newly-formed independence of rising man and womanhood. At first the toil and responsibility are solely hers. For this part of her work, no mental power and culture, if it is of the right sort, can be too high.

We have not to do with the easily managed naughtiness of children in works of fiction, who have tempers that are cured by an accident, and faults of all kinds which vanish after an illness. Nor have we to do with simple forms of natural wrong and repentance, struggle and conquest, childish self-indulgence and childlike faith, wrong which is known to be wrong, and the intuitive respect for the religion of father and mother, which earlier generations presented. We have to deal with children whose thoughts and temptations are distorted versions of those experienced by grown men and women; precocious sceptics, who will not believe a miraculous story; irreverent minds, who think Angels should have been shot and stuffed, that their precise

characteristics might be preserved; abnormal children, who long for a small devil as a play-fellow; morbid minds, which mourn the commission of the unpardonable sin, and shrink with dread from the weary length of eternity; hysterical children, manifesting, nevertheless, great abilities; children whose sins are purposeless and apparently unconquerable; children with premature vices, and cares, and pleasures; children that are tired of all pleasures, and crave excitement like old *roués*, and yet children with strong characters and marvellous promise, both for good and evil, which the mother's influence and right or wrong judgment can either make or mar.

The ancient theory that "little children should not ask questions," and a theory which presented the birch rod for all inconvenient or unsuitable remarks and actions, was but dealing with symptoms without ever reaching the cause. It silenced but did not convince, and overawed the small mind in its incipient expansion; while, circumstances being in those days unfavourable to liberty of thought, the infant independence was easily suppressed, and very probably died out altogether. The old treatment will no longer succeed. The modern child can see that its parent is no infallible oracle, and cannot be convinced that "Hush, my dear," is a real answer. Its mind has opened prematurely and unwholesomely, no doubt; but the action of it cannot be ignored. The modern mother's business must be to train, as she best can, a growth which it is impossible to check, and she will find in it full employment for her intellect, while it will task to the utmost her patience and her self-control.

These, then, are some of the conditions under which the task of woman's education must be entered on. The subject itself precocious, independent, devoid of veneration, delicately and sensitively, if not unhealthily, organized; quick to learn, yet slow to be taught; and with a conformation singularly inclined to harmonize with all the evils of the day. The atmosphere which surrounds and daily modifies the subject is one of refined self-indulgence, defiance of authority, disregard of all but self-chosen restraints, extravagance, superficial knowledge, and a general principle of making as little appear to be as much as possible, whether it is beauty, intelligence, money, learning, or goodness. We can no more withdraw our children from this atmosphere for life, than we can hinder them from breathing the air of the country they live in. We may bring them up in rooms with an artificial atmosphere, but sooner or later they must emerge and live like their fellows, with all the disadvantages of

never having been acclimatized. Our problem is to strengthen the system against all that may become a life-destroying malaria, and to enable them to assimilate all that is beneficial in the atmosphere, which, for good or evil, they must inhale every moment of their lives. Unfortunately, modern education is often only an accommodation to the evils of the day, which results in their increase, rather than an attempt to fortify the mind, so as to pass them unharmed, and thereby to diminish their influence on others.

Reaction against a stern and unloving age, which taught by blows instead of persuasion, and drove children to endure pain by threats of still greater pain, instead of rousing the higher part of their nature to conquest and victory over self—reaction against this has led to the other extreme. Because children were, once upon a time, sent to bed crying with cold and hunger, they are now to be coddled with warmth and bodily indulgences only fit for invalids. Because they have been beaten too much, and for trifles, now they are never to feel physical pain as a punishment. Because they once learnt nothing but dry facts and routine information, now they are to exercise their minds by the combination of ideas, false or true. They have been neglected; and now they are to receive a spoiling amount of attention, and are led to consider that themselves, their pleasures, and their wishes, are of quite as much consequence as those of their elders, if not more so. For there is an unexpressed conviction among young people that they, after all, are the important inhabitants of the world. Their elders have had their day, and should now make way for the younger ones; they should supply them with money, forward their love affairs, re-arrange households for their convenience—give them, in fact, all that they require, and receive in return a kind of patronizing attention, which is thought a graceful concession from those who are the rightful masters and mistresses of the world, to those who belong to a generation rapidly becoming obsolete. The remedy for all this is not coercion from without, but self-restraint from within: not physical compulsion, which must be submitted to because and only so long as the child is weak and dependent, and which will be resisted as soon as power and opportunity make it possible; but so to teach submission to an authority obeyed by parent as well as child, that habit may be fortified by reason from the first moment that reason is exercised.

Children are not now non-reasoning so much as falsely-reasoning beings; and it is a fact which makes them much more difficult to deal with. The modern principle of intellectual culture

encourages instead of checking the power. Formerly, and more wisely, memory was the chief faculty called into exercise, thus laying up a store of materials for the mind to use in after years. Now, no sooner have half-a-dozen facts been acquired, than some deduction is to be made from them, or they are to be combined into some new form, for the purpose of doing what is called "drawing out the reflective and inventive powers." Consequently, the machine begins to grind before it is half charged, and has exhausted itself with clever superficialities before it has reached the age at which reasoning should begin. Nothing has been deeply learnt, but many things have been skimmed. Science and natural history, optics and metaphysics, theology, and other "accomplishments" are acquired sufficiently for the purposes of common conversation, from sixpenny periodicals and popular manuals. More important (because more showy) acquisitions, such as music, singing, and languages, have a little better foundation; but the object of all is to inform —not to train—the mind, and to polish the exterior. Consequently, as soon as compulsion is removed, study is succeeded by novel-reading; croquet passes into one of the chief occupations of life; and dress, according to the income of the wearer, is so far personally attended to, as to make the greatest possible show with the amount of money she is at liberty to expend. The mind has arrived prematurely at its full development, and is on a miniature and shallow scale. Any specious argument, any external attractiveness, will carry it away; and reliance on objective authority, not having been part of its training, there is no hesitation in throwing off early teaching. As a consequence, we meet with girls and women caught by the most shallow Rationalistic objections to Revelation, attracted by forms of worship merely by the eye and ear, or beguiled into schism and heresy by arguments which could only appear unanswerable to a mind ignorant of the first principles of reasoning. Of course, there are essentially weak intellects, which no amount of training could brace; but there are also, as we see every day, those, who, with more than mere feminine acuteness, can see the force or weakness of an argument, and the impotence of unsupported assertions, with a clearness which shows they would have been good reasoners if they had been taught how to use their faculties, and had learnt how little they know. Superficiality and inaccuracy are decidedly two of the defects of woman's education, in these days, and they show themselves as much in the failure to plant a real taste for any solid pursuit, as in the imperfect knowledge of any one subject, which is their natural result.

Head-learning, however, is but one part of education, and that not the most necessary, except as it helps to develope more important qualities. Highly intellectual women are by no means a race to be cultivated, either for their own sakes or for that of society. Some are naturally so gifted that their course is made clear for them; but they are not the happiest nor the most useful of their sex. It is far more essential that our girls should be Christian ladies than that they should appreciate the abstract sciences, or be able to elbow their way among men through the battle of social life. Clever ladies are, of course, pleasanter companions than common-place ones; but it is doubtful if they are really more valued or more beloved by their husbands and children. But then, whether possessed of abilities or not, there must be the true and well-known, though intangible and indescribable, qualities which constitute the real English lady; a mixture of purity and refinement, gentleness, tenderness, and elegance, which we recognize and instinctively reverence, whether we see it with the glossy curls of childhood, or with the snowy hair of dignified old age. Most reluctantly we are compelled to open our eyes to symptoms of deterioration in this crowning glory of womanhood. Vulgarity is tinging the rising generation of girls, the daughters of true gentlemen and ladies, and it is sad to see. Various causes have been at work to produce it, and among others, an exaggerated reaction from the sickly sentimentality of a former generation. It was once considered a mark of "sensibility" to faint at the sight of blood, to scream at a spider; to be unable to bear noise or exertion, to ride except at a gentle canter, or to dance any thing quicker than a quadrille, while a minuet was more in accordance with dignity. These languishing misses went out of fashion with tight lacing and defective ventilation. Daily cold baths and out-door exercise strengthened the system in hardy ways; while boyish contempt for the inferior species "who couldn't shy a stone so as to hit any thing, couldn't do any thing with a pocket-knife, and were frightened at frogs," gradually taught girls that weakness was not a charm, but a defect. The able-bodied child was mother to the strong-minded girl; and proceeded, from making a fool of herself in one direction, to carry on the same unnecessary occupation in the opposite way. Not contented with finding that she could retain her senses, and make herself useful during a surgical operation, she herself desired to use the knife and saw. Mountains and glaciers must be scrambled over, without any higher motive than outdoing the less adventurous; and the hounds were to be closely followed straight across country.

Frogs and other reptiles must supersede commonplace pets, and sea anemones occupy a chief place in drawing-rooms. The fashionable drawl was exchanged for loud talking and slang; helpless dependence for audacious recklessness; the stiff dance for wild and intoxicating ball-room performances, often ending in an unseemly tumult; and over-particularity about chaperones, into a disregard, not only of appearances, but of actual proprieties.

Because it is silly to be affected, it is not, therefore, a proof of wisdom to be coarse; because a woman is not required to be as helpless as a baby, she need not, therefore, try to rival men in their own peculiar pursuits. If there is no real modesty in being a prude, it does not follow that there is more in aping the dress and manners of fallen women; nor is the language of the stable or of the field a graceful exchange for the stilted and affected style of conversation prevalent in old-fashioned drawing-rooms. Yet it would almost seem that mothers and daughters think so, when we watch the tendencies of modern girlhood.

One evil leads to others. Families in every rank seem to feel it necessary to live as much as possible like those in the rank above them. Therefore they must spend, if not more than their incomes, at all events, the very utmost they can afford. The parents' fear of leaving their girls unprovided for, therefore, makes it necessary that they should be married, if possible; and that the money spent in giving them showy accomplishments should, in some way, become a profitable investment. Young men, it is found, are not as anxious to marry as they were, because the expenses of a married man have become so much greater than in former days. The bride wishes, in point of position, to begin where her father and mother ended; and her husband is expected in his turn to rise still higher. He finds that a mistress is much less expensive than a wife, and not such an endless incumbrance; consequently he is in no hurry to marry. The woman of the world, anxious to dispose of her daughter, and perceiving the class of women that most readily attracts men, attempts, it must be feared, to rival them, by allowing her child to pursue the same methods of fascination. If it is not so, then what is the origin of the meretricious and immodest dress of the present day? Why are false hair, false ears, false bosoms, and the vile fashion which induces women to affect a mockery of approaching motherhood, endured for one instant any where out of the low haunts of vice? Why are our unmarried girls allowed to wear the indecent dresses that are the disgrace of English drawing-rooms and ball-rooms, if it is not from a desire to attract the other sex by appealing to their animal passions? They little

know (or, perhaps, it is only that they do not care if it is so) how men despise women of this stamp, by whom they are nevertheless fascinated. Entrap the men, get them to marry before their delirium passes off, and the virtuous English matron's object is accomplished. If the marriage does not turn out happily, there is the Divorce Court looming hopefully (and more cheaply than of old) in the background. And this is the modern view of Holy Matrimony! Verily, Protestants do well not to regard it as a Sacrament.

Men could put a stop to these abominations if they would. Let them treat those who use the arts of prostitutes as if they were such, and the evil will soon be cured. If a girl feels that she may attract as they do, and yet stand upon her maidenly dignity when it suits her, to receive the deference only due to purity, she will try to secure what she thinks to be the advantages of two incompatible courses. If once she finds that men treat her in that indescribable but well-known manner with which men do treat women whom they have ceased to respect, it would be the best possible check to all except the utterly worthless. Women whose purity is lost, but who are not absolutely hardened, know the intense mortification of a treatment which brings home to them that, among English ladies, their place is for ever gone.

That such things should even have to be spoken of, surely implies a demoralized state of society, which may well make us anxious for the future of those who will be wives and mothers in a few years' time. The modern fashions of dress are not a cause, but an indication of a deep-seated disease. In protesting against sentimentality, delicacy has been lost sight of; and in combatting affectation, true feminine dignity and modesty have suffered grievous injury. With these, taste and refinement will suffer also. Modern dress is not only extravagant and immodest, but it is tasteless and vulgar. Its forms and outlines are ungraceful to the artistic eye; and the profusion of frippery ornament shows ignorance of the principles which distinguish civilized from savage adornment. Dress has become "sensational," like fictitious literature, and with the same object—to attract attention at the expense of all that is really worth it.

The evil is all the worse, because the minds of so many are dulled to its existence. The snowy purity of Christian modesty has been sullied by many a sin in thought, word, and deed—unperceived, perhaps, or possibly committed in ignorance, but none the less surely revealing itself in the loss of womanly reserve; and it points to one of the greatest defects in the education of our girls. They are never taught to know the difference

between purity and impurity, according to the moral law of God. The generality of English ladies are entirely ignorant of it themselves; and their innocence, where it exists, is owing in most cases to the absence of temptation. They have neither the knowledge nor the inclination to point out to their daughters the boundary between right and wrong; and they take refuge in the miserable delusion, that if evil is not taught from any external source, it will never be known at all. Increasing numbers of hysterical cases, and nervous systems shattered without any assignable cause, tell only too surely of the havoc that is the result of knowingly or unknowingly disregarding these moral laws. The mothers of our children are generally in complete ignorance of the requirements of God's holy law in this matter, from the beginning of their lives to the end; and, in the best of cases, are directed, either rightly or wrongly, as it may happen, by their husbands, leaving their children to grow up in the same fatal ignorance. Every mother should instruct her daughters, according to their age, and especially upon their marriage, in all that is needful to preserve them from evil, and necessary for the guidance of their children. But, unfortunately, not one mother in a thousand is capable of doing so. Many fancy that they are well-informed, when they know nothing at all; but many more pride themselves upon their ignorance, and little suspect how their children in after years will regard the neglect they have experienced on this most important of all subjects bearing on the moral and physical health. God has affixed His stern—and generally in this life irreversible—chastisements upon almost all infractions of these His laws. They come down alike upon sins of knowledge and ignorance, blasting and shattering the whole of life's happiness, while the sufferer may not even know the cause. In total ignorance, and unassisted by warning or counsel, our young people are left to encounter the fiercest temptations that can assail human nature; and when they are found to have fallen, they are condemned as though both knowledge and strength would come by instinct. The refinements of civilization, and consequent over-sensitiveness of the nervous system, increase these temptations to a degree not generally known; and, instead of being resisted as a matter of course, as parents fondly suppose, they are yielded to as a matter of course, where the highest principles and strongest safeguards do not exist. The chief responsibility rests with those who have brought these children into the world, and who have the care of them while habits of good or evil are forming. Medical men see the health give way, but feel they have no right to inquire

into hidden causes; confessors shrink from asking questions; governesses avoid a disagreeable subject, even if they understand it; and she who is responsible to God for her children's purity has, perhaps, never given the subject a thought, or ever been startled from her dream of imaginary innocence. She is not aware of the sorrow she is storing up for herself in years to come, when the mischief is done, not to be undone even by repentance: when health and happiness are gone past recall, and she has to listen to her child's exceeding great and bitter cry—"Oh, if I had but known!"

Those who do understand these subjects are the recipients of many sad confidences, and the observers of much evil, often unknown to the simple-hearted doers of it, who in their ignorance are betrayed into sin. But beyond this, and in quite a different category, come all the darker phases of conscious and deliberate evil which gradually grow out of neglect and degradation. Habits formed in ignorance become too strong to be conquered, even if light is given, and lead on to other links of the massive chain. Impurity and selfishness, selfishness and callousness, callousness and cruelty, cruelty and brutality are linked together in close proximity. Infanticide is a very common crime, in all its various forms, and arises from simple selfishness. The natural instincts are extinguished; and then infant life, weighed against convenience or advantage, or fair fame, is sacrificed without a moment's regret; and, except when discovered, without any feeling of disgrace, or even of wrong-doing. Giving a child life, in the lax moral code which is asserting itself, is looked upon as a voluntary act on the mother's part, and she is considered free to refuse or recall the gift at any time. Probably, such crimes are not considered murder, until they become the destruction of an intelligent being as well as of an independent existence. Even then, nice distinctions are made between causing violent death and withholding the essentials of life; so that, commonly in France and America, and increasingly in England, many infant lives are destroyed, to the secret satisfaction of the mother, who, nevertheless, has kept herself beyond the reach of human law. High civilization blunts and distorts the natural instincts, exactly as domestication acts in the case of animals; and, if reason is not made to supply the place of instinct, abnormal acts will be the consequence. Cases like those of Constance Kent illustrate this hypothesis. In her, the natural affections, and even natural feminine tenderness, and dislike to repulsive and ghastly sights were wanting, and the control given by moral training had

never supplied the place of these safeguards against crime. There are some crimes to which a savage woman would find less temptation than a refined English lady of the nineteenth century.

To inculcate self-sacrifice and teach self-denial, on principle, would seem to be the safest way to counteract these evils. It is the constant habit of self-pleasing which makes the fashionable woman dislike the suffering, and the trouble, and the wear and tear, and the interference with her amusements and occupations, caused by a family, and therefore she desires, by fair means or foul, to escape them. She is quite willing to take a wife's dignities without a wife's duties, and to accept the honoured position which Christian civilization has accorded to those who are essential to the continuance of a nation and its prosperity, without in any way benefiting her race, but rather helping to deteriorate it. We should not consider it honourable in the other sex to accept the rewards of high military service without ever having left their own firesides.

A woman's life, from beginning to end, must be one of self-abnegation, or it is unnatural and failing in its first great aim. A selfish man is bad enough, but a selfish woman is insufferable. Man was not made to minister to woman; woman was made for man. This should be the principle of her social training; and, while fitting her for her duties, to the best of our power, it should not be concealed from her, that if she fulfils them properly, she will lead no life of pleasure, but one of perpetual self-surrender. In a less artificial state of society, a mother's duties are also her pleasures; but among us they will generally be more or less irksome. It used to be self-denial for a mother to leave her baby; the self-denial now is to stay with it. House-keeping and managing were amongst the enjoyments of life to a past generation; but ladies now are thankful to be spared them as much as possible, and only the conscientious perform them as they ought. Intellectual tastes and pursuits, and refined habits, undoubtedly, open to women new sources of enjoyment, but they add to the drudgery of daily life; and the higher mind must make efforts, worthy of itself, to accomplish those simple duties which come as naturally and pleasantly as possible to a lower type of woman. It is this which makes the self-indulgence of the present race of young ladies such a dismal prospect for their future. The remedy can only be supplied by the Catholic system; but, too often, the pretty side of this is selected, and the stern mortification which it prescribes is conveniently left in the background. Festivals are

much observed—but Fasts are totally neglected; Catholic services are thronged—but at convenient hours; and the Saints are honoured—while their asceticism is in no degree imitated. It is easier to indulge in talk (often indistinguishable from religious flirtation), than to make an honest confession; easier to confess than to lead the life of increasing self-denial, which prevents confession from degenerating into formality. Directors are often as much to blame as penitents. They easily accept statements that fasting is injurious to health, without taking care that its place is supplied by other mortifications. They are satisfied with the view that the conscience takes of its own sin in matters of self-indulgence, and allow the retention of all that is not sinful, though the professed theory is, that Christians should wean themselves from all that is not essential, or demanded by the duties of rank and station.

Self-indulgence is, of course, not the special characteristic of any school of theology; but it is not a ridiculous inconsistency, except for Catholics. The modern style of young lady does much more to bring contempt upon her creed than she is, perhaps, aware. Her extravagant dress, and professed admiration for those who wear hair shirts, and take vows of poverty; her parade of the Cross as an ornament, and avoidance of the faintest shade of the pain it typifies; her theoretical approval of virginity and celibacy, and her unconcealed attempts to entrap unwary clergy and others into marrying her; her late hours, her lounging chairs, her summers of croquet, and her winters of novel-reading, may be all legitimate enjoyments for those who regard the vigil, the discipline, and all voluntary endurance of pain, as relics of a cruel and superstitious religion. Let persons who believe luxury to be a positive advantage, enjoy it after their own fashion; but when those who profess a precisely opposite belief attempt to do so, they only make themselves ridiculous, and too often make their creed contemptible.

We cannot bring up our children in habits of enforced avoidance of all these things. Parents who in these days insist upon cold rooms and strict discipline; who banish novels and forbid croquet; who visit lounging with a fine, and combat lawlessness with a Draconic code, are but preparing for a most determined reaction when the time of independence comes. The great object in these matters is, so to bring up children that they will exercise *self*-control, without which all other control is worse than useless. It is this which the Catholic system gives us power to do; and it is this which is urgently needed, if our wives and mothers are not to sink into American demoralization.

The Confessional, too, in spite of the nonsense, and worse than nonsense, talked about it by those who have never been to confession in their lives, is a most invaluable element for good in the education of the young. Self-deceit is one of the most widely-spread evils of modern English religion. The mind fixes its attention on a certain conventional set of offences, avoids them, and is satisfied. Duties are fulfilled according to a similar code. But the chances of this partial and delusive practice are much less when the mind is constantly assisted by another to try itself by the Divine standard, and the excuses and subterfuges which seem so satisfactory to the unaided conscience, are dragged into the light of day, and their insufficiency exposed. The young mind, especially the girl's mind, struggling in self-formation, is apt to dwell upon a few details, and distort unconsciously rules of right and wrong, that seem perfectly clear and simple to minds that are come to maturity. Confession, as we constantly see, brings the true nature of the evil to light, and very probably, also, the hidden cause of the obliquity of vision. It is only in story-books that good girls go with these difficulties to "Mamma," and only in story-books that "Mamma" is prepared with half a page of metaphysics, which, after more or less unwillingness on the child's part (to make the account natural), results in conviction, and a suitable amount of maternal caresses. Apart from the Sacramental nature of Confession, its value in bringing the mind to try itself by one with a loftier and more complete standard of holiness, is very great. No mere friend, no mere conversation, could supply its place. The solemn adjuncts hinder all sentimentality; and the formal way in which sin after sin is stated, prevents the unnecessary additions which make Confession so much easier, and cause the sins to sound so much less contemptible and mean. Religious conversation, as such, and between comparative equals, would have many of the dangers popularly ascribed to the Confessional, and be very possibly unwholesome for girls. But, as all who have experience know, Confession is a practice that braces and strengthens the mind to encounter disagreeable truths, and to face disagreeable consequences; to see its own weaknesses and littleness; and to struggle more earnestly for the future, that it may never have such a miserable history of broken resolution and inexcusable failings to tell again; while the mere effort of frank acknowledgment under such circumstances is of itself a great help to amendment.

When we tell our faults to our fellow-Christians, if they are not insufferable people they comfort us and make excuses for us,

and tell us they are just as bad, really feeling that they are, so that we go away absolutely in good spirits about ourselves. A confessor does none of these things. He is not hearing sins as a sympathizing fellow-Christian, but officially. He listens in silence, comments with coolness, issues directions and prescribes penance with very unsentimental deliberation, sometimes helping the cowardly or comforting the desponding, but more often testing the reality of contrition, and concerned with remedies for the diseases shown to him. They know little of Confession who fancy it can minister, unless in very incompetent hands, to a young girl's vanity or love of attracting attention. Of course there are injudicious confessors, just as there are unskilful doctors; and in both cases we endeavour to obtain other advice for our daughters. There are also deceitful girls, who will tell lies to every one with whom they come in contact, their confessors inclusive. For such melancholy cases, it is difficult to find a satisfactory treatment on any system; but any thing almost is better than severity. They are generally, however, connected with some hidden, and, perhaps, subtle form of impurity, which can sometimes be brought to light, and some times will be stoutly denied, until, in obstinate cases, the mind gives way altogether. Hysteria is the natural result in the child when the parent disregards the unchangeable laws of married purity; and to hysteria, in the next generation, succeed insanity and other forms of nervous disease.

Confession has been, until lately, such an exceptional practice in England, that children who were brought to it would naturally feel themselves rather exalted above their companions, and inclined to think it a great action, in a way that would be hurtful to some. This is an objection which is rapidly disappearing; and there is no reason why it should now cause more fancied singularity than does the rite of Confirmation. The more completely it is regarded as a matter of course for all really religious people, the less will low motives of this kind be practically felt; and the morbid self-dissection and unhealthy introspection will be avoided, which some persons think a frequent instead of infrequent result of habitual Confession. The danger of formality is really a much greater one; but there is no religious exercise not open to the same peril. In Confession there is this safeguard—that our minds are not left alone without any check upon formality except that of conscience, as in other religious acts, but are brought to contrast themselves with what is often, and should be always, the fervour of a highly spiritual mind. Formal Confession is, of course, far

better than none, if only as giving opportunity for counsel and warning.

The danger of defilement to the mind by the interrogations that are supposed to be usual concerning sins of impurity, which is, in these days, dwelt upon *ad nauseam*, is entirely the work of uninformed, lively, and not altogether pure imaginations. It is not worth comment, except to remark in passing, that it betrays the state of the objectors' consciences more than they would like it to be supposed. Judging by themselves, they know what questions they would be likely to ask, if confessors; and what they would have to confess, if penitents. When English gentlemen, whether confessors or medical men, find themselves compelled to touch upon subjects of this description, they do so with perfect propriety, and without an unnecessary word. Christian gentlemen are at least as much the rule in the more sacred profession as in the other; and to one we may safely trust the souls, as to the other we trust the bodies of English ladies, whether old or young. Confessors much more commonly err the other way, and take it for granted that the penitent's silence means innocence, while they are only too glad to escape from touching upon any thing so painful to both parties. Low and immoral Priests would not be much sought after as confessors; and they do not abound in the Church of England. We hear occasionally of low and immoral doctors, but nevertheless we consult physicians when we need them.

There are, undoubtedly, some foolish girls, whose religion is the amusement or excitement of the hour, and who profess themselves anxious for clerical advice, that they may make themselves still more foolish by repeating it; or who delight in long conferences with some Priest, whom they insult by pretending to love. A little severity on the part of the clergy would soon annihilate such people; and it is a pity that it is not invariably exercised. But apart from these hypocrites and self-deceivers, silliness, in one form or other, is natural to all girls. Sometimes the finest characters go through its most provoking stages, and it is a phase of existence requiring a large margin of liberty. It comes at a time of life when childish trust and affection are going, and the reasonable and womanly love of home is not yet matured; when independence asserts itself with vehemence proportioned to the ignorance of real life, and when restraint is most galling and most dangerous. Parents must make up their minds to see much that will grieve them, but which, if not taken too much notice of, will come right in a few years. The more forcible the character is destined to be eventually, the

more true this will be found; but we believe there are few whom untiring affection and as little interference as possible will not eventually bring round, if a true standard of right and wrong has been presented from childhood. At this uncomfortable stage of life, a confessor can do far more than a parent, if he understands his business, and can be patient. He suggests, but cannot enforce, except by an appeal to the conscience; and he does not irritate the feverish impatience which is caused by an authority, whose advice can at any moment be turned into a vexatious command. Conscience, at this age, is far more likely to endorse advice which can be taken or left at pleasure; and it is of far more importance that what is right should be done *voluntarily*, than merely that it should be *done*. However, as at present the majority of English parents do not take their young people to Confession, it would be just as well if they knew a little better than they do know how to educate, so that their children may not embrace principles in precise opposition to those of their parents. Scepticism is the result of a creed repulsively enforced; and dissipation and extravagance are the natural consequences of a strictly ruled childhood. To dress our girls in marked opposition to the fashion, is precisely the way to secure in the end the largest development of crinoline, or chignon, or whatever absurdity may be uppermost at the time. The more the infant Closes and M'Neiles of the land are kept away from Ritualistic Services, the more they will want to go; and the more common sense is urged upon a juvenile "S. G. O." the more inclined will he be to look deeper for his religion. Young Catholics are as likely as not to become sceptics, if their faith is forced upon them, and its requirements made matters of obedience instead of free choice and willing acceptance.

On questions like these, and in the present day, it is not true that the example and remembrance of deeply venerated parents will eventually bring wanderers back to the faith of their childhood. We are in too progressive a state for any such anachronism as returning to any faith, as it was held half or a quarter of a century ago. No religious body among us has as yet fully worked out the conclusion of its own principles, and therefore, however much we may respect our parents, and our children may respect us, yet their faith will not be in any case exactly the same as ours. The utmost reverence for a mother whose only study was the Holy Scriptures, is quite consistent with the modern form of disbelief in Inspiration, which treats Revelation as a partially Divine philosophy; while those who held the old-fashioned, coarse unbelief, and disregarded even the decencies of life, would

naturally, when worn out, look back with regretful longing to the peaceful life and death of those whose teaching they had scorned, in defiance of the warnings of conscience. But now the child will remember, with love and admiration, the lives of its father and mother, without any misgivings that their path was truer than its own; so that we, in this generation, must be contented if we see our children, not exactly thinking with ourselves, but pushing our principles to their legitimate conclusions. We need to beware, lest stiffening—as we all more or less become rigid, on points which, in our time, were of the greatest importance—we become old-fashioned, and mistake inevitable changes for degenerate days. It is difficult to believe that our successors are as good as ourselves, but yet it may be true: it is possible that they may even be better than we have been, and be right where our best was imperfection or error.

Those will be the parents most loved and confided in, who have the power—if not of changing with their children—of watching them with sympathizing eyes, and criticizing as little as they can help. Even such will occasionally have the pain of seeing it their children's object to destroy what it was the work of their own lifetime to uphold; and the consciousness that such alienation has been produced by some mismanagement on the parents' side is a very bitter reflection. The suffering, as it regards ourselves, may be our penance for the failure in our duty, and so this evil may conduce to the perfecting of our own inner life. Its effects on others we must leave, knowing that all things are working towards the final victory of Truth, and that good comes out of apparent evil, as well as out of apparent good. As long as there is enough righteousness in the world to effect a reaction, God will take care that this shall always be.

A girl's religious leanings are in great danger of being swayed by her affections. She grows up easily in the system in which she is educated; but, it is no preservation against her falling in love with a man who is strongly opposed to all she has been taught; and the compromise she makes with her conscience, that she will retain her own faith and lead him in the same direction, generally ends either in adopting his religion, or becoming indifferent to all phases of it. A married woman will often adopt a new creed, if she falls under fresh influences, while her husband remains unmoved; but this is an entirely different matter, and depends upon a distinct set of causes.

The religion in which we educate our children, whatever it may be, has, in general, but a feeble hold over them till it has been buffeted and strengthened by the trials of life. Every

occasion, great and small, on which its power to comfort or sustain is tested, and in which it proves itself able to give a sense of triumph over evil, deepens its hold upon the soul, and it will be less lightly parted with. This clearly can only be imperfectly the case early in life, and any storm, especially that roused by the master-passion, will be liable to uproot it; but, if it endures this, it will, probably, endure every thing. From all points of view, the first bend of the womanly affections is an anxious time in a girl's life. It may be merely transitory; but it is so much in feminine nature to make the beloved object's opinion a standard of excellence, that likings and dislikings are formed almost unconsciously at this very plastic time of life, and they may have all the advantages or disadvantages of being either exalted or debased, as it may happen. This kind of hero-worship, for a man or a lad of no particular principle, is very likely to exercise a deteriorating influence on the girl, who thinks him perfect. If he is not devout, she straightway thinks there is no occasion for devotion; and the good qualities she fancies him to possess are exalted into the highest place among human virtues. Happily, she generally pictures an imaginary and perfect being, giving him the form and name of the hero for the time being; and perhaps she may never be disenchanted. Although these spasmodic love affairs are usually not of long duration, they influence the future character for good or for evil, and are in all ways symptoms which require watching. Modern books and modern precocity greatly antedate the time when such thoughts would naturally be entertained, and, of course, a good deal of extra silliness is the result. At any age, a girl's attachments must cause anxiety to her mother; and it is often difficult to draw the line between interference and non-interference, and to secure a daughter's confidence. If a girl believes her love-affair likely to be permitted or approved, she will easily be led to confide in her mother; but if she thinks it likely to be opposed, she will keep it to herself. It is not in real life that girls dutifully seek distasteful parental advice on such occasions, and abide by it. Unless positively forbidden, they go their own way, and not unfrequently do so in spite of all disapproval. Commands on such a subject are the strongest test by which filial obedience can be tried, and should only be resorted to from absolute necessity, however much disappointment and regret may be felt. It is, therefore, the more important to hinder undesirable attachments from being formed. At best, great risks must be run; and parents are to be congratulated when this feverish and restless season of life is over for their daughters, and the prospects

for their future are fair. But most of all to be congratulated are those whose children show unmistakable marks of a higher vocation, and freely give themselves exclusively to the only Love that can never fail or disappoint, with the joyous freedom that is not driven by dissatisfaction with the world to leave it, but which passes by untasted all that earth can offer. These are necessarily few; and in the same degree that they are to be envied, are those to be pitied who attempt to live a Sister's life without a distinct vocation, or with lives stained with grievous sin. Parents cannot make a greater mistake than to allow girlish enthusiasm to be hastily acted upon, to find, when it is too late, that a spiritual marriage without love is worse than an earthly one under the same unnatural conditions.

Although, to a great extent, it is natural that girls' thoughts should turn to love and marriage, and that they should desire to attract the admiration of some one who will fill the empty place in their hearts; yet, it is neither natural nor desirable that it should be the one absorbing subject in an intensely foolish form, as it is with some. There are those who can talk of nothing but their lovers, past, present, or to come, interspersed with descriptions of their own dresses and ornaments, or those of their neighbours, of the attention they have attracted, and of their dances and flirtations. It is the sum total of about as foolish and contemptible an existence as a girl's life can possibly be. It partly arises from the possession of a low and mean animal nature, but it is due also to defective education. Some power of caring for something reasonable there must be in every one; but we too often see the last compulsory lesson to be the last intellectual act of a girl's life; and, thenceforth, novel-reading and ornamental work will be her only voluntary occupations. When tired of these, she becomes dependent on external excitement; and unless parties or expeditions are every day arranged for her, "to pass away the time," as her unhappy phrase has it, she complains of dulness and weariness. The fault can seldom be all her own, but some blame must surely lie with those who have so taught her, that not one intelligent pursuit should retain any attraction. Women's tastes for art and science are seldom of any use to the world; they are, however, of the greatest possible use to themselves, not only as giving occupation and interest, but in carrying on the education of the mind, and teaching it to think and reason correctly.

It is easier to see the shortcomings of those around us, than to find the proper remedies; and, indeed, different characters require such very different treatment, that it is difficult to give

any rules of universal application. Some girls must be watched, and some should be trusted; trust, be it remembered, not being the same as neglect. There are mothers who know but little of their girls' occupations from morning till night, and term it "trusting" them; but it is not the kind of trust which calls forth an honourable response. The cultivation of a healthy and hardy bodily condition is an essential; but severe out-door exercise, and the imitation of masculine accomplishments, which correct sentimentalism and hysteria, also tend to foster the "fast" and unfeminine race of girls which appear to be the growth, as they are certainly the characteristic, of this age. To train the mind in habits of accurate thought, by studies that teach correct and unerring reasoning, is beneficial to the great majority; but it will also tend to destroy the softness which is one of woman's greatest charms. The same may be said of almost any recommendation. Truth-telling, practical usefulness, obedience, and the elegancies of life, all have a bad effect on some characters and under some circumstances, valuable as they are in themselves. The safest rule, perhaps, is to watch the disposition, and follow its natural bent, where it is possible, encouraging its good points rather than combating its faults, and drawing out talents instead of hammering at deficiencies. The Catholic Faith alone can be taught alike to all, and supplies, by its unflinching subdual of self from the highest motives, a living system, which can be adapted by each conscientious mind to its own circumstances, failings, aspirations, and necessities; and it will be found to contain the key to all that is lovely in woman, in the sight of man as well as in the sight of God.

"Non nobis nati." If this is true for man, much more surely is it true for woman, and should be the ground-work of her occupations. If she has not work for others at home, undoubtedly let her find it abroad, and count that day lost which, unless with rare exceptions, has been entirely spent upon self. "For others," does not necessarily mean for the poor. There are many who have not the gifts that qualify them for doing any good personally among the poor; but all women can do something, directly or indirectly. Some can teach, some can visit, some can nurse, some can work for them, all can show them sympathy. Ladies must necessarily have much to do with the lower orders as domestic servants; and therefore it is a great advantage if, when girls, they learn enough of servants' homes, and their troubles and difficulties, and habits of thought, to know how to deal with them when they come to be in a position of authority. "A poor person" is often an object of shrinking

and nervous dread, amounting to dislike, among the fastidious and selfish children of the upper classes. They do not know how to speak to the poor, or what to do with them, except give them money, or ask for their services; but a hearty and friendly intercourse, respectful on one side, and courteous without being patronizing on the other, is little known, in cities at all events; and it accounts for the estrangement of the poor from their worldly superiors. In the country it is often different. "The young squire," and "little miss," have been the objects of respectful fondness from their birth, in many a country village; and the friendship between "the young ladies at the great house," and various generations of school-girls, is as common a sight as it is a pretty one, and it is a very important part of the future mistress' training.

It has been suggested that all girls should be educated so that they may, if necessary, get their own living when they grow up, unless they are sure of independent fortunes. It certainly would be well if there could be some change from the invariable "going out as a governess," which is the resource of reduced or working ladies. Governesses are said to be divided into thorough ladies, who can teach nothing professionally; and those who have been trained to teach, and who are not refined. But the fact is, very few women are capable of earning their own bread by any profession or work for which a gentleman would like his daughter to be educated. We may have a few gifted authoresses here and there, or a tolerable artist; but to gain a living by these or any other pursuits would require, not only a long and devoted apprenticeship, but natural talents which are very rare. The great majority of women have not mind enough to make money by any thing that is not purely mechanical; and to turn them into even penny-a-liners, or third-rate painters in oil or water-colours, the real domestic training must be sacrificed. Marriage is a woman's natural profession, and any other life is, or should be, exceptional. When we have our due proportion of Sisters of Mercy for the population, and educate our girls so that wives cease to be luxuries too expensive for gentlemen with average incomes, we shall not need to force them into places in the social circle for which they were never made. Men will gladly work for "bread" (in its widest sense) for them, if they will only provide the mouths that are to eat it, and take care that it is not wasted, and that it is properly made. An unsentimental conclusion, perhaps, but "containing wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times."

A MOTHER.

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# Invocation of Saints and Angels.

FEW of those by whom my observations are likely to be read with indulgence doubt of the Intercession of the Saints. The doctrine is no less agreeable to human nature than clearly revealed in Holy Scripture. The whole Book of the Revelation is constructed upon the belief that the Saints at rest are intimately concerned in our victory over the powers of evil which surround us. The actual Worship which is continually going on includes the offering by the Redeemed in Heaven of the prayers of holy men on earth (Rev. v. 8). Indeed, if I were concerned to establish this point, I should simply have to show how all the Scriptures, subsequently to our LORD's ascension, recognize the intimate relation existing between the Church above and the Church below, and how universally it is assumed that we share the thoughts and prayers of those who have gone before us to join in the service which goes on unceasingly before the Throne of GOD.

I believe that none of the great English Divines deny the intimate relation between the Saints on earth and those in Heaven. The Catechisms in use in the various Scottish Dioceses all speak of the mutual prayers of the living and the departed, as a consequence of the Communion of Saints, and a lively instance of its practical results, *e. g.* that of Aberdeen: *Question*—"Does the Communion of Saints extend to the other world?" *Answer*—"Yes; the Church upon earth and the Church in Paradise communicate together by mutually praying for each other." And in their proposals for union with the Eastern Patriarchs (A.D. 1716—25), the British Bishops go even further, and admit, not merely, as here, a general interest as existing between the Church at rest and that on earth, but a close personal regard on the part of Angels and Saints for each individual. "We believe that both Saints and Angels have joy in the conversion of one sinner, and in the progress of a Christian; and we desire to unite with them in spirit."

This will be admitted to be an absolutely inevitable deduction from the previous statement, that the prayers of holy men on earth are presented before the Altar in Heaven by the perfected souls of men. And it may well, therefore, be asked, "Why should

not I ask my fellow-men, now perfected, to pray for me, as I ask for the prayers of those who, however good, are, here on earth, in an imperfect state?" On grounds of pure reason, no reply can be given to this question; because we grant, 1st, That the Saints have a knowledge of our wants, else could they not present our supplications. 2nd. That their knowledge of us is personal and individual, because each has the prayers of certain Saints or Christian men in his own censer, while the Angel who stands at the Golden Altar offers those of *all* Saints (Rev. v. 8, and viii. 3). The only ground on which we can suppose this distinction to be maintained, is that our Blessed LORD, as the Priest, there offers for the whole Church, and for every individual within it, whilst the Elders offer only for those in whom they have some special interest—into the reasons of which it is not my intention to enter. But if, as seems probable, those prayers which proceed first through the censers of the Saints into that of the Angel, are winged on their way by the medium of presentation, it is difficult to see on what ground of Reason we should be forbidden to ask any special Saint thus to add efficacy to our own supplications. And, indeed, no direct answer can be given to the reasonableness of the practice thus stated, except by denying, what is very evidently implied, the knowledge by the Saints in Heaven of the wants of their votaries on earth.

An indirect objection, however, is taken to it; and those who do object shall state, in the words of Hooker, the grounds on which their dislike to it rests (*Sermon* vii. p. 701. Keble's Ed.):—

"Against Invocation of any other than GOD alone, if all arguments else should fail, the number whereof is both great and forcible, yet this very bar and single challenge might suffice: that whereas GOD hath in Scripture delivered us so many patterns for imitation, when we pray, yea, framed ready to our hands in a manner all, for suits and supplications, which our condition of life on earth may at any time need, there is not one to be found directed unto Angels, Saints, or any, saving GOD alone. So that, if in such cases as this we hold it safest to be led by the best examples that have gone before, when we see what Noah, what Abraham, what Moses, what David, what Daniel, and the rest did; what form of prayer CHRIST Himself likewise taught His Church, and what His blessed Apostles did practise; who can doubt but the way for us to pray, so as we may undoubtedly be accepted, is by conforming our prayers to theirs, whose supplications we know were acceptable?"

Admitting the actual certainty that the fact is as here stated, though something might be urged against the sweeping nature of

the assertion[1], it may be answered that if Revelation has laid down such premises as inevitably lead to a certain conclusion, a negative argument of this sort can possess very slight claims to our attention. There may be many reasons why the Invocation of Saints should be rather left to develope itself from certain principles accurately stated and laid down, than inculcated as a duty to be carried out under all circumstances, and in spite of all opposing considerations. An argument *à silentio* can never for an instant stand against an opposite one deduced from well-established principles.

But though this sort of argument is of small weight, there are indeed weighty objections which we must face, if we would argue fairly in this matter. There is no doubt that in the first ages, whatever may have been the practice of individuals, invocations were not used in the public services. Bishop Hall[2] says that, "until almost 500 years after CHRIST, the practice was not in any sort admitted into the public service. It will be easily granted that the Blessed Virgin is the prime of all Saints; neither could it be other than injurious that any other of that heavenly society should have precedence of her. Now, the first that brought her name into the public devotions of the Greek Church is noted by Nicephorus to be Petrus Gnapheus, or Fullo, a Presbyter of Bithynia, afterwards the usurper of the See of Antioch, much about 470 years after CHRIST; who (though a branded heretic) found out a few things (saith he) very useful and beneficial to the Catholic Church; whereof the last was (*ut in omni precatione, &c.*) that in every prayer the Mother of GOD should be named, and her divine name called upon. And as for the Latin Church, we hear no news of this Invocation in the public Litanies till Gregory's time, about some 130 years after the former. And in the meantime some Fathers speak of it fearfully and doubtfully. Others of the Fathers have let fall speeches directly bent against this Invocation."

So far for the public Invocation of Saints. As to the private

[1] Thus Exod. xxvii. 13. Moses begs the Almighty to "remember Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," which, though not a prayer to them, is a prayer reciting their names, to give efficacy to his prayer. Vide also Solomon's intercession by the name of David (Psalm cxxxii. 1. 10). From these and similar passages of the Old Testament, Thorndike (*Epilogue* iii., ch. xxxi., § 17) concludes: "For, as our Saviour argueth well, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are alive, and shall rise again, because God is not the God of the dead, so is the consequence as good, that what God doth for their sakes, He doth it for their mediation or intercession; unless He means to set that on their score, which they desire not at His hands."

[2] *The Old Religion*, c. 14, "The Newness of the Romish Invocation of Saints."

practice of Invocation, the Bishop of Brechin, who has kindly supplied me with the proof-sheets of his forthcoming volume on the Thirty-nine Articles, says, "It is true that no instance can be quoted before the Council of Nicæa, except the case related by S. Gregory Nazianzen, out of Acts, undoubtedly Apocryphal, 'how Justina, fleeing the assault of Cyprian the Magician (whom these acts confounded with the great African Father and Martyr before his conversion) abandoning all other hope, fled to GOD for refuge, and took as her Defender against that accursed passion Him to Whom she was betrothed'; and after many such prayers, 'besought the Virgin Mary to aid a virgin in danger.' Yet it cannot be doubted that, in the latter part of the fourth century, the great Fathers, who received and transmitted the faith, practised it and taught it." (Vol. ii., p. 404.)

It ought, perhaps, to be here added, that SS. Basil and the two Gregories had introduced, into sermons delivered in Church, about the year 370 A.D., rhetorical apostrophes. Thus S. Gregory Nazianzen invokes S. Cyprian:—"Mayest thou look down from above propitiously upon us, and guide our word and life; and shepherd, or shepherd with me, this sacred flock, amongst other things directing to what is best, and driving away the fierce wolves, and the hunters after syllables and words, and gladdening us with a more perfect and clear illumination of the Holy TRINITY, before Whom thou ever standest" (*De S. Cypriano*). So S. Gregory, of Nyssa:—"Do thou (S. Ephrem) that art standing at the Divine Altar, and art ministering with Angels to the Life-giving and Most Holy TRINITY, bear us all in remembrance, petitioning for us the remission of sins, and the fruition of an Everlasting Kingdom" (*Life of S. Ephrem*). S. Basil thus expressly speaks of a custom:—"The afflicted flies unto the Forty (Martyrs), the gladdened runs unto the same, the former to find deliverance from his troubles, the latter that his more fortunate lot may be continued unto him. There the pious mother is found praying for her children, supplicating for her husband on his journey, health for him when afflicted with sickness. Let your prayers be with the Martyrs. Let the young imitate their compeers; fathers, pray to be the parents of sons like these; mothers, learn to copy the pattern of that good mother . . . O holy choir! O sacred band! O unbroken host of warriors! O common guardians of the human race! Ye gracious sharers of our cares; ye co-operators in our prayer; most powerful intercessors, stars of the universe; flowers of the Churches" (*Homily on Forty Martyrs*). This last extract is especially valuable, and will be hereafter alluded to.

The absence of Invocation, however, from the early Liturgies, and equally from the early writings of the Fathers is, whatever we may say to it, a very formidable objection; and, if we could not account for it, would be fatal to the practice. But a little consideration will serve to explain what, at first sight, seems so strange, and to vindicate the wisdom of GOD in leaving the practice to win its way by its own intrinsic reasonableness from the principles recognized in Holy Writ. For, consider the state of the world during the early age of Christianity. The Homily on the peril of Idolatry warns us how "Terentius Varro showeth that there were three hundred Jupiters in his time; there were no fewer Venuses and Dianæ . . . . Œnomaus and Hesiodus show that in their time there were thirty thousand gods." We may suppose that in this number were included heroes and demi-gods. And, when we consider what the state of the public mind must have been, habituated as it was to this state of things, we may well imagine the care which the early teachers of Christian doctrine would take, lest the pure well of truth should become polluted by admixture with this plenteous source of contamination. Reflecting men will see, in the violent disputes respecting the Blessed TRINITY, the Consubstantiality of the SON, and the Personality of the HOLY GHOST, something of the overruling of Divine Providence in fixing men's minds so long and intently on these questions. They will admit that here was a counteracting influence to the Pagan polytheism and to the immoral Pantheism which resulted from it. And it is not a little significant that, as soon as the Unity of the GODHEAD had been successfully vindicated against the Gnostic Demiurge, and countless Œons; and the Trinity of PERSONS against the Sabellians and Arians—then, when there was no longer any danger of Pantheism, or of reducing the Second PERSON of the Blessed TRINITY to a Hero, or the HOLY SPIRIT to an Influence, the long pent-up feeling of Christians burst forth, and the Saints received fitting honour, and were invoked with a holy boldness which argues the full conviction in the minds of their votaries of the consistency of the practice with the principles of the Christian faith.

But the minds of Christian men had been long preparing for this development. "He that could wish," says Thorndike (*Epilogue* iii., chap. xxxi., § 15), "that the memories of the Martyrs, and other Saints, who lived so as to assure the Church that they would have been Martyrs had they been called to it, had not been honoured, as it is plain they were honoured by Christians, must find in his heart, by consequence, to wish that Christianity

had not prevailed. For this honour, depending on nothing but the assurance of their happiness in them that remained alive, was that which moved unbelievers to bethink themselves of the reason they had to be Christians. What then were those honours? Reverence in preserving the remains of their bodies, and burying them; celebrating the remembrance of their agonies every year; assembling themselves at their monuments; making the days of their death festivals, the places of their burial Churches; building and consecrating Churches to the service of God, in remembrance of them: I will add further (for the custom seemeth to come from undefiled Christianity), burying the remains of their bodies under the stones upon which the Eucharist was celebrated. What was there in all this but Christianity? That the circumstances of God's service, which no law of God had limited, the time, the place, the occasion of assembling for the service of God (always acceptable to God), should be determined by such glorious accidents for Christianity, as the departure of those who had thus concluded their race. What can be so properly counted the reign of the Saints and Martyrs with Christ, which S. John foretelleth (Apoc. xx.), as this honour, when it came to trample Paganism under foot, after the conversion of Constantine? Certainly, nothing can be named so correspondent to the honour which is prophesied for them that suffered for God's law under Antiochus Epiphanes (Dan. xii.). Is not all this, however, properly derivative from the honour of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and relative to His service? For that is the work for which Christians assemble; and for those assemblies the Church stands, as I have often said; the honour of the Saints, but the occasion, circumstance, or furniture of it."

All this had been going on for three centuries and more. Nor is that all. The Catacombs have revealed to us the common life and sentiments of the Christian people of Rome during the early ages of Christianity. And furthermore, those writers who refer to questions bearing upon the regard in which the Saints and Angels were held, not only do not say any thing contrary to what we know by the name of Invocation, but they uniformly speak in terms of love and devotion of them; they seek to associate them with their prayers, and show that jealousy for God's honour alone restrained them from expressing in full the reverence which they felt. Thus, in the affecting narrative of the martyrdom of S. Ignatius, the personal friend of the Apostles SS. Peter and John, which took place on the 20th December, A.D. 106, we read in the letter which those who witnessed the scene wrote to those

who remained in Antioch, as follows. After describing the trying scenes of the day, they add:—"For a little time we reposed in sleep, and, on our doing so, some of us presently saw him leaning over and embracing us; others saw our blessed Ignatius praying over us, as he had previously been doing; while to others he appeared with the marks of recent struggles and exertions upon him, but now come up, and standing before his LORD, his labours over, and rejoicing with exceeding gladness. After comparing the visions which thus presented themselves in our dreams, we sang a hymn to GOD, the Giver of all good, and uttered the language of benediction over the departed Saint.

"And now we make known to you the day and time at which this event occurred; that at the season of his martyrdom we may gather together, and collect a portion of the spirit which animated this courageous champion and Martyr of CHRIST, who trod down Satan beneath his feet, and finished, according to his hope, his career of love and zeal through JESUS CHRIST our LORD, to Whom, with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, be glory and power throughout all ages. Amen."

It will be said this falls very far short of such prayers as "Deliver us through Thy merits," or even "Pray for us;" nay, even from those prayers addressed to Almighty GOD, in which He is asked to allow the petitions of the Saints in our favour. I admit it to be different from each and all of these. It is, in fact, the description of persons highly inflamed with love to the glorious Martyr whose noble bearing they had just witnessed, anticipating the glories that awaited him; and associating themselves with him whom they felt to be present, though removed from them in the body. But, then, I also see how this feeling would lead persons at length to more definite acts of honour and love, whilst I cannot conceive the Protestant way of regarding Saints to lead to any acts whatsoever. Call the common practice of Invocation, if you will, an abuse; we can, at any rate, understand the origin of it. It springs from a right feeling. But can the common way of thinking and speaking of Saints among Protestants be founded in any natural or proper feeling? Though zeal for GOD may be the assigned motive, we cannot believe that GOD is honoured by dishonour heaped upon those of whom He has made choice to follow more closely than others the footsteps of the Beloved.

But let us examine the testimony of the Catacombs on this question. A large number of inscriptions, doubtless, are referable to deep feeling exalted by religion, and are not to be pressed on to render up strictly doctrinal results. As such we may regard

many of those inscriptions which Dr. Rock has adduced, and which certainly go no further than very fervent Protestants will frequently go in their expressions, though, owing to the controversy that has been maintained on the question, they will abstain from saying in writing what they do not hesitate to express with the lips. Thus the words: "O, Sabbatius, sweet soul, petition and pray for thy companions;" "O, Atticus, thy spirit is in bliss; pray for thy parents." "Anatolius raised this to his well-deserving son, who lived seven years, seven months, twenty days: May thy spirit rest in GOD; and do thou pray for thy sister." These, and many of a like kind, merely witness to that inextinguishable feeling in the human mind, that death does not separate us from those who go before us. Christianity, by its clear revelation on this head, has given us certainty, where before there was nothing but natural feeling and probable conjecture to guide mankind. Still, addresses of this nature to a departed relative cannot be cited to prove a doctrine of such importance as this.

More to the purpose are those which are cited by Dr. Northcote, in his little work, *The Roman Catacombs*. "Rufa, subject and affable to all, shall live in the name of Peter, in the Peace of CHRIST." Or again, "Mayest thou live in the name of Laurence." These examples clearly imply the idea of Patronage. But they are not very early—neither probably before the middle of the fourth century; and certainly the following cannot be assigned to an earlier date. "We, Crescentinus and Micina, commend to thee, S. Basilla, our daughter Crescentina, who lived ten months and . . . days." But still these are imperfect, as proving the dogma of Invocation of *Saints*. We find, as Dr. Northcote informs us, similar invocations to the dead, although certainly not Saints, begging their prayers and patronage. And he cites a passage from the Christian poet, Prudentius, well illustrating the practice as well as the tone of feeling of his day—the end of the fourth century. A mother is addressing her son, on the eve of his martyrdom. This she does in these terms: "Farewell, my sweetest son: and when thou shalt have entered the blessedness of CHRIST's Kingdom, remember thy mother; being then my patron, as thou art now my son." The martyrdom, she might imagine, would make her child a Saint; but, taken with the inscriptions which so commonly occur, it would seem to indicate nothing more than that every just Christian person might, after his departure, become the patron of any other Christian who asked his prayers; just as any righteous man on earth might be asked for, and would grant, his prayers on behalf

of his petitioner. Thus we read: "Aurelius Agapetus and Aurelia Felicissima to their most excellent foster-child Felicitas, who lived thirty-six years; and pray for your husband, Celsinianus[1]." Nor were these inscriptions simply the productions of the unlearned and illiterate. Pope Damasus, of the same age—the latter end of the fourth century—placed an inscription on the tomb of S. Agnes, which may yet be seen: "I pray, O noble Martyr, that thou wilt favourably hear the prayers of Damasus." In a very similar strain he pens his epitaph on his sister Irene. "Remember me, O Virgin, that by GOD's help thy torch may give me light." (Northcote's *Roman Catacombs*, chap. x., 2nd Ed.)

These instances will perhaps serve to illustrate the growth of Invocation; for, after the period at which we are now arrived, there is really no further difficulty in tracing the consolidation of the floating custom and its habitual practice. The doctrine on which a custom rests is different from the dogma which defines and limits that doctrine. The Church, when called upon to act dogmatically, defines or limits a doctrine, which before that time has declared itself by various, and sometimes inconsistent practice. Before the Church thinks good to interfere, her great doctors may teach diversely on the point. She comes in with her infallible dicta, to prune away over-luxuriance, or to confirm a healthy faith. Protestants, because of their utter misunderstanding of the Church's true authority, are apt to mistake a dogmatic declaration of a doctrine for its first existence. We are all familiar with those short lists of dates whereby all "Romanist errors" are, in a compendious form, condemned by the lateness of their introduction. Worship of Saints, A.D. ——, Worship of Relics, A.D. ——, Worship of the Host, A.D. ——, Purgatory, A.D. ——, Indulgences, A.D. ——, Transubstantiation, A.D. ——, &c. &c. If people would take the trouble to give the matter thought, they might perchance come to consider that the very easiness of all this is the greatest argument for its

[1] My inability to get a copy of Count de Rossi's *Inscriptiones* has obliged me to use Dr. Northcote's little book. For my purpose the exact date is of some importance. Dr. Northcote, however, does not pronounce on any of those inscriptions I have quoted from him. He states generally that the inscriptions in the Catacombs range from the end of the First Century to the beginning of the Fifth. De Rossi does not give any of these quoted in his first volume, the only one yet published, containing only such as are rendered certain by the names of the Consuls, or the year of the Indiction. The only indication of a date is from the occurrence of the name of S. Basilla, who was martyred under Diocletian, A.D. 303. The inscription with her name could not be earlier, and is, perhaps, very much later, than that date.

untruth. Controverted points cannot be settled in a line. An Ecclesiastical decision implies a long list of *pros* and *cons;* and the *pros* are as likely to be right as the *cons*. The fact of a decision being made at a given time presupposes long previous practice, which the Church steps in with her authority to confirm or to condemn, at a given period. To people who argue in the way I have described, it may seem incredible that an Apostolic precept should require the confirmation of the Church 1500 years after the last of the Apostles died. But here again it is needful to distinguish. The great Tradition—the Apostolic Faith—was embodied in certain primary articles which formed the Depositum. But the Creeds cannot, by the very nature of the case, embody in precise terms all that results from those few essential articles which they do embody. For example, the logical result of the Second PERSON of the Ever-Blessed TRINITY having taken flesh in the womb of our Lady, is that she is Theotokos—the Mother of GOD. And yet, men stumbled at this which is to us so very plain. Obvious as this truth is to any one who holds the doctrine of the Incarnation, it yet required a dogmatic decision to rule it to be the truth. No one will say that the Apostles and first teachers inculcated the dogma of the Theotokos. But we say it was implied in what they taught, and at the proper time the Church decided that it was to be confessed. If, therefore, I have now to show teaching not always uniform on the part of the Fathers and Provincial Councils of the Church in regard to the doctrine of Invocation of Saints and Angels, this need not occasion any surprise; because it is not given to individuals, nor to local synods, to be always strictly logical and consistent with themselves, or with one another.

The great leading doctrine upon which Invocation has its basis is that of the Communion of Saints. The Catholic Church is a spiritual society; that is to say, it has to do with man in his spiritual relations. Those relations, by the very force of the term, transcend the bounds of this earth, and can only be fully realized elsewhere. Man, then, when admitted into the Church, is brought into actual spiritual contact, not with GOD alone, but with the whole spiritual world, either for his weal or for his woe. No man, starting from these premises, can entertain a reasonable doubt, that those who are parted from us by the narrow stream of death, are still one with us in all that truly belongs to us. And the whole early Church was impregnated with this spiritual consciousness. The Saints were ever near to them, the Angels were close beside them, as having special charge from our Blessed

LORD Himself to watch over the baptized. S. Ignatius regards his death, and departure hence to be with his LORD, as a sort of sacrifice deriving its efficacy from that of his Divine Master. "My spirit be your expiation," he says, "not now only, but when I shall have attained to GOD" (*Ep. ad Trall.*); by which I suppose the Saint to mean, that as the sacrifice was not complete till carried within the veil, so might it be in his case. Might it then become truly expiatory! "Through GOD's mercy, the perfect Christian is the equal of Angels, and praises GOD with them," in the language of Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, l. vii.). "Not only the High Priest (our LORD) above prays for those who pray sincerely, but also the 'Angels who rejoice in Heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, who need no repentance,' as also the souls of the Saints who have already fallen asleep. . . . . One of the principal virtues, according to the Divine Word, is charity towards our neighbour, which we must needs think is felt by the departed Saints towards those who are struggling in this life, more exceedingly than by those who are yet in human infirmity, and are but struggling together with those who need aid." (Origen *de Orat.* n. xi.). Or again—"For as those who, according to the Law of Moses, assisted at the Altar, seemed, through the blood of oxen and of goats, to minister remission of sins, so the souls of those who, for the sake of the testimony of JESUS, have been smitten with the sword, do not stand in vain at the Altar in the Heavens, ministering, to those who pray, remission of sins." (Ibid. *Exhort. ad Martyr.* n. 30.) It is needless to quote more largely from this Father, whose writings are full of similar sentiments. So, too, are those of S. Cyprian, S. Dionysius of Alexandria, and S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, all of whom are writers of the third century.

The first writer (so far as I have been able to discover) who indulges in an *indirect* Invocation, is Eusebius, in his comment on Psalm lxxviii. (lxxix.) 9. "We are instructed to use these words in our prayers during the time of persecution, instead of sacrifices and whole burnt-offerings, setting before Him the blood of the holy Martyrs, and raising up to Him such supplications as these. . . . . We, indeed, have not been found worthy to struggle even unto death, nor to empty our blood for GOD; but, since we are the sons of those who have endured those things, being made venerable by the virtue of our fathers, we pray to find mercy through them. And therefore do we say, *Protect the children of the slain.*" This is evidently a gloss upon a form of prayer derived from the days of martyrdom. Bellarmine, indeed, quotes

Eusebius (*Præparat. Evan.* lib. xiii. c. 11) as saying that we make our prayers to them. The learned Cardinal, however, in his zeal for the antiquity of Invocation in the direct form, apparently only looked at the Latin parallel translation; for the Greek only says, "It is our custom to resort to their tombs, and at them to make our prayers in honour of their blessed souls, who have been made worthy of such things from us." Bellarmine gives three quotations, as from S. Athanasius. The treatise, however, from which he cites these expressions is now admitted not to be the work of S. Athanasius, but to have been put forth after the Monothelite heresy had been broached. S. Hilary has much to say of the guardianship of Angels, and of the protection of the Apostles, Patriarchs, and Prophets; but not one word that I can see of our invoking them. The earliest instance of *direct* Invocation appears in the invective of S. Gregory Nazianzen against Julian, A.D. 364, but still it will be seen with a *caveat*, "Hear, O soul of Constantine the Great (if thou canst perceive), and as many souls of Kings before him as were lovers of CHRIST." In many of his addresses, however, he directly invokes the Saints without any such *caveat*, *e.g.*, "Do thou (S. Athanasius) look down from above propitiously upon us, and guide this people to be perfect adorers of the Holy TRINITY; and, if the times be peaceful, preserve us, and guard the flock with me; but if troubled, withdraw us, and take us to thee, and place us with thee and those like thee, though great is what is asked for." (*In laud. S. Athanasii.*) The other S. Gregory, he of Nyssa, is still more decisive on the point of direct Invocation. In his life of S. Ephrem, he gives the history of a traveller who, being very sorely beset amidst a hostile people, exclaimed, "'Holy Ephrem, help me;' then he, uninjured, surmounted the difficulties in which he was placed, despised his fears, and, beyond expectation, obtained safety, and was restored to his country, protected by thy foreknowledge."

It would be merely to multiply proof needlessly, were I to quote what S. Basil and S. Epiphanius say on the subject. The whole Church, indeed, from this time, East and West, Syria and Macedonia, as well as Italy and Carthage, supply us with innumerable examples of the same practice. The whole world now began to seek protection from the prayers of the Saints, by direct Invocation, as had been done from the very first, by assembling round their tombs, and in every way associating themselves with them, by reverence to their relics, and offering the Holy Sacrifice in places which had been consecrated by their presence. Some, as S. Hilary, S. James of Nisibis, &c., seem to have been more especially devoted to the consideration of the guardianship

of Angels: but, naturally, the Saints occupy the first thoughts in the minds of Christians; for the Saints were CHRIST's followers, and their holiness was all derived from His sacred Humanity. S. Jerome is said to have paved the way for the introduction of Saints' names into Litanies by having translated into Latin the Martyrology of Eusebius in order to carry out the recommendation of Theodosius, to commemorate every day at the Altar the Saint whose day it was. Very likely, indeed, direct Invocation gained a considerable impetus hereby, though it seems almost certain that Invocations did not find their way into the Offices and Missals of the Church till some time after S. Jerome's death. Commemorations there had probably been from the first, and a recognition of the doctrine of the Intercession of the Saints; for these were elements of the very earliest Christian belief. But, writers have assigned the introduction of Invocation to the latter half of the Fifth Century. The historian Nicephorus attributes the admission of such prayers into the Church Services to Peter Fullo, the Patriarch of Antioch, A.D. 470. Nicephorus lived so long after the event that he is probably mistaken. Moreover, his words show that he was not himself quite assured of the fact. "For they say," he remarks, "that Peter the Fuller devised these [four] most excellent observances for the Catholic Church . . . . that in every prayer the Theotokos should be named, and her divine name invoked." Whether or not the Eutychian Bishop was the introducer of this custom may, at any rate, admit of question; though it is true that the conservative tendencies of the Church have frequently demanded the lessons of heresy and schism to make her correct existing abuses or adopt salutary reforms; still the date is, doubtless, correct. Direct Invocations, we may conclude, were admitted into the Church's Services some short time subsequent to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.

It will, perhaps, be objected, that, in giving this short historical narrative, I have not allowed full weight to particular expressions in some of the Fathers, which would seem to show that the practice of Invocation is earlier than I feel able to admit. I have, I believe, examined every expression, over which much useless ink would seem to have been shed, in past times. I will merely quote the passage from S. Irenæus as a sample of the rest. He says, "As Eve, through the discourse of an Angel, was seduced so as to flee from GOD, having transgressed His word; so also Mary, through the discourse of an Angel, had the good news imparted to her, so as to bear GOD, being obedient to His word. And as Eve was seduced, so as to

flee from GOD, so the other was persuaded to obey GOD, that the Virgin Mary might become the Advocate of the virgin Eve. And, as the human race was bound to death by a virgin, it is saved through a Virgin; the scales being equally balanced, virginal disobedience by Virginal obedience" (lib. v., chap. xix.). The passage is plain enough, and need cause no perplexity. The argument is put in fewer words in lib. iii. chap. xxxiii. "For so the knot of Eve's disobedience was untied by Mary's obedience. For what the virgin Eve bound by her lack of faith that Mary loosed by her faith." The faith and obedience of the one are set against the faithlessness and disobedience of the other. Had not the word *Advocate* been introduced into the former of these passages, there never would have been any question raised; and the absurdity is heightened by the fact that we really are ignorant of the word used by S. Irenæus! We have here to rely on the Latin translation. Then, too, we look at the word through its modern application. There is no trace in that age of the system of patronage, as that system came afterwards to be understood. We must construe the word by ideas then commonly received. The Blessed Virgin is advocate for Eve, in that, through her obedience, she, in common with all her posterity, has been redeemed. (*Vide* Grabe *in loco.*)

But, it may be asked, Did the Church take no action whatever in all these four centuries and a half, during which the doctrine was thus practically working up to its full development? I do not suppose the Church would have interfered at all, had it not been to correct a great error which had crept in and become common in Pisidia, and other districts of Asia Minor. The Council of Laodicea, convened five years before that of Nice, in its Thirty-fifth Canon decrees, that "It is not fitting that Christians should leave the Church of GOD, and go away and name Angels and make conventicles, which are known to be forbidden; if, therefore, any one shall be found serving this hidden idolatry, let him be *anathema,* because he has left our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the SON OF GOD, and has given himself over to idolatry." From Theodoret, we get an account of the error here condemned. He tells us that the error was of old standing in those parts; and that, even in his day—more than a century after the Council—oratories to S. Michael might be seen there. The notion was that the GOD of Heaven and Earth was too great to be approached, save through the mediation of Angels. S. Paul is said to have had this error before him when he spoke of a "voluntary humility and worshipping of Angels." Since these then enjoined the worship of Angels, the Apostle

enjoined the opposite, "that they should adorn both their words and works by the remembrance of CHRIST the LORD; and offer their thanksgivings to GOD the FATHER, through Him, not through the Angels. Following this law, the Synod which was held at Laodicea, and wishing to cure that ancient error, enacted that no one should pray to the Angels, nor leave our LORD JESUS CHRIST." (*Ad. Col.* iii. 18.) We see thus the error which was condemned. JESUS CHRIST is the sole Mediator between GOD and Man. The more theological writers all contend that, if this title is ever given to any creature, it is only so applied improperly. There is, and can be only One Mediator for Christian men. These Phrygians had made many, and therein had departed from our LORD, and introduced a heresy; so careful was the Church of these times to guard our Divine LORD'S honour, and to discountenance false teaching.

These were not the only persons, however, who went wrong. "First in Thrace," says Mr. Bright, in his *History of the Church* (p. 158), "and then among the women in Arabia, there grew up the custom of placing cakes (*collyrides*) on a stool covered with linen, offering them up to S. Mary, and so eating them as sacrificial food. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, who about this time began his great work against heresies, severely condemned these two extremes (the Apollinarians and Collyridians). He denounced those who denied CHRIST'S Mother to be Ever-Virgin as 'Antidicomarians'—adversaries of Mary, who deprived her of 'honour' due; but he insisted that, according to the essential principles of Christianity, 'worship' was due to the TRINITY alone." Apollonaris lived during the latter half of the Fourth Century.

And yet again, S. Jerome has to defend the practice of the Church against Vigilantius. The Saint attacks the heretic with great bitterness, which, were not the writer S. Jerome, might certainly argue a bad cause. Evidently abuses had sprung up from the concourse of people round the tombs of the Martyrs; and from this circumstance Vigilantius takes occasion violently to attack the doctrine on which such a practice could alone be defended. With the usual want of reverence in a heretic, we learn that he derided the custom in some such terms as these:—"The Martyrs' souls love their ashes, and hover round them, and are always present, lest perchance some suppliant should come whom they could not hear as being absent." With true Hieronymian strength of invective, the Saint, taking this passage, begins: "From thy sink of a breast, vomiting up muddy pollutions, thou darest to say."—the words already quoted. And yet

S. Jerome confesses that those women who lighted candles in honour of the Saints had a zeal of God, "not according to knowledge." The Church, since that time, has certainly changed its mind on that matter. But the passage is valuable, as showing how jealously the Fathers of the Church in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries guarded the sole honour of Almighty God. This is still further illustrated by a decree of the Fifth Council of Carthage, held A.D. 398, which says—"It has seemed good that the Altars which are erected in various places about the fields and roads, as though dedicated to the memory of the Martyrs, wherein it is proved that there is no body nor relic of the Martyrs, be, if it be possible, overturned by the Bishops who preside over those same places. But if this, on account of tumults of the people, is not suffered to be done, let the people at least be admonished not to frequent those places; that so they that think rightly may not be held bound there by any superstition. And, as a general rule, let no place be accounted to be, with any probability, dedicated to a Martyr, unless there be there a body, or some undoubted relics, or where the origin of a dwelling-place or possession or passion has been transmitted from a most trustworthy source. For those Altars, which, through dreams and the idle so-called revelations of any sort of person, are anywhere erected, are to be, by all means, reprobated." (*Canon* xiv. *apud* Labbé.)

Notwithstanding very similar prohibitions of the Council of Trent, the tendency of the day is to regard a demand of satisfactory evidence as savouring of Rationalism. Let any one examine the evidence upon which the profitable imposture of La Salette rests, and he would have no doubt whether, in accordance with the decree of this Council, the place should be destroyed. False shrines bring discredit upon true ones; and not even age can render a falsehood venerable. How much less respectable, then, is one so newly coined?

Superstition is like Religion; but it is, after all, merely the Devil's counterfeit. Optatus will tell us (*De Schism. Donatist.* lib. iii., 16), that the Donatist schism was not a little owing to the anger of Lucilla, a devotee, who was reproved by Cæcilianus, a deacon of Carthage, for kissing some very questionable relics before the participation of the Holy Eucharist; and, on that account, did all she could do with her money, for she was wealthy, to raise a faction against him on his being appointed Bishop. And, indeed, S. Augustine, who most earnestly approved of the Invocation of Saints, and of reverence to be paid to relics and holy places, was fully aware of the corruption which it was necessary to guard against. "I know," he says, "many who

are adorers of tombs and pictures. I know many who drink most luxuriously over the dead; and, spreading banquets over corpses, bury themselves upon the dead, and then lay the charge of the gourmandizing and drunkenness to Religion." (*De Morib. Eccl. Cathol.* xxxiv., § 75.)

But, after all that may be said, the abuse of a practice is no valid argument against its due and proper use. The Church, in all ages, has sought to counteract these dangers, at any rate, by her decrees, though it is greatly to be feared that her provisions have been very weakly carried out. Most persons will agree with the dictum of Dr. Newman, that every religion, when it comes into the hands of the populace, will be corrupted and vulgarized. All that we have a right to expect is that the authorities shall not lend themselves to assist in the process. That the age is unbelieving is no reason for tolerating those abuses which, popular with the masses, necessarily alienate those who are more reflecting. Cæcilianus might find, in the neighbouring country of Belgium, much which would excite his anger. If now alive, he would see in every considerable church in that kingdom a large shrine, surmounted by a figure, railed round, and placed at the bottom of the choir steps, with hundreds saying their prayers and lighting candles in honour of what is therein contained. He would see, *after* High Mass, two Priests come within the rails, and offer to be kissed by the faithful without—a reliquary each, containing sometimes very questionable relics, *e.g.*, a portion of the table-cloth spread at the marriage feast of Cana, in Galilee; or a piece of the under-clothing of S. Ann. That the masses believe in the reality of these relics seems a bad reason for putting them forward as undoubtedly genuine, and for obtruding these things upon the unbelieving world. The prominence now given to this species of adoration is of very modern introduction, and is obviously intended to arrest the unbelieving tendencies every where visible in that hitherto most believing country.

As I am now engaged in the unwelcome task of fault-finding, I may here insert what I have to say of the advice so commonly given to their clergy by the Bishops of Ultramontane tendencies, to propagate, by all means, increased devotion to the Holy Mother of God. I do not complain that too much devotion is displayed to S. Mary. But I do complain that not enough is said about devotion to Him Who is her Lord, as well as ours. To many it might seem advisable to say rather more of the honour of God, where so much is said of the honour of Mary. We are not to forget that no Saints' intercessions, however high, will avail for us, unless we ourselves pray to God for ourselves.

For so S. Chrysostom tells us, in one of his Homilies (*De Profectu Evangelii*): "Pray to GOD by thyself," he says; "for GOD does not so easily listen when others pray for us, as when we pray ourselves." And Theophylact confirms this, in his Commentary (*S. Matt.*, cap. xv.): "Although the Saints pray for us, yet we, asking for ourselves, are more effectually heard." The true Mediator offering for us is, as we know, assuredly heard; and so, S. Augustine, (2 *cont. Parmenian.* c. 8) "All Christian men commend each other in their prayers; but He for Whom no one intercedes, while He intercedes for all, the same is the one and the true Mediator." Indeed, the same great writer, as well as holy Saint, in whose prayers I pray that I may have a part, says, with great boldness, in another treatise (*De Visitatione Infirmorum*, lib. ii., cap. 2): "More safely and pleasantly do I speak to my JESUS, than to any of the holy Spirits of GOD; CHRIST owes more to me than to any of the heavenly Spirits."

These are very elementary truths, so much so that it is wonderful that I should have to call attention to them. None who are Catholics insist on prayers to the Saints as being *necessary*. The Council of Trent merely says (Sess. xxv.), "that it is good and profitable suppliantly to invoke the Saints, and to fly to their prayers, help, and assistance for the obtaining of benefits from GOD, through His SON JESUS CHRIST our LORD, Who is our alone Redeemer and Saviour." But I am sure that no Christian man does other than hold prayer to GOD to be absolutely *essential*. This is a need, the other is a privilege. One is of obligation, the other is of devotion. Without the one, it is possible to arrive at the Kingdom of Heaven; without the other it is impossible. This is recognized by innumerable Roman Catholic writers of the highest name; and it is an avowal much to be noted, that the celebrated Cardinal Perron admitted to Casaubon that he had never in his life invoked the Saints, except he happened to follow in a Procession, when he would sing with the Clergy "Pray for us"—but not otherwise. Saurez, in his defence of the Catholic Faith against Anglican errors, admits, "It may perhaps, be sufficient for salvation to call upon GOD by JESUS CHRIST, without invoking the Saints. Yet," he says, "this will not be enough for a man unless he believes aright," which is mixing up together faith and practice. Faber, Bishop of Vienne, finds fault with Œcolampadius for having asserted that he had maintained the necessity of Invocation. He replies, "I have not enjoined it, but have affirmed that we can do so. Nor am I ignorant how many Commandments the tables of Moses contain." (*De Intercess. Sanct.*, p. 169.) There are, indeed, not a few who

are much inclined to increase the number of the Commandments; and it is owing to the unreality thus superinduced that they have, as Dr. Newman has told us, contrived to screw the moral nature into such unnatural shapes that the whole resembles a bad dream. The one thing needful is, not to increase the devotion to the Blessed Virgin, but to make men better, more moral, and more patient. It seems to me that many foreign prelates confound the means with the end.

And this leads me to say, that if we, on our parts, would take the opposite line, and would strive, by putting forth the loving characteristics of the Gospel, the intense purity and lovingness of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our dear Mother in CHRIST; and if our people were taught to reverence her and the rest of the Saints, at the head of whom she stands; to address their Guardian Angel; and to remember that when they sin, they not merely offend GOD, but cause their immediate attendant Spirit to cover his face in shame and confusion, we should have an incentive to urge which it is not in man pertinaciously to resist. Once convince men of the reality of the Angel's presence and guardianship—once persuade them that the Saints are intensely interested in the result of their combat; and you have, at any rate, got a plea to urge with them which will, in many instances, give success to your expostulations. The doctrines of Saintly Intercession and Angelic Guardianship must move any one who has not a heart of stone. They are stepping-stones to higher things; indeed, to the highest of all—the love of GOD. Our moral disquisitions have failed; our people are sunk in sin; and we complain that they have got beyond our management. Let us try them with a fuller and more loving Gospel. The whole Hierarchy of Heaven will help us, if we will only ask for their aid, and ask aright, to conquer the evil which surrounds us; and they will support us with their prayers on our behalf whilst we are so engaged. We know not what power we lose by not seeking for what we might so easily obtain. I am jealous, indeed, that others obtain what we lose by not sufficiently valuing the privilege, the intercessions of those who are only to be asked to give their prayers, and they give them.

We are met at this point by the XXII Article of the Church of England, which denounces a certain view of Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping of Images and Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints, which it calls *Romish;* and of which it declares that these tenets and practices are founded on no warranty of Scripture, but are rather repugnant thereto. As regards the special question now under consideration, I am

not aware that any, except very few Roman Catholics, seek to rest their practice on any Scriptural injunction or warrant. Cardinal Bellarmine himself,—after having admitted (chap. xix., 1, *De Sanct. Beatit.*) that before the coming of CHRIST, the Saints who died did not enter Heaven nor behold GOD; nor could know, as an ordinary thing, the prayers of their suppliants; and that it was not customary, therefore, under the old law, to say, "Saint Abraham, pray for me,"—goes on to prove the Invocation of Saints from *both* Testaments (cap. xx.). We should certainly have expected that one who had expended some amount of care to show that the Fathers in Limbus were deprived of GOD's presence, and were to be prayed *for* under the old dispensation, should have remembered that they were not the persons to be prayed *to* under that condition. But Protestant Scripturists must be met by Holy Scripture, albeit the passages fail to support the conclusion. But the majority of writers of esteem admit, with Eccius, that "Invocation of Saints is not explicitly prescribed in the Holy Scriptures—not in the Old Testament, when the people were as yet set upon idolatry, and the Patriarchs were yet in Limbus, and not yet blessed" with the Beatific Vision. . . . . "Nor was it prescribed under the Gospel, lest the Gentiles who were converted should suppose that they were again brought to the worship of mortals; and, after their former custom, should adore the Saints, not as patrons, but as Gods." (*Enchirid.*, xiii.)

It is unnecessary to multiply evidence on this head, which is abundant. But there are numerous writers, both Protestant and Anglo-Catholic, who, admitting precisely the same, yet declare themselves in favour of prayers to, and invocation of the Saints. "The Church of England herself," says the elder Bishop Forbes, "retains and practises, to the present day, many rites received from the Fathers as lawful and pious, of which we cannot find either any precept or any example in Holy Scripture: as the sign of the Cross on the forehead of the baptised, kneeling at receiving the Eucharist, the fast of Lent, and other stated times of fasting, and many other such things; in spite of the reclamations of the Puritans, continually objecting the precept, 'Ye shall not add to that which I command you.'" (*De Sanct. et Angel. Invocat.*, chap. iii., § 3.) Martin Luther, in an epistle to G. Spalatinus, says:—"It was never my intention that veneration of the Saints is superstitious, nor the invoking of them even for things most entirely confined to this life. For this would be to agree with those Picard heretics, our neighbours in Bohemia, &c." And again, in

another epistle to the people of Erfurdt, "Allow them to implore the names of the Saints, when they so wish it; but on this condition, that they know that they are to take care that they be not led by a false persuasion to put any confidence or trust in the Saints, but in CHRIST alone." I shall have something more to say of this limitation, by-and-by. And again, in his Purgation of certain Articles, he says: "Along with the whole Church of CHRIST, I hold and judge that the Saints are to be honoured and invoked by us." Lastly, in his work on Preparation for Death: "When he is at the point of death, let him not cease to invoke the Blessed Virgin, his Guardian Angel, the Apostle whom he has chosen, and the other Saints . . . . to intercede with the LORD for him." Œcolampadius argues for the practice against more decided Protestants, who condemned it. Even Martin Bucer admits the reasonableness of the practice; and says it is not to be condemned, although it be not taught in Scripture. (*Contra Abrincensem.*) And so, too, many others.

Many of our more eminent writers also are very far from condemning the practice. Dean Field (*in Append. ad lib. iii. de Eccl.*), and Morton, the Low-Church Bishop of Durham (*Appell. Cathol.* lib. ii. c. 12), both admit that the prayer in the Canon of the Mass, "And grant unto us, by the prayers of all Thy Saints, that in all things we may be fortified by Thy protection," contains nothing which Protestants disapprove of; and asserts that there is no peril of idolatry in its use. I therefore conclude that these writers did not suppose that the Article referred to Roman Catholic Services. But still, when we look at Anglican writers, as a whole, it must be candidly admitted that they have generally found fault with the direct mode of Invocation, which is commonly practised in other Communions, whilst they are unanimously in favour of *comprecation*, or uniting our prayers with those of the Saints, in such form as Bishop Andrews expresses it, slightly altering the form in the Greek Horarium: "Making mention of the All-Holy, Immaculate, and most Blessed Mother of GOD, and Ever-Virgin Mary, let us commend ourselves, and one another, and our whole life, unto CHRIST our GOD" (*Devotions, Fifth day*). Of this kind of Invocation, Thorndike says, in his *Epilogue*, (b. iii., c. xxxi.) "It seems to me utterly agreeable with Christianity; importing only the exercise of that communion which all the members of GOD's Church hold with all members of it, ordained by GOD for the means to obtain for one another the grace which the obedience of our LORD JESUS CHRIST hath purchased for us, without difference whether dead or alive, &c." Archbishop Bramhall, Dean Field, and

others, say very much the same. In the correspondence, already referred to, between the British Bishops and the Eastern Patriarchs, during last century, 1716—1724, this question was discussed; and the decision of the Easterns was, that the admission of this form of Invocation was sufficient for union between themselves and the British Bishops, though they thought the caution excessive and mistaken which restricted them to this oblique method of asking for what they wanted.

And, of the second form, wherein we ask directly for the prayers of the Saints, there are many who are found supporting it. Even Latimer says (*apud* Foxe), "I never denied that they might be worshipped, and be our mediators, though not by way of redemption (for so CHRIST alone is a whole Mediator, both for them and for us), yet by way of intercession." Bishop Montague, in his *Treatise on the Invocation of Saints* (p. 96), says:—"It is a received opinion, though it be not of faith, that every person, at least, every righteous person, has a Guardian Angel, who is always present with him, by GOD's command and appointment; and, therefore, I think it in no way absurd in nature, nor in any respect contrary to the analogy of the faith, or to Scripture, much less impious, to say '*Sancte Angele Custos, ora pro me.*'" Antonio de Dominis (lib. vii., c. xii.) says that he finds "the custom of thus invoking the Saints to pray for us, or rather with us, to be most ancient, and never blamed in the Church, but rather the contrary condemned in Vigilantius by S. Jerome, with the applause of all." Again:—"Let not this custom of Invocation be a cause of schisms; but let those who invoke the Saints take care to warn the people against giving any undue or idolatrous honour; and let the other side leave off absolutely condemning Invocations, as if they were evil in themselves, when used with caution." Thorndike says of the form of Invocation "*Ora pro nobis,*" and "*Te rogamus audi nos,*" directly addressed to the Blessed Virgin and Saints, that it is not idolatry; and that it was practised by the greatest "lights of the Greek and Latin Church, Basil, Nazianzen, Nyssa, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, both the Cyrils, Fulgentius, Gregory the Great, Leo, &c., who lived from the time of Constantine; and who all have spoken to the Saints departed, and desired their prayers." (*Epilogue*, b. iii., chap. xxxi. § 30.)

Bishop Forbes, in the seventeenth century, in his *Considerationes Modestæ*, has paid very great attention to this subject. Five chapters of his great work are devoted to it, where it is treated with his usual learning and Catholic spirit. His general conclusion is, that, albeit no clear passage can be adduced from any writer of the

first Three Centuries in favour of direct addresses in prayer to the Angels and Saints—"Still, neither on this account is the usage of addressing Angels and Saints to be rejected or condemned. For many lawful and profitable rites, as is well known, have been introduced into the Church by the Fathers and Councils of subsequent ages, especially by those of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, about which nothing is to be read in the writings of earlier times. For the Church of the Fourth Century had like and equal right with that of the three preceding, to initiate such rites as she might judge lawful and profitable. No man in his senses, I suppose, will deny this" (cap. iii., § 7). Again he says (cap. iv., § 3), "For many ages back, throughout the whole Church in the East, no less than in the West, as well as in the North among the Muscovites, the Litany has been sung; as, for example, 'S. Peter, pray for us.' But, to despise or condemn the universal consent of the whole Church, is a thing perilous to the last degree."

I cannot find any Anglican writer who approves of the third kind of Invocation, *i. e.*, that which consists in asking directly from the Saints that which we wish God Himself to give us. To ask for their prayers and patronage is one thing; to ask from them mercy, salvation, health, patience, or strength, is another. Taking these requests "at the foot of the letter," says Thorndike, "and valuing the intent of those that use them by nothing but the words of them, they are mere idolatries, as desiring of the creature that which God only gives, which is the worship of the creature for the Creator, 'God blessed for evermore.' And, were we bound to make the acts of them which teach these prayers, the acts of the Church, because it tolerates them and maintains them in it, instead of casting them out, it would be hard to free the Church from idolatry; which, whoso admitteth, can by no means grant it to be a Church, the being whereof supposeth the worship of One God, exclusive of any thing else. But the words of them are capable of the same limitation that I gave to the words of our Lord, when I said that they whom Christians do good to here, may be said to 'receive them into everlasting habitations,' because God does it in consideration of them, and of the good done them." He goes on to say that these distinctions, however, do not afford "ground enough to satisfy a reasonable man, that all that make such prayers do hold that infinite distance between God and His Saints and Angels, of whom they demand the same effects; which, if they hold not, they are idolaters as the heathen were; who, being convinced of one Godhead, as the Fathers challenge to their faces, divided It into one

Principal, and divers that by His gift are such." (lib. iii., c. xxxi., § 27.) He thus sums up (§ 29), "The Church of England, having acknowledged the Church of Rome a true, though corrupt Church ever since the Reformation, I am obliged so to interpret the prayers thereof as to acknowledge the corruption so great that the prayers which it alloweth may be idolatries, if they be made in that sense which they may properly signify; but not that they are necessarily idolatries. For, if they were necessarily idolatries, then were the Church of Rome necessarily no Church; the being of Christianity pre-supposing the worship of One True God. And though, to confute the heretics, the style of modern devotion leaves nothing to God which is not attributed to and desired of His Saints; yet it cannot be denied they may be the words of them who believe that God alone can give that which they desire." It may be added that this is the general tone of Anglican writers on those prayers which desire of the Saints those things which it is the peculiar and incommunicable privilege of Almighty God to grant. They acquit the Roman Church of error, but not of rashness, in not prohibiting the use of a form of devotion, which, according to the unbiassed opinion of many known Catholic writers, has led persons into deplorable, if not into fatal, error. But of this hereafter.

We may now begin to see that, in the opinion of her chief writers, the Church of England is far from prohibiting Invocation of Saints. It is not the *Doctrine* that she objects to, but to the qualifying word in the Article, *Romanensium;* and this, too, be it remarked, not as being equivalent to *Romanorum, Romano-Catholicorum,* but as indicating a party in that Church, whom, in the earlier editions of the Articles, she called the Schoolmen, or, as we should now say, the Ultramontanes. I imagine that our own Reformers, who penned the XXII Article, and the Doctors of the Council of Trent, in the XXV Session, had before them very much the same abuses, though they treated them somewhat differently. The Roman Doctors were anxious to maintain what was right, as well as to denounce that which was wrong. With ourselves, only the errors were struck at; consequently, ever since, our divines have been forced to argue in favour of practices which have all but disappeared, the doctrine indeed remaining in the books of our more eminent writers. The Synod of Trent says, "In the Invocation of Saints, the veneration of relics, and the sacred use of images, every superstition shall be removed, all filthy lucre abolished. . . . . Finally, let so great care and diligence be used herein by the Bishops, as that there be nothing seen that

is disorderly . . . . seeing that *holiness becometh the House of God.* . . . . No new miracles are to be acknowledged, nor new relics recognized, unless the Bishop has taken cognizance and approved thereof." It were to be wished that "the ardent desire" (*vehementer cupit*), of the Synod, that "the abuses which had crept in should be abolished," had been more effectually accomplished. But, nearly every where, local interests overcame, or at least thwarted, the efforts of the central authority, to diminish the practical scandals which the Council of Trent wished to see abolished, and the reform, though considerable, was not complete.

But we must thoroughly understand the terms of the Article, which speaks of "fond things vainly invented, resting on no authority of Scripture, but rather repugnant thereto." With regard to this matter of Invocation, I have shown that it does not pretend to be warranted by Holy Scripture, though, as to the two forms of it specially considered above, he would be a bold man who should affirm that thus conditioned it is repugnant thereto. In truth, with the third form, whereby the Saint is distinctly asked to give what can only be given by God Himself, there is nothing repugnant to Scripture, if the condition be present in the mind of the petitioner. The danger is, that the uninstructed, or the ill-instructed, will forget the condition, and ask directly, as expecting from the Saint, what it is absurd, as well as un-Christian, to suppose that the Saint himself can give. And the danger is not imaginary, though, at the present day, the evil from which this is the re-action is, amongst ourselves, the more to be guarded against. G. Wicelius, in his *Methodus Concordiæ*, printed in 1538, says, "Would that the faithful were delivered from that error through which they have hitherto relied more on the protection of the Saints than on that of their God;" this he says in reference to their being taught to call upon the Saints for deliverance, rather than to pray to God that He would deliver them. In a sermon by the same author we read, "We make not these remarks because we wish the Litany of the Church altered or abolished. It is one thing to invoke the Saints for help, and another to implore them to intercede for us with God. Very holy is the Litany which says, 'Saviour of the world, aid us, save us,' &c.; also 'Holy Mary, pray for us; holy Mother of God, pray for us,' &c. Nowhere do you hear the Church's song different. What Church has ever sung, 'Saviour of the World, pray for us[1],' or 'S. Peter, help us'? How I wish

[1] This heresy has been revived by members of the English Church in the nineteenth, having been stated by Origen in the third century. (*Vide* p. 112,

that those who maintain and contend that they are of the Church, would rightly consider the mind of the Church; and when they had sufficiently examined it, would then strenuously, nay, vehemently support it! If they do not this, they will furnish the materials for both schisms and superstitions, and will have one day to pay the penalty to GOD for both errors." Antonio de Dominis tells us from his own knowledge—"There is no doubt that the more ignorant people invoke the Saints religiously, and that very many are more affected internally with a religious affection towards the Blessed Virgin, or some particular Saint, than towards CHRIST. Nor do they invoke the Saint as one who is to pray for them, but as one who helps them as a principal. Nor do they say *pray*, but *help*, *save*, &c. Nor do they express, or understand in their minds, that the Saints do these things by praying, but that they do these things of themselves, without any intervention; and very many in asking them, entirely submit themselves, their whole soul, and their whole spirit, to the Blessed Virgin Mary and to the Saints, and that, too, in spiritual things, which is a certain formal idolatry." (*De Rep. Eccl.*, c. 12.)

Hundreds of passages might be cited to the same effect; but these will suffice. While the Mass is so continually offered, no doubt a very great barrier is interposed to formal idolatry. Happily it is so ordered by the mercy of GOD; still, this will not acquit those who are guilty of leading men's minds away from the great central verity of all. "GOD is to be worshipped, the Saints are to be honoured." Far too often it would seem as though the maxim was reversed. And, indeed, I had inserted one very startling passage from a book entitled the *Amphitheatre of Honour*, by a Jesuit author, Carolus Scribanius, otherwise Carolus Bonarsius, wherein this was done. The book is now forgotten, though once earnestly fought for by the whole Jesuit Society, and I have thought it better to leave it in the oblivion into which it has deservedly fallen. And though our Reformers could not have had this work before them, yet had they many stories, then generally believed and circulated, which were collected into a book shortly after the Reformation, and published by Cæsarius Cistercianus, containing things which I should have thought would have been better forgotten; how, for instance, when Beatrice was living the life of a harlot for fifteen years, the

l. 11, of this Essay.) In some popular Hymn Books we find this form of words:

"In the hour of trial,
JESU, pray for me."

Blessed Virgin assumed her appearance and habit, and supplied her place in her monastery! I have no mind to rake up the obscenity which, for the sake of religion, had better be allowed to remain quiescent. But, unless our Reformers, who published the homily on the Perils of Idolatry, are altogether beyond credit, and such writers as Jeremy Taylor have invented what they have reprobated, I see not how we can deny that very strong measures indeed were required to mitigate the abominations which length of time and laxity had allowed to creep in. If the Fathers of Trent were unable to repress the evils, which they certainly desired to do, something may be allowed to the Reformers, who, in endeavouring to retain what they acknowledged to be Catholic, were yet overborne by the revulsion of feeling caused by the exposures they had been instrumental in making. Let us not attribute the very faint admissions of Saintly Intercession, and the entire disappearance of Invocation from our formularies, in this case, to the interference of foreign Reformers. Bucer, as I have already shown, was on this point as orthodox as could be. I will merely add another extract, to put this beyond doubt. Of the Saints, or *Divi*, as he styles them, he says—"We acknowledge that God rewards their good works, not only in themselves, but also in those who belong to them, and for whom they intercede; for He has promised that He will do good to them who will love Him, and walk in His commandments, to a thousand generations. Hence He would only heal the house of Abimelech upon the intercession of Abraham; and granted to Moses the salvation of the whole people, when he contended for them; and to S. Paul the souls of all who were in the ship with him, in number 176." (*In Disputatis*, p. 335.) God be thanked that in our Liturgy we have recovered a fuller expression of our belief of the Intercession of the Blessed Saints. I could wish that in our practice there were more recognition of the high privilege of Invocation. It would help us to love the great King of Saints more, if we ranged under Him, as members of His Court in Heaven, His Blessed Mother, the Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, and the rest, in whom we see His glory as it were reproduced, and His power so conspicuously displayed, and if we recognized the Angels in their ninefold order, ministering in that Court, or discharged on embassies to distant quarters of His Empire.

But, while I speak thus strongly against what few Anglo-Catholics will be found to defend, and what a very large body of our Roman Catholic brethren most earnestly reprobate, I ought not to forget the philosophy on which the abuse rests, and

by understanding which we can alone fairly judge of the practices which, in their outward manifestation, or at least in the exaggerations which are connected with them, so shock the religious instincts of many among us. Nothing is free from abuse; and it may be that these bold impieties are not justly chargeable against the theories from which they profess to spring, but are only a misapplication of what is perfectly true, through human infirmity and logical inconsequence. One must here enlarge one's view, and take in the East, too, so as to include the popular excesses there prevalent in our scope. I am not aware that there are any systems of philosophy in the East equivalent to what we know in the West by the name of Duns Scotus, or of Occam. But beyond all question, the facts of our being, which moral philosophy attempts to explain, are the same in the East as in the West. The tendencies will be the same, therefore, whether any system of philosophy exists to explain them or not.

When we cast our eyes over the creation in which we are placed, and examine our relations with the seen and the unseen existences around us, we feel impelled to search out the reasons of things, and to bring the causes within the range of our intellects, so that, as far as they are comprehensible, we may arrange and systematize the apparently confused mass of facts presented to us. The outward object presented to the senses, however, is very different from the idea of it which the mind forms when once the external thing has become an object of our consciousness. Outwardly, it had extension, weight, colour—quality, and quantity, that is—of which it is entirely divested by the mind. If I set before my eye a bookcase, I see an extended surface, so many feet high, by so many broad and deep. I see the doors by which it is closed, and the shelves for storing the books, according to their varying subjects or sizes. I see the kind of wood of which it is constructed, and I have, as long as the object is before me, a very definite picture in the mind of that special bookcase. But when I begin to use this knowledge otherwise than descriptively, and have occasion to refer to a bookcase, I find that I have got a general idea of a bookcase, without having before my mind any special one. In fact, the accidents of quality and quantity have dropped off, and the bookcase stands in the mind as a perfectly simple idea. In a word, the essential bookcase is one thing, the actual bookcase is another. Mental conceptions, however, are not easily analyzed. Consequently, it is by no means agreed that this is the process through which the mind passes. There are at least three different ways in which the matter may be viewed. Or

rather, perhaps, one ought to say that the infinite variety of human opinion on the point may be classed under one or other of the following heads:—

1st. That the forms of things were, anterior to their existence in the world, in the mind of the Creator as real substantive ideas. That, however little we may realize the fact, the forms which things assume, either immediately in the course of nature, or mediately through the operation of human skill, are impressed upon those things by the will of the Creator. All that the natural laws or human skill can effect is to unveil forms already existent in the material object. Thus, to take a common illustration, the statue is already existent in the block of marble; all that man's skill effects is to remove the outer texture, and unveil the figure; and, according as this is done with greater or less skill, the statue is more or less perfect. So that in the whole creation there are various possibilities, the development depending upon contingencies of various kinds. Thus, then, when I cast off the qualities with which, in the world, the actual bookcase is invested, the mind simply reverts to primal ideas, which the Creator of all things has impressed with His own likeness upon the human mind.

2nd. That, so far as the creation is concerned, there is no difference at all between the outward forms of things and the mind's conception of them. That the different classes of things are not attributable to any one general idea running through each class, but simply and solely to the will of Him Who formed them. Thus a sculptor does not unveil an archetypal form. He makes what he wished to make out of fitting materials at hand, suitable for his purpose. That there are no general laws or truths; and that when we speak of qualities, we are only using a term to express what we see, not as the expression of a general quality. Thus, wisdom is unintelligible when spoken of as an existing entity, but a wise man is a reality. Grace, as a general expression, might have some meaning when attributed to a given individual, or when the mind brings before itself some one in whom graceful proportions and a graceful carriage are to be seen; but as an abstract quality it is a meaningless term. That, in fact, we cannot form in our minds an idea of grace, apart from the person in whom we see graceful actions. Thus, these persons get rid of all generalization and abstraction, and think the apparent and real to be one and the same thing.

3rd. That, instead of beginning with postulating any general ideas with the former class, or arbitrarily denying them with

the latter, we should begin by examining and classifying the facts which in anywise may become subjects of our consciousness. As a matter beyond all doubt, a certain order is observable in all that is without us, whether we refer that order to the existence of archetypal ideas, or to the mere arbitrary will of the Creator. At any rate, we shall thus ascertain whether the Almighty has tied Himself down to work in a certain way, or has left Himself free to continually alter and amend His own work without any other consideration than His own will. This is the reverse process to the course pursued by the other two classes; and, though it has only been drawn out in form since Lord Bacon initiated it, yet we may observe feeble protests against the theories of one or both of the previously considered classes of thinkers, founded on something like the same considerations, even in the philosophy of Epicurus. As regards physical or mental science, there can be no doubt whatever of the value of the inductive process; but it is a clumsy way of considering the science of pure theology. As applied to Christian evidences it is of singular value.

It will, therefore, only be needful to consider the first two classes when we come to apply these principles to the subject of Divine Grace. According to the philosophy of the first of these classes, Divine Grace is the gift of the Holy Ghost to fallen man, freely bestowed by God in view of the merits of Christ, in order to fit him for Eternal Life. In other words, it is an actual gift bestowed; and not an amount credited to man as having being earned for him by another without passing into his hands, or as having been simply applied by that other to the paying off a debt which can never be fully discharged. This last represents the sort of view held by the second of the two classes. We hear of it in the expressions, "imputed righteousness," "free grace," and such like terms. When, then, we speak of "merit," if we use the philosophy of the first of these thinkers, we mean an actual possession gained by a person who has been justified. The means of gaining possession of it are submission of his will and conscience, by his voluntary act, to those conditions of its bestowal which God has prescribed, and the Church under Divine guidance adheres to. As in the body, outward things taken into the system become, by assimilation, parts of our bodily frame, and so part of ourselves—so, too, Grace received and assimilated into the soul becomes so properly our own, that it not only is reckoned ours, but actually is ours. As, too, the reception of Grace is not an act of the appetite, but of the free will; and as the will must co-operate with God's will in the

matter; and as such co-operation can only take place when the person is in a certain spiritual condition, therefore the Grace thus received becomes meritorious, and is rewarded *ex condigno*.

But, then, persons die in different states of Grace. The works of some are simply those of penitence, and thus expiatory; those of others are, further, agreeable to GOD, as being the proper fruits of the redeemed and justified man; those of saintly men are in the highest degree satisfactory. The theory is that all that is done in advance of the works of the second class—which, of their very nature, would carry the soul into GOD'S Presence—are meritorious in the highest degree, and are available for the shortcomings of others. Grace, thus, is regarded, not as an influence, nor as a virtue, but as a real entity. Once having gone forth from GOD, through the Personality of the HOLY SPIRIT, it returns not void. In the form of merits, it goes into the great treasure-house of the Church, and is to be thence dispensed to the faithful, as the Bishop of Rome and those who have jurisdiction from him may determine. Our LORD'S merits, which are there as well as those of the Saints, cause the treasure to be really infinite in amount and inexhaustible.

This view is sufficiently distinct from that of the other class of thinkers which I have placed side by side with it. Calvin may be taken as their spokesman on the point. "We," he says, "simply interpret *justification* by the word *accepted*; i. e., GOD esteems the accepted as being righteous; and we consider our acceptability to lie in the remission of sins, and the imputation of CHRIST'S righteousness" (*Institutes*, l. iii. c. 2, § 2). In fact, according to this view, the works of CHRIST are not wrought in us at all. To all intents and purposes, we are as sinful as ever we were in GOD'S sight, only CHRIST covers us with His wounds and His merits, and shields us from the anger of an offended GOD. The highest Saint in GOD'S sight is no more than "the brand plucked from the burning," the barely-saved sinner. And this, if nothing else, would serve to show the utter falsity of the system which is founded on such principles as these.

But it will be plain to any one that the other philosophy, in this matter, trembles on the verge of several very fatal pitfalls, For, 1st. If our LORD'S merits are, as all must hold, absolutely infinite, it is difficult to see how they should be thrown into a common stock with those of the Saints. 2ndly. It is difficult to understand how the merits of the Saints should be separated from the thing merited. Saintly perfection is admitted to be different from mere salvation. But if so, why are the merits

whereby the Saints have attained to that higher estate not to be as necessary for maintaining them in that condition, as the merits whereby they and others have obtained salvation are for the purpose of retaining them amongst the saved? For, by the assumption, it is only the works over and above what are needful to save a man, that are applicable to the payment of others' debts. 3rd. A difficulty which appears in nearly all writers is to be noticed. I mean the confusion which exists between the merits of the Saints applied to the shortening of the pains of purgatory, and the prayers of the Saints which conduce to our salvation. In writers of eminence this confusion is visible. 4th. But, principally, the whole doctrine of works of supererogation is very closely allied with a limited Pantheism. If the merits of the Saints are to be regarded as possessing a Divine energy of their own, so as to make up for the satisfaction which others have not rendered to Divine justice, this shows that, but for the treasure-house where these merits are stored, and of which the key is in the keeping of the successor of S. Peter, the Saints themselves would exercise a Divine prerogative, that of remitting a Divine sentence. Stripping the Saints of their merits, and bringing them within the ministerial power of the Church, is only removing the difficulty one stage further off. The punishments are remitted, not ministerially, as by the Church, nor in consequence of the prayers of the Saints, but directly in consequence of their merits. It is a species of *Gratia gratis data*—a specific prerogative of God. This danger is put out of sight in two ways:—1st, by making the living Church the administrator of the gift; and 2nd, and principally, by putting the merits of Christ and of His Saints into one category, showing that the merits are really His. But then, if His, they are not theirs *ex condigno*.

My readers will now be prepared to understand the considerable difference of opinion which prevails among divines as to the nature of the cultus that is paid to the Saints. Is it religious or is it not? If it be an act of religion, then ought that honour to be called *latria* and not *dulia;* because, as says S. Thomas, "Religion implies a relation to God" (*Secund. Secundæ. qu.* 81, *Art.* 1). Again, "Religion is a virtue exhibiting to God a service in those things which specially belong to God" (*Art.* 8). And so he distinctly says, "To Him alone, from Whom we hope to obtain what we pray for, do we, by praying, pay the cultus of religion; because in this we testify that He is the Author of our good things; but not to those to whom we resort as advocates with God" (*Ibid. Art.* 4). And, indeed, this view does not

seem to be confined to any one order or school. Suarez, a Jesuit, says, "The prayer which we pour out to the Saints is not an act elicited by the virtue of religion, properly speaking, but by the virtue of *dulia*, which we have shown above to be distinct from religion" (2 *de Orat.* c. 1). Vasquez also says (3 *D. Thom.* t. 1, *disp.* 28), "Since religion is employed in the worship of God alone, the cultus and honour which is paid immediately to the Saints cannot be referred to it; otherwise, if it were an act of religion, it also would be called *latria*. For *latria* and religion are the same thing." The opposite term to *religion*, thus used in a technical sense, is *singularis observantia*, or *special respect*. With regard to this respect, most seem to hold it to be the same in kind, though different in degree, to what we pay to living Saints. So Adam Contzen writes (cap. vi. S. Matt. 9), "No creature is to be invoked with religious prayer; but he may with other kinds of prayer, whether he be living in this world, or whether, joined to God in Heaven, he perceives our necessities through Him." And so, too, says Barnes, a Benedictine (in his *Catholico-Roman. Pacific.*), "Invocation of Saints is not an act of religion or prayer, theologically speaking, any more than when we pray good men in this world, whom we account holy, that they may be with us, and may join their prayers for us to God with our own prayers." This, too, is the decision of the Eastern Church. The Patriarch Jeremiah, of Constantinople, says that the term Invocation is improperly applied to the addresses we make to the Saints; and he goes even further in denial than many of us would be disposed to go. (*Act. et Scrip. Theol. Wirt. In cen. de Præcipuis*, c. xxi. p. 127.) Much more might be quoted to the same purpose.

But there is a large number who expressly call Invocation of Saints and Angels an act of religion. Thus Azorius, a Jesuit, affirms (*Inst. Moral.* vol. i., lib. 9, c. 10), "We do not merely honour the Saints with that cultus with which we honour men who excel in virtue, wisdom, power, or any other dignity; but even with a Divine worship and honour, which is an act of religion. For that cultus which is paid to leading men is not an act and duty of religion, but of another far lower virtue, which is called respect. But we do not give Divine honour and worship to Saints on their own account, but on account of God, Who has made them holy." And not only he, but Nicholas Serarius declares this to be the opinion of many divines. He thus closes what he says on the subject:—"What if there be but a single virtue of religion, containing both *latria* and *dulia?*

Certainly that is the opinion of many wise divines" (2 *de Litaniis, qu* 27). Yet, assuredly, this is not the usual opinion. Gaume in his *Catéchisme de Persévérance* (vol. iv., p. 379), expresses the common teaching. In the Saints, the Church "sees simple intercessors who can make requests (*demande*) for humanity without bestowing any thing; who remain in Heaven what they were on earth, creatures offering to their Creator thanks and prayers."

I merely note these opinions to show what tendencies there are. It is very possible that there may be as little reason for the distinction between *latria* and *dulia*, as there is for that of genus and species, as our natural philosophers have, in some cases, been lately insisting. But, at any rate, we ought to know that such theories are abroad, and that there are several practices which are incapable of being explained by the present accepted doctrine of the Church. It is certainly not a full explanation of the present practice of the Church, to use such words as the Abbé Gaume has used, nor those which Archbishop Kenrick also uses in his *Theologia Dogmatica* (vol. ii., p. 292, § 475), "In the strictest sense, no one can merit any thing for another, though God often grants to the prayers of just men the conversion of sinners. There is also that close connexion of good works among the just, by which they are mutually assisted, they being united among themselves in a holy fellowship of prayer and virtues." Bellarmine, indeed, does not go so far as others have not scrupled to go; though by calling Invocation, as he does, "eximium adorationis genus," a high kind of adoration (1 *de Sanct. Beat. in ordine disput.* p. 293), he seems to show that he was only restrained from calling Invocation a duty of religion by the conviction that the weight of opinion lay the other way. There can be no reasonable ground to doubt that the Church, even as restricted by the adjective Roman, will be preserved from all vital error. But those who regard her as liable to exaggerate in the line in which she has been proceeding for a thousand years at least, will be prepared to expect that she will not be very anxious to restrain excesses on those points which have a bearing upon the gifts and prerogatives of the Church, or on those again which may even only incidentally tend to increase her power, and serve to promote her authority with mankind.

It is certain that the passages which I have quoted place the Saints in a very different position from that of mere intercessors in an inferior sense. As having been made recipients of the Divine nature, and now perfected, they demand from us "a Divine worship and honour," which is the ground on which

worship was paid to demi-gods in the ancient world, and to kings and emperors afterwards, even in the West. The worship, in each case, was paid to the inferior as sharing the Godhead of the superior; or, as Thorndike expresses it, (*Epilogue*, b. iii., chap. xxxi., § 27) the heathen "being convinced of one Godhead, as the Fathers challenge to their faces, divided It into One Principal, and divers that by His gift are such;" and he refers to Cudworth (*Intellectual System*, c. iv., § 11). So that what Lewis Vives says (*Notes in Aug. de Civit. Dei.*, lib. viii., c. 27) seems to be reasonable, "Many Christians sin for the most part in a good practice, in that they venerate the Saints in no different way from God. Nor do I see, in the case of many, what distinction there is between their opinion about the Saints, and that which the Gentiles held about their gods." The faculty of theology at Louvain ordered these words to be omitted in the edition of this work published at Paris, in 1613. Perhaps Erasmus may not be thought a good authority, and I therefore refrain from quoting him; but he attacks what others admit to be a great corruption, the assigning to particular Saints the care of special diseases. The *Enchiridion Coloniense* admits the abuse, attributing it to the carelessness of slumbering Priests, "whereby the common people, not sufficiently acquainted with true piety, have assigned the care of each disease to a particular Saint. . . . The parish Priests must watchfully restrain the people from superstition, and recall them to piety, which they will do, if they shall teach the people to offer their prayers to God, as the Author of all good, and of salvation, as well spiritual as bodily; but to the Saints only as intercessors; all their care in the meantime being cast only upon God" (*Explicat. in Decalog.* 267). The moral results of this system may, indeed, be thought evil, when S. Mary Magdalene and S. Afra were popularly invoked by female sinners living in their sins, and S. Sebastian by those of them who were suffering from their excesses, whilst men in the same evil case invoked S. Apollinaris. These, of course, are simply popular abuses, and as such, are to be charged against no system; and they are here only mentioned to show the need of constant care to prevent degeneracy, lest religion itself should come to supply incentives to sin.

But, indeed, not the poor and unlettered alone are to be guarded against excesses. Bonaventura is a Saint, and therefore I do not doubt that he thought of naught but God's honour in publishing the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin; of which, nevertheless, Wicelius says that "the Devil himself, in the figure of an Angel, devised and published it, while the Bishops were in a deep

sleep, and the prelates negligent" (*Via Regia*). There was a question, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, in Scotland, whether the LORD'S Prayer might not be said to the Saints. (Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, A.D. 1551, tom. ii. pp. 528-9, edit. 1684.) And, indeed, there is no reason why every prayer we use should not be addressed to the Saints, if the honour we pay to them is to be held to be an act of religious worship. There can be no fine distinctions admitted between one kind of Divine worship and another. The Universal will cover all particulars which fall under the class. Bellarmine defended the *Psalter of our Lady;* though he says that we address the Saints, not as actual givers of what we want, for GOD alone can do this. Yet he is not always consistent with himself; for though he admits this in one place, he is continually apologizing for stronger expressions; and, to a limited degree, seems to fall in with the most advanced views for which he apologizes. His taking so undecided a line, however, is the best proof we can have that the Church in his day had not sanctioned that view which so many of her doctors were advancing. For if there had been even a large minority teaching as these more extreme men were, we may not doubt that the Cardinal would have advocated decidedly a view which his principles would have led him to adopt.

The plan of this Essay does not lead me to say any thing directly of the position of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Fully to discuss that question would require a separate paper. I have merely here to remark that, taking the distinction between *latria* and *dulia* as real and founded on the propriety of things, the word *hyperdulia,* which is used to express the mode of approaching her, merely places her at the head of the *corpus Sanctorum,* and at an infinite distance from the Creator. Her elevation, in a word, is simply in reference to mankind. No creature, however exalted, can overstep the great gulf between GOD and man. GOD alone has bridged it over through the Incarnation of His SON, and has made her the co-operator in the work. But the plan was His, the selection was His, the mode of operation was His, the assent alone was hers. If in the recent teaching there is any thing which would seem to be a stretching of her prerogatives further than this, it must arise from the same tendencies which we have already observed, and which seem to aim at placing the whole body of the Saints, as partakers of the Godhead, in a very much higher position than the Church has yet accorded to them.

Nor does my subject lead me, except incidentally, to speak of the honour due to the Saints, over and above that which we pay

in invoking them. These consist principally in treating their relics with reverent care, in painting pictures and raising statues to their honour, in assigning days for their commemoration, in showing our love towards them by giving their names to our Churches and children. There are here also a number of questions to be discussed, very interesting in themselves, in reference to past history and to present practices—such, for instance, as the degree of honour to be paid to representations of a Saint; whether, for example, they are to have the same honour as we should pay to the principal: whether virtue may be supposed to reside in the pictorial representation, as in any relic—whether, *e. g.*, what one may occasionally see abroad—touching the Saint's figure with a little wool, and applying it to some sore or infirmity of a petitioner, would exercise the same effects as the undoubted relics, so applied, have actually, in well-ascertained instances, produced.

It may have seemed to some, that when we consider the practical indifference to the Saints which our people every where exhibit, it would have been a more gracious work to try to correct our own shortcomings, before pointing out exaggerations on the other side. If I had thought so, I should not have written as I have written. The Church of England, on her very face, carries a protest against certain abuses existing in the day when her Articles were drawn up. It is well to see what those abuses were and are. The Church of Rome, as we have seen, acknowledges these abuses, and has tried to correct them with a more gentle and considerate hand. Superstition will never be eradicated while men are what they are; and in trying to pull up the tares, we may, perchance, pull up the wheat also. I contend that the Church of England has done so. Popularly, the Saints are not only *not* honoured, but I fear very much are dishonoured—and especially is this the case with her who prophesied that all generations should call her "Blessed." I say that such treatment of those whom God has so highly dignified is gross dishonour done to Him Who delights in His Saints, the sanctity of whom, when crowned, sends a thrill of pleasure through the souls which are before the Throne—nay, more, into the very heart of God.

It is not my place to balance the deficiencies on the one side against the exaggerations on the other; but neither must we conceal the truth. God alone can know whether He is more dishonoured by a worship paid to His Saints ignorantly, which trenches on His own peculiar and incommunicable prerogatives; or by an equally erroneous neglect of His Saints, or still more by a vilifying of them, under the impression that He is thereby

honoured. But nothing will be gained by hiding excesses on either side. If the unreformed Church, East and West, can quote continuous practice in favour of their moderation in checking admitted exaggerations; the Church of England in reply may, at any rate, point to the very gradual rise of the practice, and the holy jealousy which seemed to possess the whole early Church in behalf of GOD's honour and supremacy, so that whatsoever might have directly endangered that, was discountenanced and discarded. She may cite in her favour the absence of all prayers, even of the second order of Invocation, *ora pro nobis,* from the oldest and most holy part of the Liturgies—the Canon—every where throughout the world, and the exceedingly sparing use of them in any form in her prayers used in Church; for I do not regard what some of our writers have called *comprecation* as properly falling under the head of Invocation. A reason is indeed assigned for this absence—that prayers in the Canon are addressed to GOD the FATHER; and that, therefore, it would be against rule to insert Invocations. This is true, for it was so ordered by the Third Council of Carthage. But then this very provision shows how very solicitous the Church was to preserve GOD's worship pure from all possible innovations. Commemorations of the Saints exist in the English Liturgy, in common with those of the Early Church, though with us shorn very much of the directness and that full recognition of their claims to our love and respect. Still their blessed estate is so far admitted, as to lead us to conclude that it was only some supposed necessity that induced the Church to restrict, in her public services, the use of Invocations, of which, according to her best divines, she did not propose to prohibit the use in private. This at once places her on the platform of the Early Church, which allowed the fullest expressions of love and gratitude to the Saints by her members, so long as nothing was done which either trenched upon the essential glory of Almighty GOD, or sought a place in those services which were celebrated in public to His honour. But then there is this great difference. Men, at the time of the Reformation, were set on decrying the Saints: men in primitive times on doing them honour. Consequently, when the public Litanies and other prayers wherein the Saints had been wont to be invoked, were discontinued, a wave of rationalistic godlessness swept over men's minds on this subject; and we have found, to our cost, that the cliffs which had hitherto arrested its progress have been cast down, and that there is nothing to prevent its flooding the land. The greater divines of the Church of England teach the lawfulness, and many of them the advisability, of

Invocation: but there are no prayers to enable a person to put their recommendations in practice. Thus, what we admit to be theoretically right and proper, we can only carry out by applying to other Communions for examples of. This is a very unwholesome state of things. In fact, so far are our people's minds from running in the line taken by our great divines, that they have come to believe the doctrine of the Invocation of Saints to be a peculiarly Roman Catholic doctrine; either not knowing, or not caring to inquire that the Greek Church is even more identified with the practice than the Latin, and that the great Councils and Fathers who transmitted the Faith habitually asserted it. Is this a healthy or desirable state of things? Why cannot we claim our full rights as Catholics, without being misunderstood, and exposed to all sorts of unjust suspicions?

The ready answer of those, however, who admit the antiquity of the practice, and its lawfulness, is, that it is a form of devotion so very liable to abuse, that as no one regards it as necessary to salvation, but only, at best, as a help towards its attainment, it is better to forego what is desirable, in order to escape the risk of a sin, idolatry material if not formal, which deprives those who are guilty of it of Christian hopes. The argument is specious, but no more than that. Whilst we confine our view to one side only, we are stating the case very unfairly indeed. What have been the abuses on the other side? Take up any Puritan book which treats of this matter and see. The abuse here is certainly not superstition; it is profanity and irreligion. Now, as I have before said, I cannot strike a balance between these two extremes. Both seem to me to be dreadful. As long as we do nothing, or, at any rate, nothing as a Church, to stem the torrent of blasphemy, which, directed primarily against the Saints, finds its ultimate object in God the Holy Ghost, the Sanctifier, we are not free from sin. We find fault with the Greek and Roman Churches alike for not checking extravagances on the other side. We may at least learn to be charitable, when we see what difficulties we ourselves experience in curing our own defects. I have shown, that, at any rate, the Roman Church, speaking through her last great Council, was not blind to the corruptions which we feel so keenly; and it ought to be known that, on Orthodox Sunday, the Eastern Communion curses with three anathemas those who serve the religious Ikons with *latria*. And in so well-known a book as Plato's *Catechism*, published in English by the Rev. G. Potessaro, in 1857 (p. 184), we may read in the explanation of the second Commandment: "Transgressors of this Commandment are also those, who, for

filthy lucre's sake, or from an imaginary fancy of salvation, invent miracles and visions, or attribute to certain places I know not what holiness, and believe that GOD prefers hearing prayer more from this than from that place; in short, those who, according to the words of CHRIST, confine their piety to outward things, and neglect the weightier matters of the law—judgment, mercy, and faith." In a note (p. 185) Mr. Potessaro says:—"Many appear, even in our days, who, either from superstition or interested motives, have set up the ancient oracles of Grecian error, making use of the images in various abominations, such as prophesying by them the future, attaching on them coins, preferring one image of the same Saint to another, and the like. For the correction of all these abuses the prudent Christians are looking on the great and holy Church of CHRIST; and this at a time when, by the grace of GOD, its bark is steered by a person zealous in godliness, the most holy patriarch Gabriel, his grace, whom the LORD preserve." Let us take as much pains to introduce what we have lost, as both Rome and Greece have taken to correct what remains, and then accusations will come from us with a better grace than they do now.

Besides, I do not admit that the honour of the Saints is a matter of indifference. Invocation may not be absolutely requisite for salvation; but no thoughtful person can possibly regard the horrible way in which many for whom we are responsible speak of GOD's Saints, otherwise than with shrinking dread. If superstitious regard of the Saints, and assigning to them Divine attributes perils a man's salvation, certainly profane disregard of those whom GOD highly regards, and language used of them which we would not venture to use of any living person, lest the courts of the land should make us pay the penalty of our rashness, does seem to exhibit a temper of mind alien to that "holiness, without which no man shall see the LORD." It is not for me to limit GOD's mercy, which may excuse both classes on the ground of their ignorance, or on the score of prejudices of birth and education; but when we speak of one error excluding from hopes of future joy, we are at least bound to see whither the opposite error is leading us.

I foresee that one great objection with the Anglican to my pleading in favour of a revival of direct Invocation of Saints will be in the custom not having been Primitive. The term development has got an ill name. And though it is the process through which our minds go, and through which therefore it is natural to expect to find all things go whose progress depends upon the human mind and conscience, still I feel that much

that I have said will have to encounter the plate armour in which the Anglican feels himself safe, the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.* As applied to the faith, I admit the truth and value of the Canon. As applied to practice, I earnestly deny its unvarying applicability. Perhaps, therefore, if I can bring the testimony of the great Fathers of the Church to prove that GOD, in answer to such Invocations, wrought miracles, I shall have done more to remove prejudice than by a world of argument. I have already given examples at pages 112—115 of this volume, and I now subjoin other instances which come to us, vouched for by those who were certainly as competent observers as any men ever were. Rufinus tells us (*De vitis Patrum,* c. xix., *apud Ruinart.*) that by the bodies of S. Apollonius and his associates, "even unto this present day, many miracles and marvellous signs are performed for all. And also the wishes and prayers of all are received by them, and are, as the fruit of the petition, fulfilled; whither also the LORD vouchsafe to lead us, and to accomplish our wishes and prayers." S. Chrysostom (vol. x., *Hom.* xxvi., *Ep.* 2, *Ad Cor.*) says, "The places dedicated to the Holy Martyrs furnish traces and signs of the judgment to come, in demons scourged, and men punished and freed. Seest thou the power of the Saints even after death?" S. Asterius, of Amasea, says in his *Encomium on the Holy Martyrs* (vol. i., *Combefis. N. Auctar,* pp. 191, &c.): "But these men who are followers after this madness (the Eunomians), and who think their audacity against all men a virtue, ought to show respect at least to the voices of demons, who proclaim and announce clearly the power of the Martyrs, and call out by their names each one of the Martyrs as present, and as driving them away, and expelling them from men over whom they have tyrannized. But benefits—now of this, now of that kind, and varying, which free those vexed by Satanic influences—accruing from the Martyrs, are daily seen. For they who barked, and were formerly subject to the unspeakable miseries of madness, are now seen sober-minded; and we see the power of the intercession of Saints borne witness to by facts."

S. Ambrose writes: "Let all learn what champions I seek for, who may be able to fight for us, and are not wont to fight against us. I have obtained for you, O holy people (SS. Gervasius and Protasius, whose bodies he had discovered), those who can benefit all, and injure none. Such are the defenders that I seek for; such the soldiers that I have—soldiers, that is, not of this world, but soldiers of CHRIST. Of such I fear no envy, whose protection is the safer the more powerful it is. Yea, to those even who do envy me them, do I wish their protection

to be extended. Let them come, then, and see my body-guard. With arms like these I will not deny that I am surrounded. . . . . These eyes were closed as long as the bodies of the Saints lay buried in concealment. The LORD has opened our eyes; we have seen the aids wherewith we have oftentimes been defended. We saw them not, but we had them nevertheless. . . . . We had patrons, but we knew them not. . . . . The city which had eagerly obtained others' Martyrs, had lost its own. Though this be the gift of GOD, yet can I not but acknowledge the favour which the LORD JESUS CHRIST has bestowed on the days of my Priesthood; and as I cannot deserve to be myself a Martyr, I have procured these Martyrs for you." He speaks of the miracles that were wrought by the touching of their relics, and of the depositing the relics under the Altar. (*Epist.* xxii., class 1. *Sorori Suæ.*)

S. Augustine, over and over again, refers to the miracles on that occasion, some of which he saw wrought:—"I was there: I was at Milan. I knew the miracles done. GOD testifying to the precious deaths of the Saints; that through these miracles that *death* might now be not only *precious in the sight of* GOD, but also in the sight of men. A blind man, very well known in the city, received his sight. He ran; he caused himself to be led; he came back without a guide. We have not yet heard that he is dead; perhaps he is still living. He dedicated himself to serve, during his whole life, in that basilica of theirs, where are their bodies" (*Serm.* 286 *in Nat. MM. Prostas. et Gervas*).

But there were objectors in that day, as there are now. S. Augustine replied to one such, "That Faustus hence also slanders us, because we honour the places dedicated to the Martyrs, saying that herein we have made an exchange of idols, does not so much move me to reply to his slander, as to show that this Faustus, in his eagerness to slander, has chosen to wander out of the follies of even Manichæus himself; and has fallen, I know not by what heedlessness, into the common and poetical opinion of the Pagans, from which he would fain appear as remote as possible. For, whereas he has said that we have changed idols into Martyrs, 'whom,' says he, 'you worship with similar supplications; you appease the shades of the dead with wine and meats.' Are there, then, 'shades of the dead?' . . . . What is their substance—what their place? But in his eagerness to speak evil of us, Faustus has forgotten what he was saying; or, haply, whilst asleep, he dictated 'shades,' whilst dreaming, and was not awake when he read his own words. But the Christian

people unites in celebrating, with religious solemnity, the memories of the Martyrs, both to excite to an imitation of them, and to be associated with their merits, and aided by their prayers: yet so that to none of the Martyrs, though in places dedicated to Martyrs, do we raise Altars. For what prelate, standing at the Altar, in the places of their holy bodies, ever said, We offer to thee, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian? But what is offered is offered to GOD, Who crowned the Martyrs, in places dedicated to their memories whom He crowned; that from the admonition furnished by those very places, a greater affection may arise to make our love keener both towards those whom we are able to imitate, and towards Him by Whose help we have that ability. We, therefore, worship the Martyrs with that worship of love and of fellowship, with which, even in this life, holy men are worshipped whose hearts we feel are ready to endure a similar death for evangelic truth. But the Martyrs do we worship the more devotedly, as it is safer, after their conflicts overcome; as, also, with more confident promise do we exalt those who are already triumphant in a happier life, than those who are still engaged in battle in this life. But with that worship which, in the Greek, is called *latria*—in the Latin it cannot be expressed by one word—as it is a kind of service properly due to the Divinity, we neither worship, nor teach to worship, other than the One GOD" (lib. xx., *Contra Faustum*).

S. Augustine also contributes the following; and I could, from this Father alone, give many more examples, if time and space allowed; but I must restrict myself:—"A certain woman seeing that her child was lost to her, and lost irreparably . . . . raised the dead body, and ran with it to the place dedicated to the blessed Martyr Stephen, and began to demand her son from him, and to say, 'Holy Martyr, thou seest that no comfort remains to me. For I cannot say my son has gone before me, when thou knowest that he is lost; and thou seest why I lament. Restore my child, that I may have him in the sight of Him Who crowned thee.' Whilst uttering these and the like words in prayer, her tears not asking, but, as I have said, in a manner demanding her son, he came to life. And for that she said: 'Thou knowest why I seek for him,' GOD also wished to manifest her true disposition. At once she carried him to the Priests; he was baptised, sanctified, anointed, hands were imposed, and all the Sacraments being completed, he was taken away. But she removed him with such a countenance as though she were not bearing him to the rest of the tomb, but to the bosom of the Martyr Stephen" (vol. v., *Sermon* cccxxiv.).

And that, in early times, the Blessed Virgin was dignified above all Saints and Angels may appear from this passage of S. Proclus, one out of a very great number that might be cited: "Though all the festivals in memory of the Saints are wonderful, yet is there nothing that equals in glory this present festival (of the Blessed Virgin). Abel is famed on account of his sacrifice. Enoch is commemorated for having been well-pleasing unto God; Melchisedec is announced as God's image . . . but nothing is so great as Mary, the Mother of God. . . . There is then nothing in life such as Mary is. Run in thought through creation, O man, and see if there be any thing equal to or greater than that holy and Virgin Mother of God. Traverse the earth; look over the sea; examine the air; in mind, search into the heavens; consider all the invisible powers; and see whether there is in the whole creation another marvel so great. The *heavens* indeed *show forth the glory of God;* Angels minister with fear; Archangels adore with trembling; the Cherubim, unable to bear the glory, tremble; the Seraphim, fluttering around, approach not; . . . sum up all things the most marvellous, and wonder at the superiority of the Virgin—that Him, Whom all creation hymns the praises of with fear and trembling she alone has, in a manner ineffable, received into her chamber. Blessed through her are all women. The female sex is no longer an execration; for it has obtained that whereby it shall surpass even Angels in glory. Eve has been healed. . . . And *the* Mary is also worshipped, because she has become the mother and servant, and cloud, and chamber, and ark of the Lord. . . . For this cause, let us say to her, '*Blessed art thou among women,*' who alone hast healed the grief of Eve; who alone hast wiped away the tears of Eve; who alone hast borne the world's Price." (*Ordo*, v. p. 631.)

Not to confine ourselves to single writers, let us hear the Fathers of Chalcedon, one of the four Councils which established the Faith, and by which true doctrine is to be tested by the Courts of England. "Cecropius, Bishop of Sebastopolis, said, 'Seest thou, my lord Stephen, how powerful are Flavian and the Emperor, even after death?' All the most reverend Bishops and Clergy of Constantinople said, 'This is the truth; we all say the same; everlasting be the memory of Flavian; . . . Flavian after death lives; the Martyr will pray for us.'" (*Actio* xi. *t.* iv. Labbé.) Again: "Certain Bishops of the province of Europe write to the Emperor Leo; and, having described the martyrdom of S. Proterius, they say: 'We place the most holy Proterius in the order and choir of Holy Martyrs; and we pray that, by his

intercessions, GOD may be propitious and merciful to us.'" (*Ep. ad Leon. P.* iii. *Con. Chal. t.* iv. Labbé.)

Any one, indeed, who will read through a collection of the Sermons of S. Gregory of Nazianzum, S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, S. Augustine, S. Paulinus of Nola, or the *Religious History* of Theodoret, will see how steeped they were in the belief of Invocation of the Saints, as a means of procuring favours both temporal and spiritual. And I venture to say that any one who shall have undertaken that salutary task will be thoroughly dissatisfied with Anglican practice—or rather the lack of all practice—in this matter. Few suspect—and I confess that, till I examined into the matter, I was one of the many who did not suspect—that the Churches at the beginning of the Fifth Century presented much the appearance of the Foreign Churches as we may see them at this day, as regards the popular reverence to the Saints. Yet Theodoret tells us (vol. iv. pp. 923, &c.) "That they who faithfully petition obtain their requests, their votive offerings, significative of their cures, plainly testify. For some bring representations of eyes, others of feet, others of hands, some of which are made of gold, and others of silver. For the GOD of these Martyrs receives the gifts, though small and of little cost, computing the gift by the means of the giver. And these things, thus deposited, testify to their deliverance from sufferings, set aside thus as a memorial by those who have been made whole; while they proclaim the power of the Martyrs that lie there."

What are we to say to all this? Is our practice any thing like it? Can we say that we reproduce the Catholic Church of the Fourth Century, whilst, in this matter at least, we are so very far different? There is among Englishmen a hatred of shams, a contempt for those who knowingly try to perpetuate them. Be it our endeavour, then, in GOD's holy Name, to make our claim more real than it now is, by restoring first to our private devotions the Angelic Salutation and the Litanies of the Saints; and let us have the advocacy of these powerful intercessors for the restoration of the due and fitting public honours with which our forefathers sought to do them reverence, for a thousand years before the terrible losses of the Sixteenth Century. But after all, the practical question will remain to be answered, What are we to believe positively?—and, what are we to do in carrying our belief into practice? Nowhere shall we find a more moderate statement of practical belief in this matter than the Fathers of Trent have put forth. It will be seen that a wide range is left for individual judgment. The Church

of Rome indeed has not committed herself to any particular form of Invocation. She merely ordains generally, "that, agreeably to the usage of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, received from the primitive times of the Christian Religion, and agreeably to the consent of the holy Fathers, and to the decrees of sacred Councils, the Bishops and others especially instruct the Faithful diligently concerning the Intercession and Invocation of Saints; the honour paid to relics; and the legitimate use of images; teaching them that the Saints who reign together with CHRIST offer up their own prayers to GOD for men; that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their prayers, aid, and help, for obtaining benefits from GOD, through His Son, JESUS CHRIST our LORD, Who is our Only Redeemer and Saviour; but that they think impiously who deny that the Saints, who enjoy eternal happiness in Heaven, are to be invoked; or who assert, either that they do not pray for men, or that the Invocation of them to pray for each of us, even in particular, is idolatry; or that it is repugnant to the word of GOD, and is opposed to the honour of the One Mediator between GOD and men, CHRIST JESUS; or that it is foolish to supplicate, vocally or mentally, those who reign in Heaven." (*Council of Trent*, Sess. xxv.) Those practices, which not unnaturally excite painful feelings in the minds of those who witness them, mixed, as they confessedly are, with things which border very closely on idolatry, it will thus be seen, find no support in the Decrees of that Church. There is nothing in the foregoing which any Christian man, conversant with the writings of the Fathers, need hesitate to accept, or be dubious about acting on.

It may be asked what prayers are suitable for the common use of Christian people? Before any reply be made, it may be well to state generally that the examples of the different classes of prayers here furnished are derived from Eastern as well as Western sources. The Greek Church indeed is less "moderate" than the Latin in her devotions to the Saints. Her Services are full of such prayers; and they are moulded very much in that form which finds least support from our writers, *i. e.* they ask directly from the Saints that which GOD alone can grant. There can, however, be no doubt that the Angelic Salutation, commonly called the "Angelus," while it is Scriptural, is now in the most widely-extended use. Persons may object to the comparative lateness of its introduction. It does not appear to have been said by our Saxon ancestors, and the first direct intimation of its use in England is in the year 1237. With the exception of the introduction of the word Mary, how-

ever, it was then recited just as it appears in Scripture, and so it remained till the time of Pope Urban IV., 1261-64, when the words, "JESUS CHRIST, Amen," were added to it. Thus it continued up to the Reformation, and thus it is found in the *Horæ of the Blessed Virgin*, printed in this country in 1526: "Hail! Mary, Full of Grace, the LORD is with thee: Blessed art thou among women, and Blessed is the Fruit of thy womb, JESUS, Amen." Those, however, who agree with the sentiments propounded in my Essay, will have no objection to add the prayer which is now commonly affixed to it: "Holy Mary, Mother of GOD, pray for us sinners, now, and in the hour of our death. Amen." The *Theotokos Parthenos*, (says the author of *Rosaries:* compiled for the use of English Churchmen. *Lumley*, 1853,) which is the form of the Hail! Mary in use in the Eastern Church, runs thus:—"Hail! Virgin Mary, Mother of GOD, Full of Grace, the LORD is with thee; Blessed art thou amongst women, and Blessed is the Fruit of thy womb, which gave birth to the SAVIOUR of our souls." Another form of the Angelic Salutation occurs in the following *troparion*, taken from the Hour Service:—"All generations call thee Blessed, O Virgin Mother of GOD, for in thee the Incomprehensible CHRIST, our GOD, was pleased to be comprehended. Blessed also are we, having thee for our patroness: day and night watching over us, the sceptres even of the kingdom become strong through thy intercessions; wherefore, hymning thee with one accord, we cry to thee, 'Hail! thou that art highly favoured, the LORD is with thee.'" In the preparatory part of the Greek Liturgy, the Priest and Deacon who are about to celebrate stand before the "Ikonastasis," and salute the Ikon of the Blessed Virgin thus: "Grant us compassion, Mother of GOD, since thou art the fountain of mercy: look upon the people who have sinned, show us ever thy power; for, hoping in thee, we cry thee 'Hail!' as formerly did Gabriel, the chief leader of the bodiless ones."

The use of the Confiteor, either in its abbreviated form, "the whole company of Heaven," or with the special mention of the Saints, is now so established in use, by the increased resort to the Confessional, that there is little need to say much on that head. The form, as we now have it, dates from the early part of the Thirteenth Century, though *a* form is said to have existed so early as the time of Pontianus, who was Pope A.D. 231. An old form is given by Catalani (*Pontif. Rom. de Ordinat. Presbyt.* § 19 n.). "I confess to Thee, Eternal High Priest, and Minister of the Saints, and Priest of the New Tabernacle." I personally prefer the usual form, "I confess to Almighty GOD,

to the Blessed Mary Ever-Virgin, to the Blessed Michael the Archangel, to the Blessed John the Baptist, to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, to all the Saints, and to you, my brethren, that I have sinned greatly in thought, word, and deed (*here smite the breast thrice, saying*) through my fault, through my fault, through my exceeding great fault. Wherefore I pray the Blessed Mary Ever-Virgin, the Blessed Michael the Archangel, the Blessed John Baptist, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, all the Saints, and you, my brethren, to pray to the LORD our GOD for me. Amen." The Confiteor has nothing precisely corresponding with it in the Greek Rite. At the beginning of the Midnight or Matin Service, the 51st Psalm is recited; and in the great afternoon or Vesper Service we have the following: "Have mercy upon us, O LORD, have mercy upon us: bereft of all excuse, we sinners lay this our supplication before Thee as our Master. Have mercy upon us."

And then,

"LORD, have mercy upon us, for in Thee is our trust; be not angry with us very sore; remember not our transgressions; but look upon us now in pity, and ransom us from our enemies; for Thou art our GOD, and we are Thy people; we are all the work of Thy hands, and have all been called after Thy Name."

And then the Theotokion,

"Open to us the gate of pity, Blessed Theotokos; hoping in thee, we shall not miss our aim; by thee may we be freed from our perils; for thou art the salvation of the Christian race."

S. Gregory of Nyssa speaks of the doctrine of Guardian Angels as a tradition of the Church in his day—the Fourth Century. He says (*De Vita Mosis*, p. 195), "There is a certain declaration which derives belief from a tradition of our fathers, which says that after our nature had fallen into sin, GOD left us not in our ruin, neglected and uncared for, but appointed one of the incorporeal Angels as a sharer in each one's battles during life." The other S. Gregory speaks, not only of guardians of individuals, but of those of cities and churches. S. Basil says expressly (*Homily on Psalm* xxxiv. 7) "An Angel of the LORD attends upon every believer in CHRIST, if we do not by our evil deeds drive him away. For as smoke drives away bees, and a foul smell drives away doves; so, too, does tear-causing and foul sin drive away the Guardian Angel of our life!" And S. Ambrose, who is very full of angelic protection, says, "The Angels, who have been given to us for our protection, are to be invoked in our behalf," (*De Viduis*, c. ix.). It is common to ask the Angels, not only for their prayers, but for their protection, this being the special

work assigned to them by Almighty God. Thus: "O Angel of God, who art my guardian, do thou enlighten with thy heavenly radiance me, who am committed to thy care, and guard, rule, and direct me aright. Amen." The following are the two prayers given in the Horology for the 8th of November. On this day in the East S. Michael and the rest of the bodiless powers are commemorated in the following prayers, amongst others:—"O leaders of the Heavenly host, we, unworthy, humbly beseech you to fortify us with your petitions, guarding us, when falling, under the covering of your incorporeal wings, and effectually aiding us. Deliver us from dangers, as the commanders of the hosts above."

Again, "O leaders of the hosts of God, ministers of the Divine glory, conductors of men and captains of the bodiless ones, bring to us that which is profitable to us, and the Divine compassion, as being the leaders of the bodiless ones." There is a regular service in the Horarium, called "a supplicatory Canon to the Angel Guardian of man's life." It consists of a series of hymns and prayers. The following is the prayer which is to be addressed to one's own Guardian:—"Holy Angel, who hast the charge of my wretched soul and of my miserable life, desert not me, the sinful one, nor flee from me on account of my want of discipline; give not place to the evil demon; overcome the tyranny of this mortal body of mine; strengthen my wretchedly negligent hand, and lead me in the path of salvation. Yea, Angel of God, and protector of my wretched soul and body, pardon me all those things in which I have offended thee all the days of my life, and also for what I may have done amiss this very day. Watch over me during this night, and protect me against all assaults of the enemy, that I may not by any sin excite the anger of God. Keep watch over me as the minister of God, that I may be kept in His fear, and prove myself a worthy servant of His holiness. Amen."

The Litany is a western form of devotion. There are several, Litanies of the Saints. These, after the usual Invocation of the Divine Persons, proceed to call upon the Saints to *pray for us*, generally in the following order:—Holy Mary, Holy Mother of God, Holy Virgin of virgins, SS. Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, then all the Angels and Archangels, S. John Baptist, S. Joseph, the Patriarchs and Prophets, then the Apostles singly, the Evangelists, the Holy Innocents, the Martyrs by name, the Bishops and Confessors, the Doctors, the Holy Virgins and Women, Monks and Hermits, Penitents, &c. The form most nearly approaching to this in the Eastern Church is what is styled "Ectene." The following will give some idea of this form of devotion: it is taken from the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom:—

*Deacon.* Protect, save, pity, and guard us, O GOD, by Thy grace.
*Choir.* Kyrie Eleison.
*Deacon.* That the whole day may be perfect, holy, peaceful, and sinless, let us ask of the LORD.
*Choir.* Vouchsafe, O LORD—
*Deacon.* The Angel of peace, faithful guide, guardian of our souls and bodies, let us ask from the LORD.
*Choir.* Vouchsafe, O LORD—
*Deacon.* Pardon and remission of our sins let us ask of the LORD.
*Choir.* Vouchsafe, O LORD—
*Deacon.* Things that are good and profitable to our souls, and peace to the world, let us ask from the LORD.
*Choir.* Vouchsafe, O LORD—
*Deacon.* That we may spend the remainder of our life in peace and penitence let us ask of the LORD.
*Choir.* Vouchsafe, O LORD—
*Deacon.* A Christian end to our life, without pain, without shame, peaceful, and a good confession before the terrible judgment-seat of CHRIST, let us ask of the LORD.
*Choir.* Vouchsafe, O LORD—
*Deacon.* Commemorating our most holy, pure, and most blessed and glorious Lady, the Mother of GOD, and Ever-Virgin Mary, with all Saints, let us commend ourselves and each other, and all our life to CHRIST our GOD.
*Choir.* To Thee, O LORD.

These will afford examples of all the more common forms of Invocation, both in East and West.

HENRY HUMBLE.

P.S.—Many of the quotations in the above Essay are taken at second-hand, principally from Bishop Forbes' *Considerationes Modestæ*. In several instances I have verified those which I have thus borrowed, and have invariably found them correct; and the great accuracy of my friend, the Rev. G. H. Forbes, who re-edited the edition printed in the *Anglo-Catholic Library*, is a guarantee for the correctness of the rest.

H. H.

# Missions and Preaching Orders.

An English parish, as it might readily be sketched on paper, presents one of the most perfect systems of religious organization that can well be conceived. We can imagine the church as nearly as may be in the centre of the inhabited area attached to it, spacious and handsome in its proportions, well furnished with every adjunct which will conduce to the due and reverent celebration of God's worship, and equally free to all comers, be they young or old, rich or poor. Close by, a roomy and convenient parsonage for the Incumbent and his fellow-helpers. An ample staff of Assistant Curates, *i. e.* in the proportion (let us say) of one Priest to every thousand of the population. Commodious school-houses for the children, and residences for their teachers. Besides this, there will be a Parochial Sisterhood, with its soup-kitchen and wardrobe; Guilds for the younger members of both sexes, and Societies of lay-helpers, for carrying on the various religious and charitable agencies for promoting the spiritual or temporal welfare of the parishioners. All this there may be, of course, but we have been merely supposing a machine—the framework of the watch, its wheels, barrel, axles, fusee, verge, balance, and so forth, but as yet utterly useless as a timekeeper. Even allowing that the mainspring, as the motive power, is there, the various component parts need to be very accurately adjusted, and the instrument as a whole to be most carefully regulated, or failure, more or less complete, must necessarily be the result.

Now let us take the Incumbent of such a parish as I have cited, and let us see what are the necessary qualifications for the thorough and satisfactory accomplishment of his work. To begin with, he ought to be a man of robust health, with a warm heart, a clear head, and an even temper. He must be a sound theologian, and his mind must be well stored with varied learning. He must combine business habits with ripe scholarship. He must further be an able administrator, so as to keep all his various parochial agencies in proper working order; a preacher, who can reach the hearts of rich and poor alike; a practised director, well skilled in spiritual disease, with a suffi-

cient turn for and knowledge of casuistry to give sound counsel when difficult cases of conscience arise. When we add to this such an acquaintance with the principles of ecclesiastical music as will enable him to take the control in all matters connected with the choral services of the Church, and to perform respectably his own portion in them, we have a very fair list of qualifications which must be found in combination in our ideal Incumbent. Summed up in a few words, such a one would unite in his own person the distinctive qualifications of a Divinity Professor, a Captain of a Frigate, a Physician, a Queen's Counsel, a merchant, and leader of an orchestra—a sufficiently varied series of endowments, it must be allowed. Again, if every thing is to be in perfect order, all his fellow-labourers must of course be equally efficient. There must be no jarring nor jealousy—no listlessness on the one hand, nor ill-directed zeal on the other—no cliqueism, nor aiming at undue influence, but a spirit of genuine harmony and good will pervading and directing the entire staff.

Here we have advanced a step further; but even supposing that this extent of Utopian perfection is reached, there are all the inhabitants of the parish to be taken into account. Unless we can succeed in producing the chimera which Pugin's highly-wrought enthusiasm for the Middle Ages conjured up in his fertile brain, and not only have holy Priests and holy Nuns, but holy every body as well, we are still far from reaching our ideal of a parish which in itself shall be complete. Practically, we must reckon upon each Incumbent having a fair share of vice and immorality in his district, which the most perfect parochial organization will be powerless to suppress. In spite of Church, Clergy, Sisters, and School-teachers, a considerable proportion of the population will remain untouched by the religious influences which surround them. And further, every person of experience knows, that even amongst those who in the main are really in earnest—the mass of regular Church-goers and Communicants—slackness and laxity will from time to time creep in; and that in order to keep them up to the mark, so to speak, there needs to be occasionally a little new blood infused into the system. True, this ought not to be the case. Men ought to be content to go on, month after month, and year after year, gradually growing in grace, and evincing a steady development of spiritual strength upon the same unvaried and unvarying course of wholesome religious food. There are many who deprecate any thing approaching to excitement in such matters, and denounce what they call spiritual dram-drinking, as calculated to enervate rather

than to increase strength. It should, however, be remembered that in this respect the requirements of the soul and body are closely akin. The most robust appetite does occasionally crave for a change of diet; and a returned tourist does not enjoy his plain joint the less for having had a fortnight's experience of French cookery. As to the charge of promoting a taste for spiritual dram-drinking, which is brought against those who advocate such a system as that proposed, it is at least worth bearing in mind, that the moderate and judicious employment of stimulants neither is in itself dram-drinking, nor is it necessarily provocative of a taste for mischievous excess. On the contrary, nine out of ten members of the medical profession recommend their due use on sanatary grounds; and a similar capacity for estimating the diagnosis of the diseases of the soul forces upon the minds of spiritual physicians a similar conviction from a like process of reasoning. They feel that there are times when all, more or less, need something to stir them up, and to impart fresh religious energy; in a word, that no parish, however well furnished with appliances for religious work, or however perfectly administered, can afford to dispense entirely with external aid. The chief object of this paper is to draw attention to a method by which the necessary aid may, to a certain extent at any rate, be supplied—a method which has beyond all question been found effective in other parts of the Church, and which there is every reason to believe would, if properly carried out, prove equally effective in our own.

But before entering upon the immediate subject itself, it appears to be desirable to support the principle above laid down, by reference to the practice of religious bodies external to the Anglican Communion.

Every body knows that the Preaching Orders founded by S. Dominic and S. Francis of Assisi, in the thirteenth century, were set on foot in the first instance to fill a gap which the parish Priests were powerless to supply, and to undertake a work which they were unable to fulfil. At that date Gnostic heresy was beginning to make hostile inroads upon the territory of the Church, and seriously to endanger the ancient landmarks of the Faith. Some special agency was felt to be needful at such a crisis; and, notwithstanding that the Lateran Council in 1215 had forbidden the establishment of new Orders, the Pope in each case accorded his favour to these institutions. Although it would be most unjust to compare the ordinary run of clergy in our own times with those of the thirteenth century, the general principle which led to the formation of itinerant Preaching Orders

remains the same, and the constitution and circumstances of the English Church at the present day, at all events, are such as would prevent the recurrence of the evils which sometimes, perhaps often, attended upon the friar's ministrations. But reference is merely made to these by the way, as serving in some sort to illustrate the general principle, upon which the following argument is based. It will be more to the purpose if we pass over a few centuries to the times of that wonderful man, S. Vincent de Paul, whose work has, in more ways than one, been permitted by God to exert so striking an influence upon the religious movement of our own day in England. As has often been the case in the outset of great works, one of those institutions which have helped to make the name of S. Vincent de Paul dear to the heart of every true Catholic arose from a very trifling cause. Whilst living as chaplain and private tutor in the noble family of De Gondi, he was summoned to hear the confession of a dying peasant, who had always during his life been held in estimation amongst his neighbours as one of high moral character and worth. The Priest recommended him to make a general confession, and this resulted in the disclosure of many deadly sins which the penitent had never mustered courage to confess to his own parish Priest. In the joy of his heart, the dying man himself avowed, in the presence of the Countess de Joigny, the wife of S. Vincent's patron, that this had been the case with him. The noble lady was so deeply impressed by what she heard that she conferred with her chaplain as to the best means by which this newly-gained experience might be turned to account. If this man, whose morals had been deemed so unimpeachable, was in reality stained with many and grievous sins, might not the same in all probability be also the case with multitudes of others? If the influence of a stranger, well versed in the intricacies of spiritual disease, had succeeded in effecting a conversion where the exertions of the regular parish Priest had been of no avail, might not a similar happy result be anticipated if such influence could be exercised on a larger scale? The attempt was made; and on the Feast of the Conversion of S. Paul, 1617, S. Vincent preached in a neighbouring church on the subject of a General Confession. The result was far greater than could have been anticipated, and such crowds came to make their general confessions, that the Priest was compelled to send for assistance to the Jesuits at Amiens. This was S. Vincent's first Mission, and its effects were so encouraging that he at once arranged for like gatherings at other villages on the De Gondi estate; and with such success were these crowned, that the

Countess set apart a sum of money to secure the services of Mission Preachers, who should make a similar tour through the villages belonging to the family once every five years. From this arose the institution of the Lazarist Fathers, with which, scarcely less than with that of the Sisters of Charity, S. Vincent's name is ever connected in our minds.

Although the value of these periodical revival meetings, as we may fairly term them, has long been felt on the Continent, it is only in comparatively late years that the system has been carried out by the Priests of the Roman Church in England. At the present time, as every body knows, the holding of Missions is one of the most important and highly-valued agencies in use amongst them. Indeed, some of the Religious Orders and Congregations devote themselves almost exclusively to this work—the Dominicans, Passionists, and Redemptorists being thus chiefly engaged. At the very time that I am writing these pages, some Friars-Preachers from Ireland are holding a Mission in the north of London. The services continue for a fortnight, including three Sundays, and the order in which they are conducted may be seen from the following extract from the programme which has been widely circulated in the neighbourhood :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mass . . . . . | 5.15 a.m. |
| „ . . . . . | 6.45 „ |
| „ . . . . . | 7.30 „ |
| „ . . . . . | 8. 0 „ |
| „ for children . . . . . | 9. 0 „ |
| Discourse . . . . . | 9.30 „ |
| Mass . . . . . | 10.0 „ |
| Catechism and Benediction . . | 3.30 p.m. |
| Instruction. Rosary. Sermon, followed by Benediction . . | 7.30 „ |

This is the scheme for weekdays; that for Sundays is nearly identical with it, the only difference being that there are five Celebrations of the Blessed Sacrament instead of six, the first being at 6.45 a.m. In addition to this, notice is given that the Fathers will hear confessions in the morning, and until one o'clock p.m., from four till seven in the afternoon, and in the evening, after Benediction. They also invite all who desire special private instruction to apply between any of the services. At the close of the Mission a Confirmation will be held by the Archbishop.

The effect of these Mission Services is oftentimes very great.

Some years ago I was talking to one of the Passionist Fathers on the subject, and he assured me that it was a very common thing on such occasions, both for men and women, who had perhaps neglected their religious duties for years, to take the opportunity which a Mission afforded them of making a fresh start in their spiritual life. The shyness which they would not unnaturally feel in going to their own Priest, whose warnings and exhortations they had hitherto systematically neglected, would prove no hindrance to them when the services were conducted, the instructions given, and the confessionals occupied by those who had never seen them before, and who in all probability would never see them again. Besides this, the Mission week or fortnight is a definite time for doing that which their consciences, doubtless, had often told them they ought to do; and the vigorous and searching style of preaching adopted by the Missioners would supply exactly the kind of encouragement which they would need.

Notwithstanding the manifestly one-sided and unjust attack by the anonymous author of *Le Maudit*, upon the system of Missions as pursued in France at the present day, no unprejudiced person can help feeling that periodical gatherings, such as have been above described, are calculated, *ceteris paribus*, to produce the most happy results. There is an eminently practical tone about them, and an evident attempt to supply by their means that occasional stimulus which man's complex nature requires. The view which has been taken of the Mission system in the foregoing remarks, regards it rather as an agency for the conversion of the irreligious than for the edification of those who are on the whole living a Christian life. The same principle holds good in each case, and the absolute need of occasional change for the furtherance of the soul's health, no less than for that of the body, has been recognized in one form or another by all earnest religionists. John Wesley, no doubt, touched the right chord in establishing his order of itinerant preachers; and so effective has the system which supplies a variation in the ministers been found, that it has been retained in use, and has probably conduced much towards making the Wesleyan Methodists the most numerous body of Nonconformists at the present time in England. We must, however, I think all agree that, when carried to so great an extent as it is in their case, these changes are likely to become the reverse of healthy, and tend to keep up a chronic excitement and taste for variety, rather than to conduce to solid spiritual edification. Amongst the Independents no such constitutional provision to secure variety and freshness

in the ministry is made; but a mode is adopted which practically answers the same purpose. When the members of a congregation find that a change is necessary for their own good, or for that of "the cause," an arrangement is made by which their minister receives "a call" from some other neighbourhood, while they give a similar "call" to some other minister who is leaving his chapel under the like circumstances. If, for any reason, this plan cannot in any special case be satisfactorily carried out, the unfortunate and eminently "Independent" shepherd is worried by the sheep, till he is forced, in self-defence and of his own accord, to leave.

But I need not turn to Dissenting bodies to support my proposition, for each of the two great sections in the Church of England recognizes the advantage of an occasional fillip to keep up an interest in religious work, and to prevent spiritual drowsiness from becoming torpor; and each of the two provides for it in its own way. The Low-Churchmen have their Exeter Hall meetings, and their frequently recurring charity sermons, preached by some celebrity who is known to "draw." The High-Churchmen, moving in a more Catholic direction, endeavour to rouse their people by an annual Dedication Festival, with its octave of special celebrations and services, with or without sermons. All this tends in a right direction, and in part supplies the requirements of which all feel the necessity. The system which the present Essay is designed to advocate is simply intended as something over and above all this—something which shall satisfactorily meet and provide for the twofold want—the conversion of the irreligious, and the periodical rousing to increased endeavours of those who are already imbued with Christian principles.

The Church of England has unquestionably many strong points in her system, which, so far, enable her to contrast favourably with other religious bodies; but it is equally unquestionable that she has many weak ones. Perhaps one of the most patent of these weaker points is her peculiar tendency to what may be called "hum-drum." Variety, proverbially charming, is, in ninety-nine Anglican churches out of a hundred, positively unknown. I speak, of course, of the order of the services. In the doctrinal character of the sermons there is certainly no lack of variety, enough and to spare. Without laying ourselves open to the charge of a morbid craving after unhealthy excitement, we may venture an opinion that the repetition of "Dearly Beloved Brethren," at the least seven hundred and thirty times

every year, is calculated to become a little wearisome by the time that we have reached mid-life. The "soberness" of the Prayer Book services, of which we have all heard so much at various times, past and present, may not unfairly be regarded as a convertible term with dulness; and, unless I am mistaken, has had not a little to do with the Church's loss of influence with the masses. It is that very "soberness" which makes our Services so uninteresting and unattractive; and when we adopt aggressive action against spiritual torpor and positive godlessness, this peculiarity in the ordinary character of our worship should serve as a warning of what we should avoid, rather than as an example which we should endeavour to imitate. Hence it follows, that if a Mission is to be efficiently conducted, those who are engaged in it must necessarily employ some kind of service which will take people out of the common and already too deeply-worn rut. It will, no doubt, seem to many persons a bold thing to say, that, for some purposes, the ordinary Prayer Book services are simply a failure; some will regard such an opinion as distinctly disloyal, whilst a few, probably, will denounce it as little short of revolutionary. Again, I fully expect to be charged with advocating Sensationalism in what I am about to urge. Be it so. The word is, perhaps, not exactly the one which I should have chosen myself, but it will answer the purpose well enough. I am an advocate for sensational religious services *occasionally*, simply because I believe that such services are calculated to exercise, in many instances, an influence which the unvarying routine of Mattins and Evensong signally fail to effect. The Church being intended to bear upon all classes of persons, at all times, and under all circumstances, must, if she is to perform her office aright, necessarily possess such plasticity as will enable her to meet the wants, and harmonize with the characteristics of the day; and not only possess such a quality, but exercise it too.

Now, whether it be good or evil, a taste for Sensationalism is undoubtedly one of the great features of our time. A novel by Miss Braddon or Mrs. Henry Wood will find readers by the thousand, whilst one of the Miss Austin type would scarcely gain circulation enough to pay for the paper on which it was printed. Or again, take Curiosity as a kindred characteristic of our own day. Do not the children of this world, in this respect also, show more wisdom than the children of light? Look as you walk along the streets at the style of advertisements which are in vogue, and which, therefore, we may presume, are found to pay the best. A large black disc with the word *Snow*, in

white letters, in its centre, sets people wondering what it can mean; whilst the mysterious announcement, in type of varied colour, *Gold, Silver, Lead,* excites similar curiosity; and the literary Annuals which subsequently appear under these several titles are found to attract more purchasers than if they had been heralded in a more common-place way. Sensationalism, of one kind or another, evidently being the popular taste at present, it surely appears something worse than unwise to allow the World to reap all the benefit of it. As it was said by one in a former day, who adapted popular melodies to Hymns for Congregational use, that he did not see why the devil should have all the best tunes, so may we contend that the Church ought to take advantage of the prevailing taste, and at least try to direct it to the honour of her LORD. The duty of the Church is to deal with men, not as they ought to be, but as they are; to take notice of their varying peculiarities, and even of their foibles; and to do her best to turn them to account for their soul's health. If a stream is running strongly and steadily in one particular direction, in which it is doing little or no good, although we cannot create a new stream exactly where we please, we may still, by a little thoughtful care and skilful engineering, turn the stream which already exists in such a direction that it may water our own meadows, or work our own mill. And similarly with the Church, and the stream of popular taste and sentiment. Her office is not so much to attempt to repress them, which can scarcely end otherwise than in failure, as to strive to direct and sanctify them. If the spirit of Sensationalism is uppermost, as it is at present, let us have, in a good sense of the term, sensational services, and try in this way to attract to GOD'S worship those whom we find we do not and cannot attract by ordinary stereotyped and common-place modes. Or again, take the question of Curiosity. If, by exciting this feeling we can induce outsiders to come to Church, why should we not excite it, within such limits as reverence and common sense will dictate? The power of curiosity in inducing persons to attend Churches where the services are conducted in a somewhat unusual way, and the probability of such casual visitors being captivated by what they see and by what they hear, is recognized by the Dean of Carlisle, who has recently warned his congregation of the danger into which a too inquiring mind may lead them. He is fully justified in his supposition, and his testimony is that of a highly impartial witness to this truth.

I am firmly of opinion that the experience of a very large number of Priests of the advanced school of thought amongst us

will coincide with my own, when I say that some of the best, the stoutest-hearted, and the most devout Churchmen that I know, owe their present faith in the first instance (under GOD) to sheer curiosity. They have been led by what they heard in society, or by what they read in newspapers—and very often from antagonistic sources—to visit certain Churches where Catholic doctrine has been preached in its fulness, and where the order of worship has been so arranged as to be the obvious exponent of such doctrine, and they went to see what there was to be seen. Though, at first, they may have gone from a low motive, they have gone a second time from a higher motive, and have continued to go from a higher motive still. The names of persons well known at the present time to many Churchmen rise unbidden in my mind as I write. It is not as though our ordinary services were already popular, or as though we had the hearts of the masses already with us. Were this the case, we might be content to go on as we are and have been going on—we might well rest and be thankful. But when we look around at the teeming population of our large towns, and see, let us say, the members of the respectable shop-keeper class, so far as they are religious at all, filling Dissenting meeting-houses; when we see those of a lower grade in the social scale, the artisans and labourers, almost entirely ignoring the duty of public worship of any sort or kind, it is assuredly worse than folly to decry, and little better than folly not positively to adopt, any means by which the influence of the Church may be brought to bear upon those whom she has hitherto failed to touch. The mistake which persons of good intentions commonly make with regard to this question is, by narrowing it to the straitened limits of their own individual tastes and habits. They are satisfied with the Church Service as it is; and whether it be suited to the requirements of others is a thing about which they care absolutely nothing. They seem utterly unable to understand that there are other people in the world to be considered besides themselves; that those people have souls of which they have never learnt the value; and that the ordinary existing Church usage has not attractive power sufficient to induce them to come and learn to realize its worth. Why cannot these objectors be content to say, "I do not for myself, personally, like such and such a style of service, but if it in any way serves to draw outsiders to Church, and to convert even a few immortal souls, in GOD's Name let it be tried"? If they said this, the respect of every religious and sensible man would be accorded to their Christian large-heartedness, and they would at least be nearer than they are now to

S. Paul's mind when he averred that, "whether in pretence or in truth CHRIST was preached," he rejoiced, yea, and would rejoice.

It must be borne in mind, that in the present Essay I am mainly dealing with the means which may be employed for attracting once again to the Church those who either positively, as the Dissenters, or to all intents and purposes, as the irreligious millions, have left her pale. At the point to which we have now arrived, we are naturally led to consider the question of Services better suited to the requirements of these people than those which have already been provided in the authorized formularies. It would be going over already occupied ground to dwell upon the defects of the Prayer Book Mattins and Evensong, as offices for popular use, and more especially for missionary purposes. Mr. Baring-Gould has glanced at this subject, from one point of view, in his Essay on "The Revival of Religious Confraternities" which appeared in the First Series of *The Church and the World;* and Dr. Littledale has regarded it from another in his "Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on *Catholic Revision.*" There is, however, one phase of the question which neither of these gentlemen has dealt with; and it happens to be the one which will especially be in place here.

Leaving the Prayer Book as it stands now, for the sake of those who neither need nor desire any change, there is ample scope for the addition of Supplementary Services, simpler in character and more cheerful and rousing in effect than the accustomed forms. And it is most important to make it clearly understood that, under certain conditions very easy to be complied with, such Supplementary Services may be used in any Church or Chapel *in entire accordance with the existing law.* Sir Robert Phillimore, the present Dean of Arches, has placed this matter beyond the reach of question in his edition of Burns' *Ecclesiastical Law.* In the third volume of that work, page 439, he refers to the Statute 2 and 3 Edward VI., c. i. § 7, and adds:—"By the several Acts of Uniformity, the form of worship directed in the Book of Common Prayer shall be used in the Church and no other; but with this proviso, that it shall be lawful for all men, as well in Churches, Chapels, Oratories, and other places, to use openly any Psalms or Prayers taken out of the Bible at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the Service, or any part thereof, mentioned in the said Book."

In order to understand the full force of this Statute, with the Dean of Arches' explanation of it, and to appreciate the extent to which liberty is accorded to us with respect to Supplementary

Services, it must be remembered that these Acts were directed against those who objected to the Prayer Book on doctrinal grounds, and were designed to prevent the possibility of such persons shirking its use. Hence it necessarily follows that, in addition to any Psalm or Prayer taken out of the Bible, any portion of the Prayer Book might be used in drawing up a Supplementary Office. Hymns, whether in the Litany form or otherwise, provided that they fairly come under such a designation, have a kind of prescriptive right from long use; so that we should have as much liberty to introduce them where we pleased in the new Offices, as all Clergymen claim to introduce them in unauthorized places in the old ones. The Sermon, which is, of course, a totally unauthorized addition to the Service, save when it follows the Creed in the Office for the Celebration of the Holy Communion, stands, when used elsewhere, upon precisely the same footing as the unauthorized singing of Hymns. Here, then, we have the materials which we are plainly at liberty to use for our Supplementary Services. First of all, any *bonâ fide* portions of the Bible and Prayer Book; and, secondly, any sound Hymns which we choose, and any equally sound Sermons. The length of either of these parts of the Service, or how they are sung or preached, will be open to as much liberty as they are, by common consent, open to now.

With these resources at our command, I am absolutely at a loss to know what more we require for the formation of any Service for any occasion which would appeal to the sympathies of a general congregation collected in a Church. Take any of the ancient Offices of the Church, and examine their component parts. They are for the most part made up of the Invocation of the Holy TRINITY, which is a portion of Scripture; the "Our Father;" the Creed, frequently; Versicles and Responses, gathered mostly from the Bible; one or more Hymns; some Psalms, with their Antiphons generally selected from those Psalms; a Lection or two from Holy Scripture; some Collects; and a Benediction—in the words of Scripture or not, as the case may be. Sometimes a portion of the writings of one of the Fathers of the Church is inserted, which is equivalent in principle, however superior in substance, to a modern Sermon. True, we might, in our own case, desire a wider choice in the matter of Collects; but, with this exception, and that by no means a crucial one, what more liberty do we require than that which is already wisely accorded to us by the Church of England? A somewhat larger experience in the composition of Devotional Offices than falls to the lot of many English Clergymen enables

me to say with confidence, that, with such materials as we have already in our hands, we might draw up Services of the most elaborate, and, liturgically speaking, the most perfect character, let alone such simple forms as we should need for the purposes of Missions, or for ordinary Supplementary Offices for general and mixed congregations. For the most part, a long Litany Hymn, sung antiphonally and kneeling, with the Kyrie, "Our Father," Versicle and Response, and one Collect or more from the Prayer Book—in short, such a Litany as one of those at the end of *The People's Hymnal*, which would occupy from ten minutes to a quarter of an hour—would serve as the earlier portion of the Service. After these Prayers, a short Hymn might be sung, standing, in the ordinary way. Then would follow a passage of Holy Scripture, longer or shorter as circumstances might dictate. After this would come the Sermon, based upon some part of the Lection which had preceded it. Following upon this there would naturally be another Hymn; and this finished, the Priest might say, "The LORD be with you;" which naturally suggests, to some at least of those present, the Response, "And with thy spirit." "Let us pray," is then an intelligible warning for all to kneel down. The Kyrie and the "Our Father" might again be introduced, with some well-known Versicle and Response. And two or three appropriate Collects from the Prayer Book, with a Scriptural or other authorized Benediction, fitly close a very simple and practical, and, at the same time, an eminently warm and devotional Service. Every body could understand, and most people could practically join in such an Office as this. There is very little changing of attitude required, but yet plenty of mental variety. A kneeling posture at the opening is preferable to a standing one, which is calculated to make a person, unused to Church-going, fancy that every body is looking at him. A sufficiently long bodily rest comes in the very middle of the Service; and a longer kneeling space at its close than is ordinarily the case, is likely to send the congregation home with more devotional sentiments and calmer thoughts.

But let us see how some such form as this will look when it is drawn out—for variety's sake we will not keep exactly to the above scheme. As a Mission Office, its spirit must be penitential yet encouraging; and the love of JESUS to sinners must be brought out into strong relief. The Service might well begin with a hymn, as the Clergy and choir leave the vestry, and pass to their stalls. This would help to set persons who were not used to church-going, to some extent at their ease, and get rid of the formality and stiffness which generally characterize the

opening of our Church services. For this purpose the well-known hymn (in full) of Bishop Heber would serve admirably for a commencement:—

## Order for Evening Service.

[For a Mission.]

Processional Hymn.

LORD of Mercy and of Might,
Of mankind the Life and Light,
Maker, Teacher, Infinite:
JESU, hear and save.

[*After which, all kneeling, the Priest shall say:*]

In the Name + of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST. Amen.

Our FATHER, &c.

*V.* We have sinned, with our fathers.
*R.* *We have done amiss, and dealt wickedly.*
*V.* O GOD, make speed to save us.
*R.* *O Lord, make haste to help us.*

[*Here, all standing, the Priest shall say:*]

*V.* Glory be to the FATHER, &c.
*R.* *As it was in the beginning, &c.*

Hymn.

LORD, when we bend before Thy Throne,
And our confessions pour,
Teach us to feel the sins we own,
And hate what we deplore.

[Or any other Penitential Hymn.]

*Antiphon.* I am He that blotteth out thy transgressions.

*Psalms.*—6, 14, 15, 25, 32, 38, 51, 52, 53, 55, 86, 88, 112, 119 (1—8).

[Any of these may be selected.]

*Antiphon.* I am He that blotteth out thy transgressions, and will not remember thy sins.

[*Then shall follow a Scripture reading.*]

*Lesson.*—*Deut.* xxx. 1 *Sam.* xii. 20—25. *Is.* i. 16—20; lv. *Ezek.* xviii. *Jonah* iii. *S. Matt.* vi. 24—34; xxi. 28—32. *S. Luke* vii. 36—50; xi. 9—13; xv. *Acts* ix. 1—31; xiii. 26—41. *Rom.* xii. 2 *Cor.* v. *Gal.* v. 16—26. *Eph.* i. 1—14; ii. *Rev.* iii.; xxi.; xxii.[1]

*V.* But Thou, O LORD, have mercy upon us.
*R.* *Thanks be to God.*
*V.* Although we have sinned, yet have we an Advocate with the FATHER, JESUS CHRIST, the Righteous.
*R.* *And He is the Propitiation for our sins.*
*V.* Glory be to the FATHER, &c.
*R.* *As it was in the beginning, &c.*
*V.* For He was wounded for our transgressions.
*R.* *And smitten for our wickedness.*

Hymn.

To-day Thy mercy calls me,
To wash away my sin,
However great my trespass,
Whate'er it may have been.
However long from mercy
I may have turn'd away,
Thy Blood, O CHRIST, can cleanse me,
And make me white to-day.

To-day Thy gate is open,
And all who enter in
Shall find a FATHER'S welcome,
And pardon for their sin.
The past shall be forgotten,
And present joy be given,
A future grace be promised—
A glorious crown in Heaven.

To-day the FATHER calls me,
The HOLY SPIRIT waits,
The blessed Angels gather
Around the Heavenly gates.

[1] These references are merely suggestive. The Scripture should be chosen so as to be in harmony with the line of thought to be adopted in the Sermon.

No question will be asked me,
  How often I have come;
Although I oft have wander'd,
  It is my FATHER's home.

O all-embracing Mercy!
  Thou ever open door!
What should I do without thee
  When heart and life run o'er?
When all things seem against me,
  To drive me to despair,
I know one gate is open,
  One ear will hear my prayer[1].

[Or any other Penitential Hymn.]

The Sermon.

[*A Hymn in character with the Sermon may follow.*]

*V.* The LORD be with you.
*R.* *And with thy spirit.*

[*All kneeling, the Priest first saying,*]

Let us pray.

LORD, have mercy upon us.
*Christ, have mercy upon us.*
LORD, have mercy upon us.

Our FATHER, &c.

*V.* LORD, be merciful unto me.
*R.* *Heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee.*
*V.* Turn Thee again, O LORD, at the last.
*R.* *And be gracious unto Thy servant.*
*V.* O remember not the sins and offences of my youth.
*R.* *But according to Thy mercy think Thou upon me, O Lord, for Thy goodness.*
*V.* Help us, O GOD, our SAVIOUR.
*R.* *And for the glory of Thy Name, be merciful unto our sins, for Thy Name's sake.*
*V.* LORD, hear our prayer.
*R.* *And let our cry come unto Thee.*

[1] From *The People's Hymnal.* Masters.

Let us pray.

O GOD, whose nature and property, &c. (*Occasional Prayers*).
O LORD, we beseech Thee, &c. (*Commination Service*).
O Most Mighty God, &c. (*Commination Service*).

[The Collects for 5th Sunday after Epiphany; Septuagesima; Ash Wednesday; 4th Sunday in Lent; 24th Sunday after Trinity, are also suitable.]

Hymn.

[*To be sung kneeling.*]

"SAVIOUR, when in dust to Thee,
Low we bow the adoring knee."

[Or any other Penitential Hymn.]

Benediction.

Unto GOD's gracious Mercy, &c. (*Visitation of the Sick*).

Persons familiar with ancient Service Books will see that this Office is constructed in close, though not in servile, accordance with the old forms; and that the spirit of them, rather than the letter, has been adhered to in its compilation. There are several points in it to which attention ought to be drawn, and of which some explanation will, perhaps, be required by the general reader; but as a more special Office will be given lower down, such explanatory observations as are required will be appended to that, and will do service for both.

But further, let us follow out this idea of Supplementary Services which, by going out of the ordinary common-place routine, may tend not only to infuse a little new life into our ordinary congregations, but to give a spirit of reality to our Church worship which would be intelligible, and therefore to a certain extent attractive, to outsiders, and fairly take rank as a missionary agency. Except in times of public calamity, there is probably no occasion when the hearts of all are more open to religious impressions than at the in-gathering of the harvest. People feel at such a time that they are personally and deeply interested in what has taken place; and that most important truth, the perfect love and goodness of Almighty GOD to His people, can never be enlarged upon with more telling power than it can at this season. Harvest Festivals are

rapidly on the increase, and every year their importance is being more and more felt. In country places, men will go to Church then who otherwise perhaps never enter the House of God, except upon their Club-day in the Whitsun week; and in towns, a Harvest Service, when well arranged, is similarly found to attract. For the Morning Office, the Holy Eucharist is, of course, the proper form of worship; but I am now especially thinking of Evening Services, which are naturally the best attended on weekdays, and by which persons are gradually led up to an intelligent appreciation of the Church's most perfect "Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving[1]." Now, for such an occasion as that of which I speak, it would not be easy to construct an Office for a general congregation which would be less appropriate than the Prayer Book Evensong. By a rare chance there might possibly be some isolated Psalm amongst those falling to the share of the day which might bear upon the subject in hand, but this would be purely accidental. As to the Evensong Lessons appropriated by our Kalendar to October (the month in which Harvest Festivals are mostly held), with the exception of a brief reference to the miraculous feeding of the Israelites, with an equally brief application, in the first Lesson for the twenty-first day (Wisdom xvi. 20. 26), and a metaphorical allusion to sowing and reaping in the second Lesson for the twentieth day (Gal. vi. 7—9), the only mention of any thing connected with the harvest is such as to render the chapters positively more inappropriate than they would otherwise be (Judith ii. 27; viii. 3). Here, then, we have a grand opportunity for the use

[1] The Celebration of the Holy Eucharist is distinguished from all the other Services of the Church by Its being applicable to all circumstances and to all classes of people; and consequently, the consideration of It does not fall within the present line of argument. True, we may fairly desiderate such additions to our English Office as would supply the place of "Votive Masses" in the Roman Missal, in order to render the service more peculiarly appropriate for special occasions; but these are not in any way essential. The Church offers the representative Sacrifice, and the worshippers are at liberty to join in the Offering with any "intention" that they please, and can do so by laying stress, in their own accompanying devotions, upon whichever of the four ends with which It is offered to God is most suited to any particular occasion. Thus, in times of dangerous pestilence, the Eucharist would be regarded mainly as a *Sin-offering;* in a season of scarcity or the like, we should view It chiefly as an *Act of Supplication* for mercies; after an abundant harvest, the *Sacrifice of Thanksgiving* would naturally be the most prominent idea in connexion with It; and for special or unexpected mercies vouchsafed, It would be offered as an *Act of Adoration* to God, and be regarded in the aspect of a *Sacrifice of Praise.*

of a Supplementary Office "Proper of the Season" as Liturgiologists would say. In lieu of any thing better, the following might perhaps be worth consideration.

## Order for Evening Service.

[For a Harvest Festival.]

Processional Hymn.

[*Then, all kneeling, the Priest shall say:*]

In the Name + of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST. Amen.

Our FATHER, &c.

*V.* The eyes of all wait upon Thee, O LORD.
*R.* *And Thou givest them their meat in due season.*
*V.* Thou openest Thine hand.
*R.* *And fillest all things living with plenteousness.*
*V.* O GOD, make speed to save us.
*R.* *O Lord, make haste to help us.*

[*All standing.*]

*V.* Glory be to the FATHER, &c.
*R.* *As it was in the beginning, &c.*
*V.* Praise ye the LORD.
*R.* *The Lord's Name be praised.*

*Antiphon.* O LORD, how manifold are Thy works.

*Proper Psalms.*—104, 111, 126, 147.

*Antiphon.* O LORD, how manifold are Thy works! in wisdom hast Thou made them all: the earth is full of Thy riches.

*Short Lesson.*—*Deut.* xvi. 9—15.

*V.* But Thou, O LORD, have mercy upon us.
*R.* *Thanks be to God.*
*V.* It is better to trust in the LORD.
*R.* *Than to put any confidence in man.*
*V.* Glory be to the FATHER, &c.
*R.* *As it was in the beginning, &c.*

*V.* That our garners may be full and plenteous with all manner of store.
*R.* *That our sheep may bring forth thousands, and tens of thousands in our streets.*

*Antiphon.*—God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth.

*Magnificat.*—My soul doth magnify the Lord, &c.

*Antiphon.*—God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine.

The Sermon.

Hymn.

*V.* The Lord be with you.
*R.* *And with thy spirit.*

Let us pray.

[*All kneeling.*]

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, *have mercy upon us.*
Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, &c.

*V.* Lord, what is man that Thou art mindful of him?
*R.* *And the son of man that Thou visitest him?*
*V.* My soul shall be satisfied, even as it were with marrow and fatness.
*R.* *When my mouth praiseth Thee with joyful lips.*
*V.* Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us.
*R.* *But unto Thy Name give the praise.*
*V.* O continue forth Thy lovingkindness unto them that know Thee.
*R.* *And Thy righteousness unto them that are true of heart.*
*V.* Feed me in a green pasture.
*R.* *And lead me forth beside the waters of comfort.*
*V.* Lord, hear our prayer.
*R.* *And let our cry come unto Thee.*

Let us pray.

The General Thanksgiving.

[If additional Collects be desired, any of the following may be used: *viz.*, The Collects for the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 7th, or 12th Sundays after Trinity.]

Benediction.

Recessional Hymn.

It will be seen at once that, with the permissible exceptions of the Hymns and the Sermon, every portion of this Office is taken *bonâ fide* from either the Bible or Prayer Book; and therefore, provided only that the regular Evensong is used at an earlier hour, the Service completely supplies the conditions required by the Acts of Uniformity, and may, with strict legality, be employed by any Priest who desires to use it.

A few words must now be added, by way of explanation of, and commentary upon, the Form itself.

In Offices of this kind, it has been customary in the Western Church to say the opening portion standing; but, as English Church people are used to kneel at all prayers, this latter attitude has been chosen in preference. It also comes naturally to us to rise at the first *Gloria*, and thus we are ready for the *Psalms* which follow. The object of the *Antiphon* is to give to the Psalms their key-note, so to speak, and to show the "intention" or spirit in which they are to be used on the occasion; and the *Antiphon* is repeated in a fuller form at their close, to leave the idea on the mind.

The *Versicles* and *Responses* after the Lesson, are designed in order that the words which have been read may be brought more home to the heart of each one of those present. The *Magnificat*, which follows, supplies the Gospel element in the service, and is the Memorial of the Incarnation of Him Who is the Bread of Life. Its *Antiphon* has been so selected as to bring out the Sacramental teaching of the Harvest, as well as the analogy of the dew of the Holy Spirit shed upon our souls, and enabling us to bring forth the fruit of good works.

The *Sermon*, in which this line will naturally be more or less taken, follows here, thus making a break in the service. This will conveniently be succeeded by a suitable Harvest *Hymn*, and at its close, the words "The Lord be with you" suggest the well-known Response; and then "Let us pray" at once brings the congregation to their knees. All the rest is straightforward.

I may, however, state, that care has been taken to make the *Responses* follow naturally upon the *Versicles*, and a full supply of these is given, in order to make up, in some sort, for the want of any Special Collects. The *General Thanksgiving*, with one or more of the Prayer Book *Collects* referred to in brackets, will do sufficiently well to close with, in the place of more appropriate prayers, which at present are unsupplied in our formularies.

The structure of this Service is such as to keep the one idea prominently before the mind throughout, and yet to present it in its several bearings. Those who joined in it could scarcely fail to be impressed; more especially if printed copies of the Office were laid about the Church on the previous Sunday, so that the congregation might take it home and examine it previously to the Festival Day. These copies would also serve very appropriately as a Tract for general distribution through the Parish at such a time; and, at first, the very strangeness of having such a service publicly in Church would probably induce many to come, who would not otherwise trouble themselves about the matter.

This last thought brings us back to the point from which we started on this necessary digression. If we are to attract to God's worship those whom the Church has practically lost, we must not be afraid of doing things which are strange and out of the common way. Not only in the matter for our Sermons, but in the style of those Sermons, in the manner of preaching them, and in the character of the religious functions of which they form part, must we bring forth from our treasure things new as well as old. As a Missionary agency novelty is of the greatest value; and in the pursuit of God's work in men's souls we may surely condescend to throw aside that rigid steel and buckram-like propriety, —the "gentlemanly heresy," as it has been termed—which fetters the action and cripples the practical resources of the Church of England. And this especially bears upon the question of Mission Services.

A very natural inquiry to make of any one who is advocating such special and occasional efforts is this—How can you ensure the attendance at these Mission Services of that particular class of persons upon whom you desire to bring their influence to bear? The question is a fair one. It is true, you cannot ensure such attendance; but something may always be done to promote it, to a certain extent, by the circulation of printed bills throughout the parish explaining the object of the Mission, and by exhorting all who will to take advantage of it. Sometimes a ready stroke of ingenuity on the part of the Incumbent will

prove available where other and more cut-and-dried methods fail. The following account of an actual occurrence will illustrate what I have said :—

No long time ago, the Rector of a parish in a large manufacturing town, feeling that a Mission would help forward his work, invited a Priest from a distance, well known for his vigorous and occasionally impassioned oratory, to undertake it. Notices were circulated, and in due course the stranger arrived. The Church filled according to expectation, the people no doubt were edified, and the Missioner, well satisfied with his congregations, asked the Rector whether the result so far equalled his anticipations? "Fairly so," was the reply, "but these people that you have been preaching to, have been hearing the same things from me Sunday after Sunday, and very often on weekdays too. You have been doing one part of your work admirably, but the other part, so far as I can tell, has been barely touched;—you have been building up the faithful, but the careless and irreligious do not attend. Give notice to-night, at the seven o'clock service, that there will be another service at a later hour, but that the people then in Church are not to stay for it, as it is intended for a different congregation. Leave the rest to me; and I will see if I cannot get some outsiders to come and hear you." The Rector spent the afternoon in making his preparations. All the regular members of the choir promised to help, and as many additional volunteers as could be provided with surplices were readily obtained. Some time after the ordinary Evensong, with its sermon, was over—indeed, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, the bell was tolled rapidly; every gas jet in the Church was lighted; the Altar was crowded with candles; the organ gave forth a cheerful tune, and the large choir went round and round the Church singing metrical Litanies and Hymns. Every door was thrown wide open, in spite of the cold; and the full burst of the choir as it took up the refrain—*Jesu, deliver us,* pealed out into the road. Many, whose lives (God help them) are passed in the streets peeped timidly in; and, reassured by persons at the door, took seats, for the first time probably for years, in the House of their God.

In the meantime, a number of persons connected with the Church had walked through the most frequented streets in the neighbourhood, and said quietly to all the likely-looking people whom they met, "There's something fresh going on at S. ——'s, go down there and see." The brilliant lights, the music, and the procession sufficed to attract their curiosity, if not their sympathies, and those who came uniformly remained. Before very

long the Church was considerably more than half full, the bell left off tolling, the organ ceased, the choristers passed into their stalls, and the Missioner, simply vested in his cassock, now standing on the Chancel step, and now walking down into the nave amongst the people, preached a rousing sermon on the parable of the Prodigal Son. No attempt was made in any of the Mission Sermons to render Catholic doctrines palatable by dilution or ambiguity. Even to those thus drawn from the streets and lanes of the city Confession was plainly preached, its use and urgent need: generally ending with, "I go to Confession myself; I know all its blessedness; and nobody should persuade me to stay away." The people listened most attentively, and many were evidently touched by the earnest appeal of the preacher, who, at the close of his address, gave notice that a service of a similar kind would be held at the same hour every evening during the rest of the week, and urged those present to come again, and to bring as many friends as they could induce to accompany them. A Sister of Mercy, who works in the parish, invited numbers of fallen women to these late services, and generally succeeded in bringing some every evening. Their bold demeanour soon gave way before such unaccustomed influences, and was replaced, first by subdued looks, then by carefully concealed tears, and, in some instances, by broken-hearted prayers. The result of all this was, that the Church was full night after night; and, as a sign that the work told upon some at least of the outsiders, I may mention that the stranger Priest heard about eighty Confessions during the week —many of them first Confessions—and that after he had left, the Rector was called upon to receive as many more, almost all of which were directly due to the influence which these Mission Services had exercised upon the minds of those who had attended them.

On such an occasion as this, it is of the very first importance that the preacher should be thoroughly at his ease, so as to be able to walk about during his sermon. If any rough-looking men come in, he should be able, as if by accident, to walk in their direction until near them, fix a fearless yet kindly eye upon them for a moment, and then turn away, as though quite secure in their good will. The way to make these people friendly is to show that you take it for granted that they are friends.

Thus much for a Mission as it has been, and therefore as it may be, conducted in a large town. In a village, a different course will naturally be adopted. Thus for a Harvest Festival: if the Church be small, as is often the case, an Evening Service

in the open air would be wonderfully telling; and there are many country parishes where such a thing would be perfectly feasible. If the use of a private grass-field could be secured, an Altar might be erected; and this would not only add greatly to the general effect, but would, indeed, be almost absolutely essential in order to give a distinctively Church tone to the function, and thus to draw a strongly marked line between it and a Methodist camp-meeting. Care should be taken to have this Altar at such a distance from the hedge, as to be out of the reach of stones from village urchins. A very effective *Baldachino* may be made by setting up four poles, two moderately tall ones for the front, and two rather shorter ones for the back; these would be decorated with evergreens. Four cross bars joining the tops of these uprights will keep all firm; and over this any bright-coloured carpet might be placed, drawn down, and fastened to the ground at the back, and hanging a little way over in front, the sides being left open. The table which would serve for a temporary Altar might be draped with a white linen cloth; some strips of red worsted braid tacked on in proper form would give the outline of the quasi-superfrontal, and of the orphreys down the frontal. A cross, candlesticks, and vases of flowers on the Altar would make all complete. Those who have seen temporary out-of-door Altars on the Continent know how exceedingly effective is their appearance, however make-shift may be their materials; and what a peculiarly church-like character they give to an *al fresco* Service. As to open-air Services themselves, it is satisfactory to know that they have the sanction of usage by members of the Episcopate. If I mistake not, the Bishop of Sodor and Man stated, at the Wolverhampton Congress, that he not infrequently collected the country people out of doors when the churches were too small to hold those who came to hear him preach. And the same effort, in principle, to draw outsiders has been made, in the country to porters and servants of a Railway Company, and in London to cabmen, by other members of the Episcopal Order.

Much of the success or non-success of Mission Services, such as those of which I have been speaking, will necessarily depend upon the character of the Sermons, which must always form a very important feature in them. In the first place, in order to avoid any thing approaching to stiffness, they must be extempore, as a matter of course. On such occasions we do not want elaborate argument, lengthened quotations, rhetorical flourishes, or neatly rounded periods. In other words, the object of the preacher is not to afford an intellectual luxury for

educated people, but to get as straight home as possible to the heart of every one that hears him. I cannot help thinking that oftentimes a sermon is a useful one in an inverse ratio to its amount of high polish. A truth delivered in a sentence very accurately balanced, and with all the rough edges taken off, will please the ear, and perhaps it may reach the conscience; but I doubt whether it will produce as lasting an effect as if the wording were somewhat more rugged and inartistic in construction. A very sharp and highly polished blade will certainly make a deep cut; still, such a wound will frequently heal, as surgeons would say, "by first intention;" but let the wound be made by the teeth of a saw, or by a ragged-headed nail, and the chances are that it will fester, and keep open for a long time. This is said with no intention of encouraging carelessness in a preacher—far from it. If sermons are worth preaching at all they are worth as much pains as we can give to their construction. Still, those pains had far better be devoted to obtaining a rich store of material than in putting the material that one has produced into an elegant form. And this is especially the case in dealing with the uneducated. They are not used to a very polished style of oratory; and although its fluency and its music, so to speak, will attract the ear, it is more than questionable whether it will make much impression on the heart. A truth rapped out in terms "short, sharp, and decisive" is the thing to leave its mark behind, especially if a brief pause be allowed after it, to give it time to get home. Above all, there must be no circumlocution, and no qualifications introduced. The straighter a blow comes the harder will be the hit; and the preacher must aim straight at the hearts of his congregation, if his sermon is to be a telling one.

Again, every effort should be made to give variety in a Mission Sermon, in order that the interest should never flag for a single moment. The introduction of an anecdote will always secure attention; and the freshness and life which it gives to the sermon can be afforded in no other way. The late Dr. Neale was peculiarly happy in his selection of stories when preaching to less educated hearers; and, as everybody who has seen his admirable *Readings for the Aged*, and *Sermons for Children*, knows, drew his materials from every imaginable source. George Herbert fully recognized the value of anecdotes related from the pulpit. "The country Parson in preaching sometimes tells the people stories and sayings of others, according as his text invites him; for them also men heed and remember better than exhortations which, though earnest, often die with the

sermon, especially with country people, which are thick and heavy, and hard to raise to a point of zeal and fervency, and need a mountain of fire to kindle them; but stories and sayings they will remember." The sermons of many of the great preachers of mediæval or post-mediæval times abounded in this kind of illustration; and such masters in the art of pulpit oratory would not have employed them, had they not been found powerful agencies for good. It has indeed been well observed that, as reasons are the pillars in the fabric of a sermon, so similitudes are the windows through which comes the light.

The use of figures and imagery is another form of illustration which is too rarely employed amongst us. Perhaps, of the more modern preachers, the late Mr. Augustus Hare, in his posthumous *Sermons to a Country Congregation,* has supplied as good a type as any. These volumes are well worth reading by any preacher who feels himself to be deficient in this respect. If any one wishes to go to an older source to learn how similes may be employed with telling effect, he cannot take up a better author than Osorius. His sermons perfectly bristle with them; and they are interwoven with the subject-matter of his discourse in such a way as to make them seem perfectly natural and unstrained. It need scarcely be said that great care is necessary in order not to press a simile too far, and thus to ruin its effect. There are few which will, so to speak, run on four legs; but when judiciously employed, and especially when some matter with which, from local or other circumstances, the congregation is familiar, is pressed into the preacher's service, no kind of illustration is more generally available and telling than this. The absolute necessity of making sermons thoroughly Scriptural, not by the mere stringing together of a number of well-known texts, but by incorporating into the substance of the discourse those portions of Holy Scripture which are less generally utilized, has been too often dwelt upon by modern writers to need much remark here. I would, however, venture to suggest that in sermons on moral and practical duties—which would, for the most part, be the character of those preached at Missions —any appropriate quotations from the Sapiential Books will be found peculiarly effective; and this from their very terseness and brevity, apart from the intrinsic beauty of their diction.

It was said above, that Mission Sermons must, as a matter of course, be extempore. Is it not possible that the leakage which is constantly going on from our Churches into Dissenting meeting-houses, on the part of the less educated classes of the

people, may, in a great measure, be attributed to the formal method in which our sermons are generally delivered? There is an idea of unreality attaching to a sermon read from a book which is peculiarly repulsive to many earnest minds, and which causes it to be unattractive to minds which we desire to make earnest. In the practical effect of a sermon, the manner in which it is preached, is, to the full, as important an item as the matter which it contains. The value of extemporaneous oratory as a religious agency seems to be an idea which has only lately dawned upon the Clergy of the English Church. Amongst the Roman Catholics, such a thing as a sermon preached from book is never tolerated; and, I imagine, that if a Dissenting minister wished to empty his chapel, he could scarcely hit upon a simpler mode than to adopt the style of preaching which is in vogue in most Anglican Churches. The less intellectual classes, to put others out of the question, have a great idea that the main duty of a Clergyman is to preach; in short, that this is his peculiar business, and the one by which he is distinguished from laymen. They not unnaturally argue that any person can read a sermon from a manuscript, but that some special gift or careful study and training is necessary for one who can preach without a book. Further, and with greater truth, they take it for granted that, if a Priest has his heart really in his work, and if his whole thought and attention be, as they think it ought to be, devoted to religious subjects, he surely ought to be able to speak to other people about these subjects, without having every word written down. The natural result of all this is, that they will listen with interest to an extempore Sermon, if for no other reason than because it is extempore, and therefore seems to bear upon its front the stamp of reality and earnestness; whilst a written discourse will fall flat upon their ears. If this be so, which few will deny; and if, as was before assumed, it is the duty of the Church to deal with people as they are, and to utilize their peculiarities in God's behalf; then, on the above score alone, it is of very great moment that an extemporaneous delivery should be cultivated as much as possible by the English Clergy. When an exceptional effort is made to reach deadened consciences, it is more especially of importance that no means which can be brought to bear upon them, either in a greater or less degree, should be left unemployed. All this, however, is so obvious that it scarcely seems worth while insisting on it.

Although "Missions" have, during the last few years, been

occasionally tried in English parishes, their efforts have necessarily been irregular and spasmodic. If this agency be as important, and the need of such an agency as urgent as I hold it to be, it is surely high time that something were done to systematize the work so far as may be. The practical results of those Missions which have been held, are such as to prove that it would be well worth while making the attempt. What we really want, is a Religious Order, or rather a "Congregation," in the Roman sense of the term, composed of Priests who really know how to *preach, i.e.* who can do something more than "deliver a Sermon;" and who should live in Community and under rule, being ready to go to any parish to which they were invited, and to hold a Mission. There are several reasons, more or less obvious, which render such a plan as this essential for the due carrying out of the system. In the first place, it would be impossible that such an agency can ever extend beyond very narrow limits so long as the Parochial Clergy have only their brethren—similarly engaged with themselves—to depend upon as the conductors of their Missions. Even supposing that such men as these were generally suited for this peculiar work, it would be very rarely indeed that their Services could be obtained, in consequence of the pressure of home duties. Everybody knows how difficult it is to find an eligible Priest even to preach one Sermon of a special character; and how much more is the difficulty felt when aid is required for, at least, a week, with perhaps two or three Sermons or instructions every day. Further, if a Mission is to be conducted with spirit and vigour, there ought to be at least two Priests engaged in it; and this for the sake both of the preachers and the people. If it be worth while to make such an effort in a parish at all, it is worth while to make it thoroughly, and in the best possible way. Such work is too arduous to be undertaken by any one man singly, unless he be of very exceptional mental and bodily power; and variety in style, such as can only be secured by a change of preachers, is of the greatest importance, if the interest and attention of the people is to be kept at high pressure.

Again, there is another reason why ordinary Parochial Clergymen are practically unavailable, save under very unusual circumstances. Advent and Lent are the seasons when it will be generally found most desirable that Missions should be held; and these are, of all others, the seasons when every parish Priest is far too fully engaged with his own work to be able to attend to that of other people. In the second place, a regularly organized Community of Mission Priests would appear to be

absolutely necessary for carrying forward such work as I am speaking of effectively, from the fact that the character of the work is exceptional, and perhaps could only be performed really well by men who devoted themselves especially to it. Practice alone will give the needful aptitude for conducting a Mission so as to render it a great spiritual engine. The Sermons, on such occasions, in no inconsiderable degree depend for their effect upon their being different, both in character and style, from those ordinarily preached, or indeed which would be wholesome spiritual food for persons to receive constantly, if they were. Lastly, and chiefly, a consideration comes in, which is very imperfectly appreciated at the present day; and this is the mental discipline and spiritual training which is necessary for the preacher's own inner self, if his addresses are to be something out of the common in their effect upon the souls of those who hear him. In the case of women, we are beginning to feel that minds which are under the discipline of the Religious Life are those which have most power of insensibly influencing others; and that this is more especially true when they are brought to bear upon such persons as are, for one cause or another, the most difficult to deal with: *e.g.* fallen girls, and the lower class of men in hospitals. We have not yet learned that this same principle is equally true with Priests whose peculiar work is either the conversion of sinners, or the rousing of the faithful to greater earnestness in the cause of God. Yet so it is. In the case of any Priest, the effect of his work depends, not so much upon his cleverness or his learning, as upon the *mind* which he has made. He has to work a certain effect upon the minds of others, and such effect ought first to be wrought in his own mind, and that to a far higher degree. If this be true with the ordinary parochial Clergy, how much more is it true with those who undertake such special and difficult work as the conduct of Missions? The Curé d'Ars had the advantages of neither natural cleverness nor of acquired learning, yet the intense spirituality of his mind made itself felt powerfully by those whom other Priests, pious and good though they might have been, had been unable to affect.

In the present perhaps ultra-practical age, people are apt to fall into a grave error by thinking almost exclusively of the work, and scarcely at all of the workers, or of the implements which they use. We cannot lop, still less can we cut down, a tree with every kind of hatchet. If, on the one hand, the wood be unusually tough, or if, on the other, great care and accuracy be required in our work, we must necessarily employ a tool very sharp, and

tempered by a master hand. And thus it is with souls. Whether, as trees become tough by growing in exposed places, souls have been hardened by the rude storms of life, because undefended by the sheltering influences of religion; or whether they need the careful shaping and trimming which the skilled spiritual verderer alone can give, it is the same. For exceptional spiritual efforts, the agency to be employed must be exceptional, and, what is more, exceptionally spiritual. As there is confessedly a latent physical influence exercised by one man upon another, and which yet cannot be fully explained, so is there an equally wonderful, and even more inexplicable spiritual influence exerted by soul upon soul. The stronger acts upon the weaker; and the more perfectly developed the spiritual ἦθος of the operator (so to speak), the greater will be his power for good. The experience of the Church has ever uniformly pointed to the Religious Life as that by which this peculiar spirituality of mind is to be acquired—a life which, when not employed in actual ministrations, is spent, as far as possible, in communion with God, in contemplation, in prayer.

> "The World excluded, every passion hushed,
> And opened a calm intercourse with Heaven;
> Here the soul sits in council, ponders past,
> Predestines future action; sees, not feels
> Tumultuous life, and reasons with the storm;
> All her lies answers, and thinks down her charms."

It is foreign to my purpose to treat of this question, beyond stating it as a fact, and as tending to support, in conjunction with other considerations, the opinion which has been propounded above—that "Religious," and, I may add, "Religious" of a high class, are the men best fitted for such work as that of Preaching Missions. It is in no spirit of derogation to ordinary parish Priests living in the world, that those who live in a measure out of the world are said to be the best fitted for one special phase of clerical duty. As in the business of life active temperaments are best suited for some positions, and quiet and sedate ones for others; so, by the wonderful system of adjustment which God's providence orders, and no less by the system of "division of labour," which the Church is supernaturally led to adopt, each mind, for the most part, seems to drop naturally into the peculiar place which it is best for it to fill; and thus the due balance is preserved, and an even movement of the vast machine of human society is secured.

It may therefore be taken as an axiom that, if the Mission

scheme is to be properly carried out, Priests must necessarily be trained for the work by mental and spiritual discipline; and that the adoption of the Religious Life in Community is the course of training which will be most efficacious. Already a beginning in this direction has been made at Cowley, near Oxford, by the "Mission Priests of S. John the Evangelist;" but the institution is too young as yet to furnish us with any very valuable data upon the subject. No doubt the thing to be aimed at is a Society with a large central House—say in London—and as large a body of Priests suited for the work as could be brought together, who, like the East Grinstead Sisters, should live strictly under rule whilst at home, but who should be free to go, two or three together, to any parish where a Mission was desired. The mixture of the contemplative with the active life which would thus be secured, appears to be that which, in the present age, is the most healthy phase of the Religious Life; as affording a safeguard against a tendency to secularity on the one hand, and to morbidness on the other. It is, of course, of the highest importance that such a Society should be established in the immediate neighbourhood of some Church where the members could enjoy, without stint, those religious privileges which, to devoted men, are as their very daily bread. If our ecclesiastical system were more perfect than unfortunately it is, the natural idea would be that such a Community should have a Church of its own, open to the public; and that such of the members as happened to be in residence should keep up a round of services and preachings for all who liked to avail themselves of such spiritual advantages. The ordinary cares of parish work, with all the secular business which it entails, would, however, interfere with the discipline of the House; and, therefore, as things are now, probably the best plan would be to obtain, if possible, the Episcopal licence for a building which would, to all intents and purposes, take the form of a Proprietary Chapel, without any assigned parochial district. And it may be added, that the idea thus briefly mentioned has, for long, been in the minds of thoughtful men; though the exact form in which such an idea can practically be worked out, is, on several grounds, legal and ecclesiastical, as yet undecided. Amongst others, the thought has been independently held by both the writer of this essay and the editor of this volume; but the many "ways and means" needful for the fulfilment of such a plan have not up to this time been found.

Such a Chapel would have a specialty of its own, and fill a gap which is at present unoccupied. Over and above the ordinary

course of Church Services, it would be available for "Retreats" for various classes of persons, and Priests living in Community and under Rule are exactly the men who are most fitted to conduct such spiritual exercises as these. The House attached to such a Church would form a place of retirement for over-worked Priests, or for those who required temporary rest or reprieve from ordinary duty; and Associates of this class could, without much exertion, assist in sustaining the order of the Services, when a greater number of the Mission Brothers were absent on their own special sphere of work. Another purpose to which such a Chapel might suitably and most usefully be applied, would be for the delivery of courses of sermons of a higher type than would be altogether suited for mixed congregations, and coming more nearly to the famous "Conferences" held at Nôtre Dame, in Paris. These would be appreciated by the more religious of the upper orders, and by the more intellectual of London business men, and could scarcely fail of having a good effect. What I may term politico-religious discourses might well be delivered in such a place as this, and supply what many feel to be a decided want in the English Church. Besides this preaching element in our Service, such a Chapel as I speak of, with a larger staff of Clergy constantly in residence than are generally to be met with in ordinary churches, would be available for a series of Celebrations, beginning every day at seven, and repeated hour by hour until ten o'clock. If the Chapel were tolerably accessible, such services would be an immense boon to persons going to the City.

Other modes of utilizing the members of the Community for the public advantage might readily be indicated; but it will be sufficient to mention one more only, and that is for the work of the Confessional. There are numbers of persons, especially in the middle and higher ranks of society, who are kept back from this means of grace by the difficulties which they fancy there must be in the way of their availing themselves of it. They have an idea that they must make an appointment, or that they will have to give their name, or that they may meet their Confessor afterwards in society, which they fancy would be unpleasant, or some other of the thousand and one hindrances to their doing what they would only be too glad to do if the way were but made a little easier for them. Let them feel that they would be unknown to their Confessor, and that they would never be likely to meet him any where except in the Chapel; that no inquiries would be made as to who or what they were; and perhaps, above all, that they might go, with the certainty of finding a Priest, at any

hour that they chose, and would be received by him as a matter of course, and all difficulty and even awkwardness would cease; to the great gain, not only of individual souls, but, by degrees, of the English Church at large.

A house suited for a Community of Mission Priests would also supply a want which has long been seriously felt by many of the more earnest candidates for Holy Orders. The Theological Colleges which have sprung up of late years have partially met the requirement to which I allude, but only partially. Supposing that we take it for granted that they fairly supply the intellectual element in the preparation of young men for the ministry, yet the implanting of a distinctively priestly habit of mind is, unless I am mistaken, but little thought of; and, as they are at present constituted, would perhaps be beyond their reach, even if it were estimated at its due value. A great fault of the Clergy of the Church of England, and one which, perhaps more than any thing else, interferes with their spiritual influence and the effect of their ministrations, is a certain secularity of tone which, in one way or another, is perpetually showing itself. Archdeacon Freeman, in his *Plea for the Education of the Clergy*, published in 1851, very forcibly pointed out this weak place in our system. "It is not enough," he said, "that the Clergy should be blameless in their lives, and diligent in their ministrations, remaining in all other respects—I mean as to habits of mind and of conversation—undistinguishable from other men. There must be a touch, a χαρακτήρ, differencing them inwardly from men in general, and sure, more or less, to give outward evidence of itself. Whence that touch or note of difference should come it is not difficult to judge; it must come, in some way, of their peculiar commission and vocation: the 'live coal' that 'touches' and marks them must be taken from the Altar." And, in a similar spirit, another writer, of the same date and upon the same subject, speaks of the priestly mind as "the great instrument which, under God, [the Clergy] are to work with, after all. They will have to do a certain work on men's souls; to produce a certain result—image—conformation; and that image and conformation ought to be formed in themselves first. And this, not merely or chiefly for example's sake. What we speak of is, in a great measure, a hidden result, to be wrought in each man's spirit, and there to abide with God. They must *be*, in some sort, what they are to impress—must have given themselves up to the influences, the teachings, the mouldings under which it will be their business to bring others, or they will be working, as it were, with mere machinery, as distinguished from doing work by hand. They

will know nothing by experience of the effects of what they are to bring to bear on others. Hence they will both falter and be ineffective. They will neither have confidence in the remedies they apply, nor skill in applying them. Their own hearts then —their own practice, experience, daily life, must be the laboratory in which to assay the heavenly temper of those spiritual weapons and aids which the Church gives to them, that they may arm others with them."—(*Christian Remembrancer*, No. lxxv., Jan., 1852.) There is all the difference in the world between reading Theology and undergoing a course of mental and spiritual moulding which shall fit a man for the work of a Priest in the Church of God. To take a very imperfect illustration—an artizan might go through such a course of study as would make him perfectly master of the principles of a philosophical instrument, and the bearing which one portion had upon another; but he might, notwithstanding, be entirely without the keenness of vision, the delicacy of touch, and the steadiness of hand which would enable him to set such an instrument right, if it happened to fall out of good working order. And, similarly, a Priest must be something more than a theologian if he is to be really efficient, and to win souls. How much might not even a few months' residence in a Religious House, and an intermingling with devoted men, do towards the formation of a spiritual tone, at least in its earlier stages, and towards laying the foundation of a habit of mind which would gradually develop under the sanctifying influences amidst which his future life would be passed. Without going into any extremes of asceticism, the atmosphere, so to speak, of such a house, with its clearly defined rules—its round of choir services—its frequent Celebrations—the spirit of quiet and peaceful calm by which it would be characterised, would insensibly act upon an inmate, more especially if, as he necessarily would be, predisposed to the influences which would insensibly be brought to bear upon him.

Again, as to the experience which an aspirant to the Priesthood would acquire in active work, such a position would be invaluable to a young man. He would, of course, accompany the Priests on their Mission tours; and, whilst helping on their work in various different ways, he would himself be learning, day by day, how best to bring religious truth to bear powerfully and effectively upon those classes who are generally least open to its influence. The practical knowledge of men and minds, together with the mode of dealing with them, which he would thus gain—perhaps, for the most part unconsciously—would be such as would bear fruit an hundred-fold in his after life. A

few months of such employment, and of close personal intercourse with such men as Mission Brothers ought to be, would give more real insight into both the general principles and subordinate details of spiritual work than as many years of parochial labour performed, as would necessarily be more or less the case, in comparative isolation from minds of a very much higher type than his own, would be calculated to afford. The new blood thus infused into even a few of the rising generation of parish Priests, would assuredly tell, sooner or later; for each of these men would carry with him the principles, the information, and, above all, the feeling and tone which he had himself acquired, into the neighbourhood in which his after-lot was cast, and there become a centre of influence for good to Clergy and laity.

Only one thing more remains to be said, but that a most important one—I mean as to the kind of man which would be required to take the headship of such an organization as that of which I am speaking. In the first place, he must be a man of more than ordinary force of character and power of exerting personal influence, combined with such liberality of sentiment as will enable him to allow scope, within due bounds, for the free action of the minds of those over whom he has control. For "Mission" work, a mere preaching machine, impelled by a motive power external to itself, will not do. The Priests, who, as things are now in the Church of England, would be likely to offer themselves as members of a Missionary Brotherhood, and who would be worth having, would almost of necessity be men the reverse of common-place. In most cases, they would be marked by a certain independence of thought and feeling; in many, by something very near akin to eccentricity; and, on the properly directed exercise of these natural and divinely imparted peculiarities, their value as Mission Preachers would in no small degree depend. As it has been, in substance, remarked above, for work of an exceptional kind an agency of an exceptional character is essential; and it is no less true in religious than in secular work, that, if a man is to do his part of it well, he must, within reasonable limits, be left free to do it in his own way. Still, it must be borne in mind that it will oftentimes be a matter of no small difficulty to keep men like these, valuable as they are, within such limits; and, consequently, a chief of singular judgment and tact is absolutely an essential, if the institution is to work well. Further, the Superior of a Mission Brotherhood must not only be entirely free, of course, from every trace of Protestant unbelief or misbelief, but he must equally be a stranger to Establishmentarianism and mere Anglican exclu-

siveness and insularity. The cold and unbending spirit of hyper-rubrical propriety—"Chinese exactness," Bishop Pepys once termed it—would be fatal if imported into Mission work. In point of wisdom, it would be equivalent to restricting the action of a body of skirmishers at the outposts in war-time to the rigid military discipline which is enforced in the camp, or to the professional etiquette which regulates every movement of the Household Brigade.

Other necessary characteristics which should be found in combination in the head of such a Community will naturally suggest themselves to all who are interested in the question, and may therefore be left unnoticed here. My object in this Essay has been to draw public attention to one patent requirement of the English Church at the present day, and rather to break new ground than to indicate the precise mode of subsequent cultivation. As to the soundness of the general principles which I have enunciated, or of the urgent call for some such decided course of action as that which has been propounded above, not the slightest doubt exists in my own mind. Matters of detail which I have ventured to recommend for consideration are to be regarded purely as suggestive. In an experiment, to us so novel, actual and practical experience alone can decide whether this or that plan will work the best.

JAMES EDWARD VAUX.

P. S.—Since the foregoing Essay was in type, a friend has placed in my hands a small volume, published by Duffy, entitled *Catholic Missions in Ireland*, which gives a very interesting account of the practical working of the scheme which I have ventured to recommend to my clerical brethren as worthy of adoption in the Church of England. I cannot speak with approval of the spirit in which the book is written; the only thing that can be said for it is, that it is, perhaps, less bitter than that ordinarily evinced by Irish Protestants, when they have (or, more generally, when they have not) occasion to speak of their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. Apart from this, the book is well worth reading by all Clergymen who are interested in the subject, as it contains many valuable details and hints on the conduct of Missions, derived from personal experience.

J. E. V.

# The Abolition of Marriage.

A CYNICAL journalist once remarked "that the public was never right except by accident, and then always on wrong grounds." Like most other sweeping generalizations, this dictum would require a vast number of exceptions to bring it within the bounds of truth; but it nevertheless not unfrequently happens that individuals, and communities, and sections of communities fasten, as by an instinct, upon a sound conclusion, for which they are only able to allege doubtful reasons. Thus, if society could be polled, there would be found an immense number of persons —perhaps a majority of the whole—who regard the recent legislation on the subject of matrimony with apprehension and dislike; but it is very seldom that they can give a rational account of the sentiments which they entertain. For example, how common it is to hear vehement denunciations of the Divorce *Court*, whereas, in truth, nothing could be less objectionable, or even more laudable, than the establishment of that tribunal. A jurisprudence which did not provide some machinery for dealing with the morbid relations of married life, would be the opprobrium and laughing-stock of our civilization; for there probably does not exist a state of being in which more gross or more intolerable wrongs may be committed by one member of the human family against another, than that which is called "honourable," and which ought to be the source of mutual comfort, happiness, and edification.

Of late we have heard much about the wrongs of woman; and the treatment which the law accords the wife has been reviled as the perfection of barbarity and injustice. But the law, in truth, only assumes—it is convenient to speak still in the present tense—that her position will be that which is assigned to her by the nuptial vow. Her husband pledges himself at the Altar, not only to love and cherish her, but to treat her personally with all due respect[1], and to supply her wants to the last penny of his substance. He is bidden to love his wife, "even as CHRIST loved the Church"—to love her "as his own body;" and he is told

[1] This seems to be the meaning of the somewhat puzzling formula, "With my body I thee worship."

that "he that loveth his wife," after all, only "loveth himself," and that "no man ever yet hated his own flesh." These words are not only the words of S. Paul, but, being a portion of the Book of Common Prayer, they form part of the statute law of the land, and explain what to some, in these our days, seems to be the insulting view which that law takes of the status of married women. A married woman possesses almost no civil rights; she cannot hold property, or make a will, except through the intervention of trustees, or by the leave of her husband. But this is not because the law thinks lightly of her position: it is because the law considers that position to be the highest that could be assigned to her. What need of providing for the special rights of the wife, when she is made, as it were, the tenant in common of the name, the honours, the wealth, and the dignities[1] of her husband? And the theory of the law still corresponds with the fact in the average English household. Notwithstanding those occasional disagreements, without which, a learned divine once said, married life would be intolerably insipid, *Katharine* might still, in a majority of cases, say to an English wife—.

> "Thy husband's one that cares for thee;
> And for thy maintenance commits his body
> To painful labours both by sea and land;
> To watch the night in storms, the day in cold,
> Whilst thou liest warm at home, secure and safe—"

and, more than that, to an amount of mental toil, worry, and anxiety of which Shakespeare, born in happier and more easy-going times, had literally no idea.

But there is a reverse to the picture. There are husbands who, in place of learning the great moral lesson which matrimony is designed to teach—self-denial, and the habit of caring more for others than for oneself—degrade their wives into drudges and slaves; who show them no respect and bestow on them no love, but abuse and maltreat them, prey upon their earnings, and make their nights and days one unbroken round of

[1] The case of the Bishop's wife is, of course, an exception; but the fact is, so monstrous a conception as a *Mrs. Proudie* could never have entered the minds of the framers of our laws. As to the husband's name, it is a common, though erroneous, opinion that a divorcee forfeits it; but the Act of Parliament says nothing on the subject; and if an adulteress has no right to her married, she has obviously still less to her maiden, name. It may be added, that Sir C. Cresswell once expressed an opinion that the ordinary mode in which brides sign the register is incorrect, and that it should be in this form: "Mary Jones, heretofore Smith."

insult and oppression. Against absolute violence, the ordinary tribunals might be sufficient; but there are injuries short of assaults such as a police magistrate could take cognizance of, which render life intolerable—injuries, it is right to say, of which the husband is not always the perpetrator, and for which it would be a crying sin if our laws attempted to provide no remedy. There must therefore be *some* court with jurisdiction over causes matrimonial; and if some court, then it ought plainly to be one as accessible, as prompt, and as effectual as the Legislature can devise. Now, that the Spiritual Courts were not the best fitted for the purpose, no one that knew any thing about them would be disposed to deny. Marriage being one of the Sacraments, the Church ought, by right, to have cognizance over it; but, unhappily, the decay of ecclesiastical discipline has deprived her of even the semblance of any special fitness for dealing with it. In olden times, when the Spiritual Court had admonished a husband "to take his wife home and treat her with conjugal kindness," it was possible, by means of the confessional, to see that what was ordered was done. But when a periodical resort to the tribunal of penance had become optional in theory and obsolete in practice, the consistorial judges were obliged to content themselves with merely compelling the husband to provide his wife with shelter in the house in which he himself resided; a mere colourable obedience to their decrees, which they could only enforce by an appeal to a lay court—the Court of Chancery—by a process called a *significavit*. In other words, they could only report to the Lord Chancellor that such and such a person had neglected or refused to obey their decrees, and leave the lay judge to punish by imprisonment the act of contumacy. For the rest, the Spiritual Courts occupied themselves with the most mundane of all conceivable questions—questions as to whether such and such acts importing connubial infidelity had been committed, whether such and such deeds of inconnubial ferocity had been perpetrated, whether the husband possessed such and such "faculties"—that is to say, such and such worldly wealth or income—and above all, whether such and such bills of costs, "porrected" by such and such proctors, were—well, perhaps, "reasonable" is not the proper word—but, at all events, were such as might be exacted. All these, which, it must be acknowledged, were perfectly "lay" subjects, were discussed by lay counsel before lay judges, and were, without impropriety, transferred to a lay court, especially after a considerable proportion of the marriages to be dealt with had come to be solemnized by lay officers, like the registrars. No possible

objection can therefore be urged against the new law on the score that it has substituted a more cheap, rapid, and efficient procedure for that which used to prevail in the dreary old hall—now no more—of Doctors' Commons.

A second complaint against the new law is, that it is demoralizing the public mind through the medium of unedifying reports in the public newspapers. This objection is, perhaps, urged upon still less tenable grounds than the other. The exact contrary would, in fact, be nearer the truth. In the first place, except in the rare cases in which a new hearing is granted, there is now but one trial, whereas, formerly, there were three—one in the Consistorial Court, one at *Nisi Prius*, and one in the House of Lords. It is true that no more than two or three cases a year went through the whole of these stages, the great expense placing a divorce beyond the means of any but the affluent. This remark, however, did not apply to the two earlier suits. Every one knows that Assizes seldom took place without actions for crim. con.; and what is more to the purpose, their comparative infrequency in each particular court, and the local scandal which they created, always excited an unwholesome zeal in the reporters for the local press. Not so now. All these cases fall into the hands of a few persons in London, who have no local pruriency to gratify. In fact, at this moment, that portion of the law intelligence of respectable newspapers in which indiscreet reporting is *not* found, is precisely that which details the proceedings before Sir James Wilde.

At the same time, even if the case were otherwise, it is impossible to conceive, under present circumstances, a more disastrous step than that which has often been suggested, and upon which the opinion of Parliament has even been asked, namely, that the Judge Ordinary should have power to sit with closed doors. Indications are not wanting of what would happen if a suit for the dissolution of a marriage were a thing that could be talked over quietly by a barrister or a couple of barristers on a side, before a judge, in a private room. The fact is, there is no ordeal from which people who desire a divorce will shrink, in order to compass their end. Of course, it is impossible to give illustrations of this statement; but a case occurs to the writer, which, if it could be explained in detail, would fully bear out his assertion. It was a case of cruelty, brought by a wife against her husband. The petitioner's counsel, an advocate of the highest eminence, prayed the court that it might be heard *in camerâ*, on the express ground that the acts complained of were of an unusual character. Sir Cresswell Cresswell refused the

application, not thinking himself at liberty to fly in the face of the House of Commons, which had expressed an opinion adverse to secret tribunals. The case was therefore begun; but of so revolting and yet of so preposterous a nature was the alleged "cruelty," that the learned gentleman whose business it was to conduct it, and who had, doubtless, as the afternoon wore slowly away, often repeated to himself the Duke of Wellington's famous ejaculation, "Would that night would come!" took occasion, when the court adjourned, to compel his client to give up the suit. *In camerâ*, he would probably not have found his task so intolerable; and if private divorce trials were once allowed, no decent person can so much as conceive the abominable charges that would in all probability be got up by wives and by husbands, at the unsavoury suggestion of unscrupulous attorneys. If there were one thing in the world more disagreeable than another, one would have thought it would be a suit for nullity on certain grounds; and yet proofs are not wanting that that did not altogether escape abuse, even when the trial was open. Latterly, Sir James Wilde has consented to hear this class of causes in his chambers; but it is likely enough that he may have some day to retract that concession. A gentleman who long reported the proceedings of the Consistory Court of London, told the writer of these pages, that, many years ago, the Judge, struck with the sudden increase of suits of this description, gave notice that he would in future try them in public; and the result was, at once, to reduce them to their normal infrequency. Not to dwell longer on a painful subject, it will be enough to repeat that the newspapers—or at least the respectable newspapers—deserve credit, and not blame, for the manner in which they deal with Sir James Wilde's court; but that if the evil complained of were ten times as great, it could not be avoided. After all, newspapers are not written *virginibus puerisque;* nor, happily, is there usually much difficulty in keeping out of the hands of young persons a kind of literature to which they are not naturally addicted.

The real objection to the law, then, is not the establishment of the new court, the alteration of the old practice, or yet the publication of divorce reports. It is something far different and infinitely more serious. It is, that *the Legislature has, for all practical purposes, abolished Marriage.* The recent statutes have many other grievous sins to answer for; but their master fault, and the parent of all the rest, is, that they have destroyed the grand distinguishing characteristic which Matrimony possessed, as compared with concubinage—namely, that of being a permanent, life-long, indissoluble contract, not a connexion existing only during the

pleasure of the contracting parties, and terminable at the will of either. No doubt there are some respects in which a wife has still an advantage over a mistress. Her children are legitimate, and possess the right of succeeding to titles or entailed estates; and she may also compel, by process of law, her husband to aliment her according to his means; which may or may not make her position better than that of a paramour. Otherwise, it would be difficult to point out any material respect in which wifehood now differs from that of concubinage, save only that the mode by which an end is put to it may be a little more tedious and disagreeable. A wife, now-a-days, may tell her husband, over his breakfast table, that she is going to live with somebody else, who has promised to marry her—or, if she has separate property, whom she intends to marry—as soon as she is free. In such a case the unfortunate husband is helpless. If he attempts to put the smallest restraint upon her actions, the result may possibly be that he will be deprived of such poor remedy as the law allows him; for, while his wife would probably be able to give evidence by third persons of any violence on his part, he could only himself speak to the intolerable affront which he had received; and, if he mentioned it, a skilful advocate might make it the means of damaging his credibility, or raising a prejudice against him. The case of a man desiring to release himself from the bond of Marriage is somewhat different. The Legislature, being of opinion that adultery in a husband, if an equal sin in the sight of Heaven, is not so great a social offence as adultery in a wife, does not allow divorce at *her* suit, unless she can prove that her husband has committed a second offence against her. The law in fact says to the husband, "If you want to get rid of your wife, *pecca fortiter*, no little peccadillo will serve your turn. You must not only be unfaithful to your vows, but you must desert her whom you have sworn to cherish, brutally assault her whom you have promised to love, contract a bigamous union, or commit some other horrible crime."

Was any thing so preposterous and unreasonable ever heard of? The smallest knowledge of human nature might have taught Parliament, that when a crime is made by law a condition precedent to obtaining what is thought a legitimate object of desire, that crime loses, in the vulgar estimation, half or all its criminality. For example, if it were generally understood that penal settlements had been established at the gold-fields, or in the midst of a land "flowing with milk and honey," felony would cease to be thought a crime, and transportation would be looked on as a sort of Government emigration. A man who broke into a house, not for the

sake of plunder, but with the view of being sent out to the colony, would not be regarded as a culprit so much as a person of singular energy and decision of character. If he stole merely to be transported, no one would regard him as a thief—nor indeed, it might be plausibly argued, would he really be one; for the *animus furandi* would in his case be absent; and, if dishonest at all, it would be rather in the fraud which he had practised upon the Government than in the act for which he was indicted. In like manner, a wife who has an intolerable husband, and who leaves him for a paramour merely to qualify herself for a divorce, and with the intention of being immediately re-married, will soon come to be looked upon—if she is not already looked upon—by the world with very lenient eyes. And the step is one that will every year cost less and less to take. The analogy of Bankruptcy is very much in point. If only one or two persons became insolvent in the course of the year, they would, doubtless, be looked upon with some of the horror and pity with which those are regarded who have been smitten with a strange and loathsome disease. People would think very little of the half-compassionate, half-contemptuous release which was given to the debtor, and very much of the shameful notoriety which was brought upon his name. But with scores of insolvencies a week, people think very little of the notoriety and a great deal of the relief. Nothing is more common than to hear persons who are in a state of pecuniary embarrassment advised by their friends to "take advantage of the Act"—that is what it has come to be called—and well will it be for society, if, as people get more and more familiarized with the spectacle of divorce, unhappy husbands and wives are not recommended to put themselves in the way of being made respondents.

Those whose business compels them to spend their days in Sir James Wilde's court, must be painfully struck with the contrast between the actual fact and the theory on which that court was founded. The Legislature seems to have thought that cases of divorce would continue to be very few, that the respondents would fight for their honour as for dear life, and that when sentence was given against them—a ceremony which was regarded as so solemn, that three judges were appointed to pronounce it—the words would be listened to by the shuddering spectators almost as if it were a doom of death. Never, as it turns out, was there a greater mistake. People commonly receive a citation with as much nonchalance as if it were a County Court summons; and the proceedings have usually as common-place an air as if they related to some small matter

of local taxation. It was the ludicrous disproportion between the judicial staff employed and the results of their labours, far more than the inconvenience which the sittings of the full court caused to the other tribunals at Westminster Hall, that led to the amendment of the law, so as to give the Judge Ordinary power to dissolve marriages sitting alone. For every case that is really defended, at least five cases are either absolutely or virtually allowed to go by default.

The most casual examination of the facts must lead to the gravest suspicions as to the frequent existence of collusion. Of course, collusion calls forth the severest reprehension of the law. If a respondent offers, and a petitioner accepts, assistance towards the proof of the allegations of the petition; if a respondent withholds a good defence, in order to help the petitioner; if a person, whose own hands are not clean, files a petition; above all, if one side agrees to commit an offence in order that the other may found a suit upon it, the court will refuse to grant relief. But it must be obvious, that people who are guilty of making a corrupt bargain to impose upon the Judge Ordinary, are not likely to proclaim the fact; and that it is only by treachery or by accident that the court will ever gain any knowledge of it. One such case of treachery did occur very early in the history of the new law. The agent who was employed to arrange matters, being dissatisfied with the sum offered him for his trouble, sent information to the Judge. Sir Cresswell Cresswell, thus forearmed, had little difficulty in extracting the truth from the witnesses, and dismissed the suit. So serious was the danger, that the process of the Court might be abused, felt to be, that, soon after its establishment, an amending Act was passed, empowering the Queen's Proctor to intervene at any stage, and to allege collusion, to charge the petitioner with adultery, or to prove any other material fact that either side were deliberately keeping back. Moreover, instead of making an absolute decree, the Judge Ordinary was directed to pronounce, in the first instance, a decree *nisi*, and to allow it to stand over for at least three—since increased to six—months, so as to give the Queen's Proctor an opportunity of interposing in the interests of the public. This new provision has proved a very salutary one. Numbers of suits have thus been stopped[1], but, so far as the

[1] A remarkable instance—that of Viscountess Forth—may be cited. She charged her husband with adultery and cruelty. The Queen's Proctor intervened, and compelled her mother to admit in the witness-box that her daughter had, pending the proceedings, been to America with a Mr. Dering. The court dismissed the petition. Lord Forth afterwards committed suicide,

writer knows, only one or two on the ground of collusion. Indeed, it is scarcely conceivable that a corrupt arrangement should be so clumsily managed as to be found out. Let those concerned conduct the negotiation in person, and detection, as every one must see, is almost impossible.

Our French neighbours, it is said, believe to this day in the superstition that wives may be bought and sold in Smithfield; but a traffic of this kind would be perfectly feasible at Westminster, and very likely takes place. Suppose that A wishes to buy the wife of B, that B is willing to sell her, and that she is willing to be sold; suppose further, that both sides can trust one another, or that they can trust a common friend to hold the purchase-money—or, say, a larger sum as caution-money—till the transaction is complete; who else need be made aware of it till it is too late? If the wife is willing to elope with her new "husband," there will, of course, be no difficulty about the matter. The vendor presents his petition, it is tried in the course of about half a year, and in nine months more the second "marriage"—if one may so far misuse the term—may be had, the money paid, and the bargain ended. But supposing the wife to be prudish, the husband will have to play the part of respondent, and then the process becomes a little more complex. Desertion for two years and upwards would take too much time; and so "cruelty" would probably be adopted as the make-weight offence.

Let it not be supposed, however, that there need be any very serious amount of ill-usage. The husband would only have to make use of harsh and threatening language, and commit some alarming acts before witnesses. Throwing a carving-knife at a wife across the dinner or supper table, for example, is not an unsuitable action for the purpose—perhaps the best, as it suggests the highest amount of danger to life and limb, and inflicts the smallest amount of personal suffering—unless, indeed, the thrower should be so *maladroit* as to hit his mark. After this by-play has continued for a while, the comedy should be finished with some kind of assault. The lady may, for instance, agree to be struck or knocked down; after which, she has only to leave the house and file her petition. When it is heard, Sir James Wilde cannot pretend to say that cohabitation, under such circumstances as would be detailed before him, would be safe; and adultery being also proved against the husband, he will, as a

and Mr. Dering married his paramour; against whom he has since obtained a decree *nisi;* but the lady's friends have interposed, and there will be another inquiry before the matter is finally settled.

matter of course, grant a decree. How much or how little collusion there may actually be, it is impossible to say—it is enough to point out the temptation there must exist to be guilty of it, where all those concerned desire a common end, the ease with which the offence may be committed, and the utter helplessness of the court to detect it. Considering the vast number of undefended cases, it is difficult not to suspect that many of them must have been pre-arranged. Even those which are to all appearance earnestly defended, may not be so free from doubt as the guileless spectator might suppose. The writer has heard an eminent practitioner say, that a little opposition is useful, as tending to divert suspicion; and where the facts—however brought about—are undeniable, the most apparently vigorous defence will involve little risk of defeating the scheme.

Perhaps it may be thought that these remarks about collusion point to no practical danger likely to occur in real life, but rather to one of those theoretic evils which a not very powerful imagination may conjure up, when it is in the humour of alarming the conscience of the community. Alas! no. These lines were written on the 12th of November last, and on the next day there came before the Judge Ordinary the remarkable case of Finney *v.* Finney—a wife's suit for a judicial separation, on the ground of the husband's cruelty. In her evidence, after mentioning that her husband, Major Finney, with whom she had lived very unhappily, had proposed a separation to her, the petitioner made the following statement:—

"When he proposed a separation to me, he said he would go to the Argyll-rooms and pick up a paramour. He told me that I might send some one to watch him; that he would tell me how he was dressed, so that the person watching him might know him, and follow him home with some woman. Or, he said I might act improperly, so as to give him an opportunity of obtaining a divorce. He offered me, in fact, the option of being either the petitioner or the respondent. I objected to his proposal altogether. He did not go to the Argyll-rooms that night; and the next morning he referred to the subject again."

It is only fair to Major Finney to say that he denied the story altogether, and that the Court found in his favour; but, for the sake of the argument, it is immaterial whether or not his wife's averment was true; for, if the idea came into her mind, instead of into his, it would equally prove both the instinctive manner in which people of a certain class, who find their homes uncomfortable, look to the Divorce Court as the source from which they may expect relief, and also the utter unscrupulousness

which they feel as to the process by which they may gain its aid. And what is this "certain class?" Whatever it be, it is one of which neither education nor respectable social position prevents persons from being members. In this connexion, the famous suit of Mrs. Rowley should not be forgotten. She charged her husband with cruelty and adultery, he entered no appearance, and the court pronounced against him; but as soon as the marriage was irrevocably dissolved, he summoned his wife before the magistrate, to answer a charge of perjury —the said perjury being the evidence by which she had substantiated the charge of cruelty. It is a curious fact, that many husbands who do not think the charge of adultery worth rebutting, will contest *à l'outrance* the charge of assaulting their wives.

Akin to positive collusion, is another monstrous evil to which the court occasionally gives rise. It induces husbands tired of their wives to expose them to temptation, with a view to make them compromise themselves. There are two classes of women against whom experience has shown that it is possible, as a rule, to intrigue with almost a certainty of success. These are drunkards, and women who have been promoted to matrimony from the streets. The process, in either case, is as simple as possible. The husband protests that he cannot live with his wife, and compels her to accept a small weekly or monthly allowance, and leave him. She quits his roof, and from that moment her fate is sealed. Living alone, subject (as she fondly supposes) to no supervision or control, with cravings far beyond what her pittance can supply—disgraced, bereft of that moral support which religion, or even a respect for the opinion of her little world, might have afforded her, she yields to the first solicitation, if she does not throw herself in its way. Meantime, there is a spy about her path, though she knows it not; and she has hardly fallen ere she finds herself cited to answer for her misdeeds. This is when she has fair play; but there is reason to believe that some "private inquirers" know how to "assist nature." In one instance, a letter was read from a husband to his agent, in which he indignantly rejected a proposal to have some one "put upon" his wife; that is, set with malice prepense to lead her into trouble. Strange to say, however, the husband did not see any impropriety in instructing his spy to send her a letter containing an infamous proposal; stranger still, the court was amiable enough to conclude that, however reprehensible the *ruse*, there was no real harm in it, as its object appeared to be only to discover whether the respondent was open to such

overtures; and the man got his divorce. Without resorting to the hypothesis that such cases are frequent, the enormous proportion of suits in which drunkenness is alleged as the proximate cause of the wife's guilt, would surprise any one not familiar with the court[1].

It may be hoped, by a very charitable mind, that men who thus separate themselves from their wives, do it *bonâ fide;* and there are no doubt numbers of cases where the unfortunate husband has no option. If the court suspected that he had sent his wife away with the intention of ruining her, it would certainly dismiss his petition; but no judge will ever say that a man whose wife is addicted to drink, or who disgraces him in his own house, is not justified in proposing to withdraw from her society. Whether he makes that proposition with a view to a divorce, is concealed within his own breast; but, as in the case of collusion, the abuse in question is more than a matter of mere conjecture. Occasionally a suitor will so mismanage his scheme as to expose alike its object and its machinery. Last year a gentleman, who had married a woman of bad character, and who found reason to complain of her extravagance, sent her to live by herself at his bachelor lodgings in Regent Street, and introduced as a friend a detective to her at his own dinner-table! In such a case, Sir James Wilde found no difficulty in rejecting the petition; but its failure, and the cause of its failure, are sufficiently suggestive. It would be far more easy to imagine a hundred such attempts proving successful, than the amount of stupidity necessary to occasion a second such miscarriage.

And here must be noted another evil, to which it may be feared the new law is giving rise—a greater levity than ever in the contracting of Marriage. That there always have been persons who will rush into wedded life in a manner that the most lenient critic would never think of calling "reverent, discreet, advised, sober, or in the fear of GOD," is known unto all men; and let the law be what it might, there would always be such—husbands, like the 'prentice boy who ran off with a girl, married her, brought her to town, deserted her the next morning, and never saw her again till he met her in the Divorce Court—wives, like the young lady who, as it would seem, from mere *gaieté de cœur*, wedded an omnibus conductor, and left him at the church door. But the

[1] The cases in which the drunkenness of one or other of the parties is a feature, are perhaps more numerous than all the others put together. Another very large class of cases, considering the comparative fewness of such marriages, are "love matches." Arranging the suits socially, residents in India seem to be most addicted to matrimonial infidelity.

number of respectably connected students who marry servants, barmaids, "models," and women of absolutely compromised reputation, compels one to fear that people often allow themselves to be entangled in disreputable connexions, with the *arrière pensée* that if those connexions should prove disagreeable, it would not be difficult, with discreet management, to free themselves again.

We now come to what may be considered the most flagrant mischief of all — the gross perversion of justice—the subornation and conspiracy to which the new law undoubtedly leads. The peculiarities of Divorce Court procedure have led to the creation of a new profession, new at least to our jurisprudence — that of Spy. Doubtless there was "private inquiry" before the time of Sir Cresswell Cresswell; but the evil was never carried to the extent which it has reached at the present day. Some observations of Sir Cresswell may with advantage be here quoted:—"Private detectives may be useful for some purposes—they may be instrumental in detecting malpractices which would otherwise remain concealed; but they are most dangerous agents. I say it most advisedly, it is my opinion that they are most dangerous agents. Police detectives are most useful. They are employed under a Government establishment; they are responsible to an official superior; they have no pecuniary interest in the result of their investigations beyond the wages they receive for the occupation they follow. They may be, and constantly are, employed with safety and with benefit to the public. But when a man sets up as a hired discoverer of supposed delinquencies, when the amount of his pay depends on the extent of his employment, and the extent of his employment depends on the discoveries he is able to make, then, that man becomes a most dangerous instrument." (*Searle and Smith's Reports*, pp. 120, 121.)

The numerous cases of divorce in which both judge and jury have refused to believe these professional witnesses upon their oaths, justifies a belief that their evidence is often the result of mere invention. A remarkable illustration of the dangerous tendencies of the system occurs to the writer. A most respectable medical practitioner in the country, who, from all that appeared in the case, was living happily with his newly-married wife, had the misfortune to offend her parents[1]. They immediately in-

[1] Now and then the wife of a man who is guiltless of any matrimonial offence, but who has fallen into trouble, is compelled, by her relatives, as the sole condition on which they will extend to her their help, to renounce

duced her to return to them, and to file a petition against her husband. They put the case into the hands of one of these "private inquirers;" in due time it came on for trial, and the most astounding things were deposed to by his witnesses. The petition failed, but it was entirely through the extravagance of the spies. The security of married happiness will be slight indeed, if it is to depend upon the amiability of a mother-in-law, or the blundering of professional espionage! It is not always that that espionage does its work so inartistically; and although cross-examination is a wonderful thing, it may, with very little precaution, be utterly baffled. The spy has only to graft his lie upon a stock of truth—to watch his victim till he has occasion to pass through a questionable neighbourhood, and then to say tha the went into a house of ill-fame. No ingenuity of counsel can throw the slightest doubt upon such a story, especially as the inmates of these dens of iniquity are admissible as witnesses. A case which rested upon the information of an informer and a fallen woman, would not be a solid one if confronted with matter-of-fact evidence on the opposite side; but where there is nothing but the bare denial of the respondent, it would be an unusual course to reject it altogether; and, in many cases, the only person to prove the husband's innocence would be his wife, who, according to the law of evidence, could not if she would, and would not if she could, help him. With the existence of this class of Divorce Court practitioners—and from an advertisement which appeared some time ago in the *Daily Telegraph*, it seems that there is at least one "lady" who is willing to give discontented wives the benefit of her experience

her husband. The husband, however, is not always disposed to submit to this injustice; and then the unfortunate wife is sometimes driven by her necessities to file a petition against him, charging him with cruelty. Under such circumstances, if the respondent is in possession of evidence, as, for instance, letters of the petitioner, which would at once put an end to the case, it would surely be a great improvement, if he could be allowed to have a sort of private extra-judicial hearing, analogous to the inquiry before the Grand Jury in criminal proceedings. The mischief of allowing such a suit to go to a regular trial is obvious; for the most affectionate couple in the world, if they have once been forced into the hard position—the wife of attempting to prove her husband a ruffian, the husband of attempting to prove his wife guilty of perjury—could never live together again. The simple act of subjecting man or woman to the *peine forte et dure* of that wonderful product of our civilization—modern advocacy—with its marvellous faculty of abuse and odious suggestion, is in itself a refined, and, at the same time, an intolerable *sævitia*. It really is, to use a curious technicality of the court, "legal cruelty" in every sense of the word, and it is a cruelty which can never be forgotten or forgiven.

—with these parasites, which have grown up with the new tribunal, the prospects of married persons whose matrimonial relations are not perfectly unclouded are unpleasant; for the most complete and unsullied innocence may not protect them from annoyance, even if they escape from serious injury. Nor are the unmarried one whit the safer, for they may be made an object of attack for the sake of extortion. The case of the Duke of St. Alban's, who was inveigled into an intrigue, and that of Lord Palmerston, who was assailed, as it appeared, absolutely without the pretext of a reason—are in point. In a third instance, which has come to the knowledge of the writer, a husband obtained an award of damages from a rich co-respondent, to the amount of 1000*l.* The decree *nisi* was made absolute, the costs and damages were paid, and—the petitioner straightway re-married his divorced wife!

There remains yet one more particular in which the law does incalculable injustice and wrong, and that is in the matter of costs. The practice is to allow the wife, who is supposed to be (as she commonly is) without property of her own, to call upon her husband to supply her both with means of support under the name of alimony *pendente lite*, and also with means of prosecuting her suit or her defence. This is irrespective either of her guilt or innocence. The alimony is generally a fifth of the husband's "faculties," or income; and the husband is directed to pay into court, or find security for, a sum estimated by the Registrar as likely to be necessary in order to defray the costs of her proctor or attorney. This rule, on the face of it, seems fair enough; and the court had not been long established before a case occurred, which showed the injustice and oppression that might be perpetrated if it did not exist. A gentleman who had married a poor girl, and had grown tired of her, filed his petition against his wife. Witnesses were called, who told surprising stories as to her conduct; and, as she did not appear, she seemed "in a parlous state" enough; when, by one of those strange infatuations from which we have learned so much respecting the inner working of the law, the husband's attorney placed in the witness box the wife's sister, to supply some formal link in the proof. The sister did this; but, before going away, she volunteered the statement that the respondent was perfectly innocent, but that she was helpless and penniless, and that her husband had prevented her by threats from attempting to defend herself. The court (which at that time consisted of three judges) suspended their decree; and announced that if the respondent asked leave to plead, it would be granted her. She did ask; she filed

her petition for alimony; she demanded a provision for costs; and her case, properly defended, ended in her triumphant acquittal.

So far so good; but a guilty wife under the existing arrangements, has it in her power—and very often has it also in her will—to exact the ruin of her husband as the price of the remedy he seeks. She may put on the file the most false and frivolous pleas—she may, without the smallest justification, charge her husband with the foulest and most scandalous crimes; and he will not only be put to the expense of defending himself from the outrage to which he is thus subjected, but will have to pay his calumniators for slandering him! Nay, more; he may have to pay all the costs of a supplementary and absolutely idle suit. The *Wife of Bath* has to this day plenty of followers, who, conscious of their own delinquencies, seek to parry the consequences by overwhelming with counter-charges the husbands they have injured—

> "I cuthé pleyne and yet I was in gilt,
> Or elles I hadde ofté tyme be spilt.
> Whoso first cometh to the myll first grint.
> I pleyned first, so was our werré stint."

A remarkable illustration of this peculiarity was exhibited in the case of a surgeon in the West End. From all that appeared on the trial, he was living in tolerable affluence; and a more indulgent husband probably never existed. At last, however, he detected his wife in a course of habitual and shameless profligacy; but before he could file his petition, she had presented one charging him with cruelty. A more gratuitous accusation has seldom been made. Nevertheless, this suit, which probably cost some hundreds of pounds, was positively useless. The husband's own petition was heard in its turn; but such were the resources which the respondent's own genius, or her attorney's, for litigation, suggested to her, that not long after the decree was made absolute, the petitioner's name appeared in the *Gazette*. This case affords a startling comment upon the famous statutes which declare that justice shall neither be sold nor denied to any freeman in these realms; but it is a trifle compared with another, which shows that it is possible for a wife, not only to ruin her husband, but to prevent him from having his case tried at all. A brought a suit against his wife for restitution of conjugal rights. His wife, in answer, pleaded that she had not quitted her husband without just cause, for that he had been guilty of adultery with Mrs. B, and also with various women leading im-

moral lives. The case was tried, and Mrs. B, who was a public singer, was placed in the box to explain certain letters written to her by A. The verdict, however, was given against A upon the other part of the case, and the question of Mrs. B's guilt was not decided; but no one was astonished to find B, before long, a suitor for a divorce. Mrs. B, however, thought fit also to file a petition against her husband; and she obtained an award of alimony at the rate of 3*l.* per month, her husband's income being taken at 180*l.* per annum. It was, by this grant, reduced to 144*l.*; out of which he had to maintain himself and two or three children, and to find money for his own lawyers. In due course, his wife procured an order upon him to pay into court or find security for 300*l.*, for her defence, and 400*l.* for her suit. His own petition coming on for trial was stopped because he was unable to provide in advance more than two years' net income. Naturally, if he could not find 300*l.* for his own case, it was not likely that he could find 400*l.* for his wife's; and for this daring contempt he was, at his wife's instance, "attached," that is, arrested, and thrown into prison. He appealed to the Court of Bankruptcy, and after a time was discharged, free alike from the liability to pay the 400*l.* and certain arrears of the alimony. It should be stated that he was a surgeon in the West of England, and the reader may judge of what would become of his practice while he was in gaol. It is not surprising that after his release he should get into arrears again. His wife again put him in prison, and this went on for some time, until at last some sort of settlement seemed to have been come to; *but the case has never, to this day, been tried.*

Thus we see that a wife who may possibly be leading the most shameless and abandoned life, may have it in her power, if her attorney is astute enough to concoct a sufficiently big *bogus* brief, so as to impose upon the Registrar, to make her husband, who may possibly be the most meritorious of married men, pay her a fifth of his small, hard-earned income for the rest of his life, or submit to periodical imprisonments, simply because the court chooses to call on him to provide his wife with means for litigation beyond his reach, and because, as he cannot find the money, his case can never be tried at all! No doubt, the case to be dealt with is one of great difficulty. The writer fully admits it; but, to his mind, the whole history of legal abuses in this country might in vain be searched to find its parallel. "Every wrong," says the old maxim, "has its remedy." It is proper, then, that the public should know there is a wrong—and that the gravest that can

be conceived—which may not only have no remedy, but the very attempt to seek a remedy for which may be visited with a life-long penalty.

From what has been said, it will be seen that the new law is in no very satisfactory condition, even if it were admitted that its object was lawful and right. Many attempts have already been made, and not altogether without success, to remedy its more glaring faults. The Queen's Proctor's right to intervene, is an admirable improvement, so far as it goes. Several divorces that would otherwise have been improperly granted, are thus stopped every year; and probably a very large number of others are prevented from being instituted at all. Sir James Wilde has also corrected several blots in the valuable code of practice which was created by his learned predecessor. For instance, he has decided to give a wife who obtains a divorce, the same amount of alimony against her ex-husband, *dum sola et casta vixerit*, as in a case of judicial separation. He has further announced that he will make a rich wife, where he can do it, divide her fortune with the husband she has wronged; and that he will refuse a wife, or rather her attorney, his costs in flagrant instances of sham defence. All these are most salutary provisions; but, unfortunately, they are mere palliatives. They go but a little way in checking the mischief; though Sir James Wilde deserves the greatest credit for making them.

In these remarks, no disparagement is intended to be cast on the memory of Sir Cresswell Cresswell. Sir Cresswell always bore the character of a most learned, acute, and able judge, and even his faults had a leaning towards virtue's side. It used often to be said that he had a sharp tongue; but, to parody a well-known epitaph, he never did an unkind thing, if he never said a kind one. Sir Cresswell was undoubtedly the terror of attorneys, and of the very outer Bar; but his objurgations were seldom or never unjustified. The slovenly manner in which attorneys used, in the infancy of the court, to get up their cases, was wonderful; and he used to rate them for it in downright English. With gentlemen of the Bar who made, as they sometimes would do, outrageous applications, he used to adopt another course. He would assume the blandest and most benevolent manner, and say, "Mr. ——, I am quite sure you would not ask this, unless you had first satisfied yourself that there were weighty precedents in your favour: will you have the goodness to state them to the court?" Of course the victim would be speechless, and then would come the solemn gibe: "Well, Mr. ——, the court is all attention!" Once he con-

trived to bestow upon the whole Bar, or, at least, upon that portion of it who had briefs, a witty and ingenious warning against the sin of prolixity. A witness, deposing to the habits of a testator who was suspected of insanity, said that he used to repeat what he had said "over and over again." Sir Cresswell instantly saw an opening for a *mot*, and interposed somewhat on this wise:—

*Sir Cresswell.*—"You said, witness, that the testator kept repeating what he had said over and over again?"

*Witness.*—"Yes, my lord."

*Sir Cresswell.*—"If he had only said it once, would what he said have been sensible?"

*Witness.*—"I don't know but what it would, my lord."

*Sir Cresswell.*—"Gentlemen at the Bar will please to take notice, that to keep repeating even a sane thing over and over again, *is evidence of insanity!*"

—"an immortal truth," which is as applicable, perhaps, to the pulpit as to the bar.

As Sir Cresswell had a righteous scorn of dunces and bores, his choicest aversion was to every thing that was mean and dishonest. From a shuffling witness he could hardly ever keep his hands. Perhaps he was never so Cresswellian as at the trial of a will which had been propounded by one "Dr." Griffith Jones, and which was opposed by Sir John Harding on the part of the Crown. The learned gentleman began his very able cross-examination of the plaintiff by inquiries relating to his therapeutics, which the "Doctor" defined to be a combination of homœopathy and hydropathy; and also relating to a certain nostrum of which he was the proprietor, which he called by some such cabalistic name as "*astramankax*," and which he said was a compound of various cereals, intended to serve as a substitute for cod-liver oil. For all this the witness was perfectly prepared, and he answered with impudent glibness. Then he was asked whether he did not deliver popular lectures? Of course he did. Was he not lecturing in the South of England on the afternoon of such and such a day? Yes. That was the day before he took his Doctor's degree at Aberdeen? Yes. Well, how did he get to Aberdeen? He came to London and took the night train. Upon this, he was asked at what time he started, and at what time he reached his journey's end. His answer called forth a laugh. "Oh, but it was a fast train," was his explanation; and the laugh was redoubled. He had made the journey, by his own account, in about half the time taken by the swiftest express. The man evidently began to

have a suspicion that he was falling into a trap; but his next answer led him deeper in the toils, for he said that, after putting up for the night at an inn near the station, he had walked over the next morning to the University in five or ten minutes—the said University being in reality at a considerable distance from the town. The questioning grew more and more close, and the scene began to have something of that tragic interest which the old Romans must have found in the deadly struggles of the Circus. The witness, who was clearly *moriturus* as to his social life, turned alternately yellow and white; and it was evident that his parched lips could only with difficulty be induced to articulate. At this stage Sir Cresswell fairly took him out of the hands of the Queen's Advocate, and quickly extorted from him a confession—

*Witness.*—"The fact is, my lord, I am afraid that I did what I ought not to have done."

*Sir Cresswell.*—"*Ay, ay! that's very likely.* But what is it that you did?"

And then the murder came out. The wretched man had never been to Scotland at all; but had paid some clever and unscrupulous member of the profession to go to the University, personate him there, and take out his diploma in the name of "Griffith Jones." The rest of the tale is soon told. "Dr." Jones' counsel, Mr. Digby Seymour, in a passion of virtuous indignation, threw up his brief; the will was rejected; Jones was arrested on the charge of perjury, was convicted on his own confession, and consigned to a felon's cell, where he had ample leisure to mourn over the loss of a lucrative practice and his own injudicious haste to get rich.

But enough of this digression. The question is, what can be done to amend the law? So far as collusion goes, it might be considerably abated, if not altogether suppressed, by a short Act of Parliament, declaring that every person guilty of adultery should be liable to the punishment of bigamy; and also providing that no marriage should be dissolved until the respondents had been brought to justice. There is no reason to think that public opinion would not sanction such a provision; for we have, thank God, not yet come to such a pass that adulterers enjoy the sympathy of mankind. Besides, this change in the law is clearly demanded by consistency as well as by justice. For what is it, in which the guilt of bigamy is supposed to reside? Not in the sacrilegious use of the marriage service; for a marriage contracted before the registrar and without any religious sanction whatever, involves the offence as much as one solemnized by a

Bishop, "assisted by" any number of clergymen. Neither is it in the wrong done to the second "wife;" for even if she is aware of the existing marriage, it is equally bigamy in law. Nay, if she is a consentient party to the offence, she becomes herself liable to prosecution. It is, in fact, impossible to point out any particular in which there is any substantial difference between bigamy and simple adultery; or why one should be accounted felony, and the other a mere private wrong. It must seem to one who heard of it for the first time, a strangely inconsistent law, that while a pick-pocket, who steals a man's handkerchief, can be severely punished, the person who seduces that man's wife, and thereby inflicts upon him the maximum of injury—injury to his feelings, his *amour propre*, his honour, his children, and even his worldly prospects—is allowed to escape scot-free. A rich but childless wife may elope with a penniless adventurer, and her husband will be without redress, beyond perhaps getting heavy damages against the co-respondent, which the paramours may avoid by simply exiling themselves to the "pleasant land of France." It is to be feared that unless the Legislature take this matter seriously in hand, we shall ere long see enacted in this country the counterpart of the Sickles tragedy in America—we shall see some outraged husband shooting his wife's paramour, and telling the court, when he is tried for it, that he is no murderer, but the minister of a righteous retribution; for that when the tribunals of a country decline to execute judgment between man and man, "the wild justice of revenge" remains in the right of every member of the commonwealth. We shall, in fact, see juries dared to convict, even of manslaughter, and perhaps not dared in vain.

Another amendment of the law which might be carried, if made the subject of earnest and persevering agitation, would be the prohibition of a second marriage to the guilty party. On this point the verdict of Holy Scripture and of common sense is equally clear. The reason assigned by Sir Richard Bethell for setting it aside was, if the memory of the writer does not mislead him, that it would be an act of "inhumanity" to deprive an erring woman of the chance of retrieving her respectability! It would be impossible to set down in reverent terms the thoughts suggested by this argument; but, passing that by, it will be sufficient to say that the experience of the last ten years entirely deprives such reasoning of any weight that it might once have possessed. The marriage of a divorcee with her paramour can give no religious sanction to their union. In the eyes of God, of the Church, and of every decent person, it must ever remain adultery;

and marriage would only make that adultery bigamy. Nor would it give her any additional hold upon her seducer. As long as it suits him, he will live with her without marriage; and assuredly *she* has no reason to think that, when she has grown distasteful or inconvenient to him, he will remain faithfully unfaithful.

As regards the re-marriage of the innocent, the case, so far as it rests upon the words of Scripture, seems no less clear. What has led to any doubt upon the matter, seems to have been a misunderstanding of the words of our LORD. "Saving for the cause of fornication" (πορνεία) does not mean "on the ground of adultery" (μοιχεία)—it really means, as Dr. Döllinger has shown, "on the ground of ante-nuptial incontinence." The law of England is contrary alike to the law of GOD and of common sense. It says that if a woman can, by fair means or foul, once induce a man to marry her, all her previous misconduct shall be held to be utterly condoned. It is true that condonation, as it is understood in the Divorce Court, implies a knowledge of the offence to be forgiven. It is of no use to show that a husband lived with his wife after she had sinned against him; it must be shown that he retained her in his house after he knew of her trespass. But, as regards ante-nuptial incontinence, it matters not how gross has been her offence, or how cunningly it was concealed, so long as the marriage is once solemnised. If, when the husband finds it out, he ventures to complain, the law only laughs at him. If he spurns the woman who has deceived him from his door, the law makes him take her back. The Gospel and common sense say, that a husband has a right to receive at GOD'S Altar a pure and uncontaminated wife; and if he has in that respect been deceived, the contract is void by reason of fraud. On the other hand, the Gospel, common sense, the law of Christendom, say, as our own law said till 1858, that a contract expressly entered into, "for better, for worse," is not to be set aside on the ground that it has turned out ill. Other contracts are not avoided because one of the parties finds that he has made a bad bargain—why then should marriage be an exception? It is the more important to insist upon this point, because, so long as divorces can be procured, it will be hopeless to think that the abomination of "private inquiry" and all that it involves can be put down. On the other hand, judicial separation is not so desirable as to offer much temptation to resort to the unspeakable wickedness of conspiracy and subornation, though it is a sufficient remedy for the grievances of the injured spouse.

This is not the place for any elaborate theological argument

upon the nature of Matrimony; but there is one fact that must strike every thoughtful student of Holy Writ. As the Old Testament opens with the Genesis of the world, the New Testament begins with the Genealogy of its Redeemer, the terms of which are very remarkable—"The Book of the Generation of JESUS CHRIST, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham . . . and Jacob begat Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born JESUS, Who is called CHRIST." Thus in order to show that our Blessed LORD fulfils the predictions of the Prophets, which speak of MESSIAH as of the seed of Abraham, and as the Son of David, the Evangelist gives the pedigree of S. Joseph! What can this mean, if not that Marriage, even when modified by a vow of chastity, so utterly and completely unifies man and wife, that whatever may be predicated of the one is to be held true of the other! The Evangelist takes it for granted, and the Church has ever taught the same truth, that if it may be shown that S. Joseph was of the house and lineage of David, it is a matter of indifference of what tribe our Lady may have been[1]. Surely, then, a tie of such closeness as Marriage is here shown to be, is not one that can ever be broken. Nature herself proves that the Divine decree, "and they twain shall be one flesh," is no mere figure of speech; for nothing is so common as for husband and wife to grow physically more like each other than brother and sister. And this is perhaps the true reason of that other curious phenomenon which is said sometimes to occur; namely, that the first child of a woman's second marriage will occasionally resemble her first husband. The very object for which Marriage was instituted would be utterly defeated if it were corrupted either by polygamy or by divorce. Designed as it is to exhibit before Angels and men the union which exists between CHRIST and His Church—the love of the One, the obedience of the other—it is obvious that, as there is but One CHRIST, there cannot be more than one husband; as there is but one Church, there can be but one wife; as the union of the Head with the Body is eternal, the union of a man with his wife, once entered into, must endure while they live. The severer Prophets teem with the reproaches of adultery which they bring against the elder Church; but when did GOD cast off His people? His chastisements, indeed, were frequent and sore. Often and often did He withdraw His presence from them; but when did He give them a bill of divorcement? The Church has

[1] The bearing of this argument also on the question of marriage with a wife's sister, need not be pointed out.

often had her periods of declension, and she is threatened with the apostasy of the mass of her members; but the gates of hell shall never utterly prevail against her; and the analogy of the Faith equally forbids the idea that a marriage, once lawfully made, can ever be unmade. To allow of the dissolution of marriage is virtually to give up *in toto* that article of the Creed, "I believe One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church."

In these days, when we have been compelled by our unhappy dissensions to renounce the very idea that we have a national religion or even a national conscience, it is idle to argue the subject from a theological stand-point. But the State has a right, on mere grounds of human policy, to say that marriages, once made, shall on no account be broken. It has a right to say that, by the law of nature, the nuptial contract is for life; for while, amongst those inferior animals which pair at all, the connexion remains at least as long as the presence of the male is required for the nurture and protection of his young, the necessity for the care of the human father over his family does not, under ordinary circumstances, cease till he has become unfitted by his years for the formation of other ties. The State, too, has an unquestionable right to see that nothing is done to the prejudice of those who are to be its future citizens; and it is the State's undoubted duty to prevent those from being made orphans who might enjoy the advantage of decent and careful bringing up. It has long since been pointed out by one of the ablest judges and most acute observers of human nature that ever adorned the English Bench, that men and women are often made good husbands and good wives by the very knowledge that husbands and wives they must continue to be[1]. But only let them know that they may cast off the yoke the moment they feel it gall them, and in place of at once smoothing over those small asperities which must sometimes roughen the matrimonial path of the most even-tempered and loving of couples, they will be in danger of making trivial quarrels—and "the beginning of strife is as the letting out of water"—causes of serious misunderstandings, and eventually of separation. Granted, that it is an intolerable hardship to be encumbered with a faithless husband or wife—is it not better for the State that there should be a few miserable wives and husbands, than that there should be many unhappy, homeless children? Is it not also more just? After all, in how many cases does the "innocent" party really deserve the term? Instances are very rare indeed, of which it may not be said of

[1] Lord Stowell in Evans *v.* Evans. 1 *Haggard.*

the wife who comes before Sir James Wilde to complain of her husband—

> "If to *his* share some faults connubial fall,
> Look in *her* face, and you'll forget them all."

It is a fact—though whether it is the cause or the result of their troubles, the writer does not presume to say—that female petitioners are very rarely, indeed, prepossessing; and, doubtless, husbands whose wives go astray are not often wholly without blame[1]. But what harm have the poor children, who are the chief sufferers by their parents' guilt or folly, done? It is early days yet with our divorce law; but it may be safely predicated, that unless energetic measures are taken to check its downward progress, it is not likely to stop where it is. At present, the ground for dissolving marriage is avowed to be the theory that the misconduct of one of the parties has rendered cohabitation or forgiveness impossible; and the amount of misconduct which has this effect is held to be less in one sex than in the other. But admit this principle, and why should divorce be confined to adultery, with or without other offences? Does not permanent insanity, does not inveterate drunkenness (especially in the case of a wife), equally forbid the idea of cohabitation? and why should not a husband in such a case have a divorce, on guaranteeing a maintenance for his discarded wife? But, if drunkenness, why not bad temper? Either the law must go back or go forward, it cannot long stand still; and, as showing what we may shortly look for, the following extract from an American paper deserves serious attention; for, be it always remembered, American society, if it sometimes caricatures our own, faithfully represents at least its possibilities:—

"The 'easy divorce' business is being brought every day nearer and nearer perfection in the West. In Cincinnati, the other day, a man got a divorce without his wife's knowledge, upon a simple

[1] This observation applies more particularly to suits for cruelty. In those cases of adultery where the paramour and the lawful spouse are both present, a comparison of the two generally brings to mind the words of *Hamlet*:—

> "—Have you eyes,
> Can you on this fair mountain leave to feed,
> And batten on this moor?"

Or of *Hamlet's* father:—

> "But virtue—as it never will be moved,
> Tho' lewdness court it in a shape of heaven;
> So lust, tho' to a radiant angel link'd,
> Will sate itself in a celestial bed,
> And prey on garbage."

statement in his petition that she represented herself to be thirty-two years of age at the time of her marriage, when she was in reality over forty, and that she was 'a common scold.' No papers were ever served upon her, and the necessary legal notice was published in a 'Price Current,' or other paper of that class, which no woman ever sees. Her character, too, was faultless, and she had a child fourteen months old; and the sole apparent motive of the husband, was a desire to marry another woman. In this case the attorney, in person, supplied whatever proof was needed to make out the case, and appears to belong to a class of 'divorce lawyers,' who absolutely live by perjury and fraud. We have not as yet begun to see the effect on society of our present divorce laws, or of the moral condition of the legal profession in some of our large cities; but if something be not speedily done by way of reform, the next generation will both see them and feel them. It may not be expedient to make men live with women they do not like; but no society can with impunity suffer men to change their wives as often as they please, and leave their children unprovided for in the arms of those whom they abandon. Any community which, by its legislation, offers scoundrels facilities of this kind for their scoundrelism, deserves to suffer, and all friends of pure manners have the consolation of knowing that it will suffer. No good breed of men or women ever yet grew up in a country in which Marriage was lightly dissolved. Men who shine in either war or peace have to be produced in homes; and homes rapidly disappear in regions where husbands can get rid of their wives by paying fifty dollars to a knavish attorney. First the scamps do it, and then the honest men, being used to seeing it done by the scamps, lose their horror of it, and laugh over it, and finally they do it themselves, and the public ceases to look on it as a wrong." (*New York "Nation,"* August 15, 1867.)

According to other statements which have recently being going the round of the newspapers, the proportion of divorces, in some of the States, has reached ten per cent. of the marriages. If the proportion in this country should ever rise to half that amount, it would be generally admitted that the Abolition of Marriage, which has already been effected as a matter of law and theory, would then have been consummated as a matter of fact[1].

[1] It is not creditable that statistics should be wanting which would explain the exact working of a legal experiment of so much interest and importance. The following figures, which have been supplied to the writer by the courtesy

The depravation of Matrimony has been no sudden thing. It began far back in the Middle Ages, first in the creation of unnecessary impediments, and then in their removal by the system of dispensations. With such precedents before the Reformation, it is not to be wondered at that the practice of dissolving marriages by private Act of Parliament should have crept in, after resort to the Court of Rome was abolished. Nor is it a marvel, that when these private Acts had become a matter of course, people should have begun to clamour for a cheaper and therefore a more equitable process. But the greatest blow at true ideas on the subject of Matrimony, was that which was struck by the provision in Lord Hardwicke's Act, which was aimed at "consensual" marriages. These have now become so utterly obsolete that some explanation of them will to most persons be necessary. A "consensual" marriage was simply one entered into without the usual formalities that attend Marriage in the face of the Church. If A and B acknowledged themselves to be actually man and wife; or if they promised that they would become man and wife, and afterwards cohabited, they contracted a "consensual" marriage. In some countries, if two persons lived together as man and wife, without any actual promise, they were held to have formed a marriage by habit and repute.

"By the general law of Europe prior to the Council of Trent, a consensual marriage was, in all respects, absolutely perfect. By the law of England, a consensual marriage was good only for

of officials of the court, show the number of judgments actually given in each year. Those relating to dissolution of marriage probably form seven-eighths of the whole.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1858 — 52 | 1862 — 179 |
| 1859 — 202 | 1863 — 237 |
| 1860 — 140 | 1864 — 148 |
| 1861 — 249 | 1865 — 260 |

The remarkable fluctuation in these results is probably owing to the greater or less time taken up by the jury trials in Michaelmas term. Of course, if these are very long, the cases tried before the court itself have to stand over; and are thus thrown into the next year, when they are disposed of with great rapidity. Probably the number of divorces is, on the average, about 180 per year—a number absolutely insignificant, if we could be sure that it would never materially increase; but old traditions long resist the tide of legal innovations; and yet a tradition which is not built upon positive law must sooner, or later, crumble away. We may not, perhaps, be far from a state of society in which a new Pope would think it superfluous to put such an aspiration in the mouth of a new *Eloisa* as—

"Not Cæsar's empress would I deign to prove—
No: make me mistress to the man I love!"

certain purposes. It did not give a man the right of a husband in respect of his wife's property, nor impose on her the disabilities of coverture, nor render her dowable, nor confer on her issue legitimacy; nor did it make the marriage of either of the parties (the other living) with a third person void, though it did make it voidable. Nevertheless, consensual marriages in England were indissoluble. The parties could not release each other, and either could compel solemnization *in facie Ecclesiæ*. The contract, too, was so much marriage—so completely *verum matrimonium*, that cohabitation before solemnization was regarded not as fornication, but simply as an ecclesiastical contempt. An act of infidelity was an act of adultery; and, if either party entered into a second marriage, though it might be in the most regular and open manner, it might be set aside, even after cohabitation and birth of children, and the parties might be compelled to solemnize the first marriage *in facie Ecclesiæ*[1]." (*Macqueen on the Law, &c., of Marriage, Divorce, and Legitimacy*, pp. 6, 7.)

This may sound strange doctrine in these days, habituated as we are to the notion that Marriage is effected by certain ceremonies, and that every thing else goes for nothing. But it is in strict conformity with the rule of Scripture, which recognized as marriage the union even of heathens. Moreover, a consensual marriage is just as valid to this day as ever, only now it cannot be enforced; for Lord Hardwicke's Act merely took away the remedy, and did not declare the marriage itself to be void. That some alteration was necessary, no one can well dispute; but surely it ought rather to have been in the way of making the irregular marriage more valid. We do not find that the law of marriage is regarded as much of a grievance across the Tweed; but the intolerable cruelty of the peculiar English custom renders the demand for its virtual abrogation intelligible. Mr. Macqueen adds, "Undoubtedly, consensual marriages now and then inflicted deep injuries on families and innocent individuals, although the principle of enforcing them by compelling celebration under the terror of Church censures, was intended, and perhaps calculated, to prevent treachery in the commerce of the sexes. Thus, by reason of latent anterior agreements, persons who had lived long and reputably together might be pronounced in concubinage, and their issue declared illegitimate. But the chief

[1] A tradition of the consensual marriage explains, if it does not palliate, the extent to which ante-nuptial incontinence is found, in some remote districts, to be compatible with irreproachable fidelity in wedded life. In those districts engagement is, in fact, held to be virtually marriage.

cause of the indignation against consensual marriages, was, that they wounded human pride—*a consequence not necessarily fatal to the interests of society.* Some severe lessons were occasionally inflicted. Thus, a thoughtless youth of rank or fortune, entangled by a verbal contract with a 'low woman,' endeavoured to get rid of his engagement by paying her a sum of money; and, fancying himself at liberty, married a lady of his own station *in facie Ecclesiæ.* Nothing was heard of the first marriage until after the birth of children by the second, the woman whose claims were supposed to have been stifled, suddenly started up, and, by proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Court, not only set aside the second marriage, but compelled the celebration of the first, the effect being to bring ruin on the second wife and bastardy on her children."

But these lamentable consequences might have been prevented by making the second marriage punishable as bigamy; and also by giving to the second wife, if she satisfied the jury that she had had no reason to suspect that her betrayer was about to break the law, the rights of a wife during the period between her marriage and her discovery of the fraud that had been practised upon her. This latter is surely a provision which considerations, both of justice and humanity, imperatively demand should be introduced into our code.

It has often been said, that laws are vain without morals; and with an improved morality, the question of Marriage might be placed on a very different footing, without importing any changes into the Statute Book. Let the Church but faithfully do her part. It is a great omission, that her Catechism should be silent upon the subject of the five lesser Sacraments; but is not that the very reason why the clergy should take pains to instruct the people as to their true nature? Let it once be thoroughly understood what it was in which Marriage really consisted, and we should hear no more of that fatal delusion—the popular theory, that a youth of profligacy was no bad introduction to a respectable middle age. Any virtuously educated young lady would regard as an intolerable affront the most advantageous offer of marriage, to which the pensioning off a mistress was a necessary preliminary—as we are assured by our novel-writers that in a certain class it generally is. She would know that, though the law might regard her as a wife, and treat her discarded rival with contumely, it would only put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter; for that, in very truth, the union which was severed to make way for her was, by the law of God, by the law of the Church, nay, by the law of the land itself (which has, after all, only robbed

the consensual wife of the means of enforcing her claims), a *verum matrimonium*, which it was in the power of no human tribunal or legislature to set aside; and she would scorn to place herself in a position which, tested by the immutable principles of justice, would only be one of legalized adultery, and usurpation of another's rights.

A few remarks may be added, in conclusion, upon a subject which has of late become a somewhat favourite theme of discussion—the impediments supposed to be daily accumulating in the way of those who desire to adventure upon Matrimony, or at any rate upon what the law has left of it. That such impediments exist now, in a very aggravated degree, has been assumed rather than proved; and they have been made the subjects of much declamation upon "the unbridled luxury of women," their sophisticated charms, and their artificial manners—declamation, by-the-bye, which seems specially designed "*ut pueris placeat;*" for it is chiefly to bachelors that it is addressed. But if there is any truth in it at all, a grave error is committed as regards the nature of the evil. The extravagance of our women—always supposing they are extravagant—is only a symptom; and the disease lies far deeper than any mere feminine love of dress. The tendency of what is called "social progress" is towards equality; and mankind abhors a dead level, as much as nature abhors a vacuum. Every one, however low his place, vehemently longs to be "something above common;" and, of yore, ample provision was made for the gratification of this sentiment. The guilds and confraternities, the municipalities, and even the parochial arrangements of the Middle Ages, furnished a very complete system of decorations for industry and trade. The community had then, as it can scarcely be said to have now, an elaborate machinery, not only for striking terror into evil-doers, but for the praise of them that did well. If we refer to that social *Domesday Book* of the Fourteenth Century, the *Canterbury Tales*, we shall find the bourgeoisie of the party spoken of in the following terms:—

"An Haberdasher and a Carpenter,
A Webbe, a Dyer, and a Tapicer,
Were with us eek, cloth'd in one livery
Of a solémn & great fraternity.
Well seemed each of them a fair burgéss
To sitten in a guildhall on the dais.
Every man for his wisdom that he can
Was shapely for to been an alderman,

For chatel haddé they enough and rent;
And eek their wivés would it well assent;
And ellés certain had they been to blame.
It is right fair for to be clept 'Madame,'
And for to go to vigils all before,
And han a mantel rially i-bore."

It will thus be seen that it was within the reach of the meanest handicraftsman to become no inconsiderable personage. It may be doubted whether knighthood, or even a peerage, now-a-days, confers upon its recipient half the distinction, rank, and pre-eminence amongst his fellows to which a working man of the Middle Ages might attain by simply getting to the top of his trade in the town or city of which he was free. And something of this state of things lingered long after Chaucer's days—perhaps it was not wholly extinct till the reform of the municipal corporations, and the legislation of the last generation, which have swept into oblivion so many picturesque and salutary customs of the past. If Hogarth had lived in our time, he would assuredly never have thought of his series of pictures illustrating the careers of the Idle and of the Industrious Apprentice. The notion of civic "honours" being the appropriate reward of good citizenship is as obsolete as that of pilgrimage to the shrine of S. Thomas; and it may with safety be affirmed that if a prize were offered for the wildest of Utopian, visionary, and impractical ideas, none would have a better chance of winning it than a suggestion that great manufacturers should build their houses close to their mills, and live amongst their "hands," as the feudal baron lived in the midst of his retainers.

This is a trading age; and trade is well enough thought of when it adds point to a budget speech, or to a peroration upon our national greatness and glory. But whatever people say of it in theory, nobody loves it in practice; and the ambition of each trader is, to have a house out of town, where he may bring up his family away from the contamination of his warehouse or factory, and where he may on occasion pass for a country gentleman. Exactly the same thing runs through the whole community; and as there is no way in which a man can win credit in his own rank, the effort of every one is to make his neighbours think he belongs to the rank next above him; which he can, of course, only do by living, or appearing to live, in a better style than his means perhaps justify. Thus, what is called the "luxury of the age" is really no more than the effort which human nature makes to compensate for the loss of those

distinctions which have been abolished as contrary to the spirit of our times. Across the Atlantic, where the levelling system has been carried even further than it has yet with us, the tendency to erect lavish expenditure into a test of rank appears to have reached its acme. According to the local papers, the American ladies have just been filled with genuine surprise and disappointment by the spectacle of an English peeress, who has lately visited them, going about with less than twenty or thirty thousand pounds' worth of personal adornments upon her. As our institutions approach nearer and nearer to republican simplicity, the further and further must we expect to see our tolerably opulent people departing from simplicity of manners.

In all that is here said, it is not denied that a certain *momentum* may have been given to the movement from that centre of so many impulses for good and for evil, that periodically sweep across Europe—Paris. It would have been absurd to expect that this country could altogether escape the plague of *Benoitonism*, which, according to all accounts, is troubling our neighbours; and it would be a curious subject for speculation, to inquire which has taxed the civilized world the more heavily—the Emperor, with his *armes de précision*, or the Empress, with her milliners' bills. Moreover, it is instructive to note that, of all the Courts of Europe, it is precisely the most *parvenu*, that has blossomed forth into this portentous splendour.

Doubtless the increased expensiveness of living is a serious impediment in the way of marriage to a certain section of the community, whose grievances are set forth in an amusing, if a somewhat cynical, article in the December number of *Fraser's Magazine*. It is said that an Oriental potentate, when he wished to ruin a courtier, used to feign a special regard for him, and present him with an elephant from the Royal stud. As the brute could neither be refused nor worked, neither sold nor given away, neither starved nor slain, the fatal present generally effected the desired object of eating its unfortunate recipient out of house and home. In these days, if *Fraser* is right, a readier plan would be to give the obnoxious person a daughter to wife, merely insisting upon a marriage settlement with the usual covenants. These remarks can, however, be said to apply to but a limited class. Not so a philanthropic scheme which has of late been pressed upon the public; and which, it is no paradox to say, has only to be very successful to defeat the end it is designed to accomplish. That scheme is, of course, the movement for introducing women into occupations hitherto pursued only

by men. No great harm would ensue from a few women becoming clerks or compositors; but the inevitable result of any serious interference with the labour market would be to reduce wages to a point at which neither type-setter nor scrivener could afford to marry. But there is even a worse evil in these schemes—they have a direct tendency to encourage absurd and pernicious notions, already too common, respecting the mission of the female sex. Holy Scripture and common sense alike declare that the proper work of a woman, when not a Religious, is to "marry, to bear children, and to keep house." If so, the most natural, and therefore the most honourable, occupation for those who are not married, is surely to assist those who are, in the nurture of their offspring and the care of their households.

Nor is the number of unmarried women at all too large, though alarming statements are from time to time put out to the contrary effect. Thus, a writer in one of the quarterly reviews informed us the other day, that, while the number of spinsters in this country would not naturally be more than three or four hundred thousand, it was in reality 1,200,000. But this result was arrived at by assuming that if a woman was to be married at all, she ought to become a wife on her twentieth birthday! Need it be pointed out how disastrous, if it were possible, such an arrangement would be? Experience has shown that it is out of the question for a woman of ordinary strength to perform the duties of wife and mother—at least in civilized life—without the aid of a servant. Of course there are many who have no such assistance; but the result is to bring "the law of natural selection" to bear with painful severity upon their children, the strongest of whom only survive the neglect to which they are exposed. At the most, the statistics of spinsterhood in this country are equivalent to fixing the average age of marriage at twenty-five years. The number of old maids by compulsion cannot be ascertained, but it is probably not great; and there is certainly no dearth of "women's works," if women could only be brought to recognize what were really feminine occupations. Domestic service, for instance, might absorb thousands upon thousands of girls for whom it is well fitted; and who, if they would only divest themselves of the notion that they were too good for it, would find it a far pleasanter and better paid employment than the callings they usually select. The difficulty of procuring respectable and competent servants is already one of the greatest grievances of married life in England; and in America, where that difficulty is still more

severely felt, the result is reported to be most prejudicial to sound morals. It would be well, therefore, if mistresses of National Schools would make it their business to press upon their pupils the advantages of domestic service over almost every other employment open to girls of the humbler classes.

As for remedies for the evils complained of by the writer in *Fraser*, it is idle to make suggestions. It is mere folly to suppose that young ladies brought up in luxurious homes will, as a rule, marry, or that their parents will let them marry, under circumstances involving any loss of caste. It is still more foolish to suppose that they can ever be persuaded out of their anxiety to make the most of their personal advantages. If we "consider the lilies of the field," we shall find that they are clothed in their most transcendent beauty at the moment they reach maturity; and doubtless it is a natural, and therefore, within due limits, an innocent instinct, that prompts a maiden, as she blooms into womanhood, to desire elegant and becoming attire. Only, perhaps, it may be allowable to suggest that a belief in the taste of French milliners is, of all hallucinations, the most groundless. Were the fact otherwise, it should be remarked that a "fashion" is like a sumptuary Act of Uniformity, and must be as often unbecoming as becoming. The common sense of the matter would be for each "person" to find out what suits her, and not to mind "what is worn." A lady of education ought to be as much ashamed of consulting a fashion-book for her toilet as a *Complete Letter Writer* for her *billets-doux*.

After all, it is unjust to lecture our young women upon their follies—for they are commonly no more—and to say nothing about the vagaries of our young men, for which "follies" would often be far too mild a term. It is positively humiliating to see those who ought to be rejoicing in their youth, not ashamed to confess that they require their daily dose of nicotine to steady their nerves, or to stimulate their jaded energies. It is still more humiliating to see youths, on whom the educational zeal of the nineteenth century has been lavished, incapable of appreciating any higher literary or artistic effort than the minstrelsy of the music hall, which, when not imbecile parody or stark nonsense, is commonly devoted to the glorification of vice, low cunning, and downright villany. Worst of all is the tendency of our citizens of the future to that which is sarcastically called "sporting," but which bears few marks of real sport. When it is considered how near akin is the spirit of gambling to that of theft—for each is a desire to get possession

of another's property without giving a tangible equivalent for it,—and when it is considered how wide-spread is the interest excited by the great races of the season, it may be doubted whether all our Sunday Schools do as much good in a dozen years as the "Derby" does harm in one. Yet the gathering on Epsom Downs is always described as if it were something characteristically English, and a just subject for national pride; though it is clear from the accounts which its admirers give of it, that it is the vulgarest of all vulgar orgies. Still it is a great fact; and, while it remains so, men have no right to complain of the foibles of women. Let our youths give up their cigars, their betting-books, and their slang, and they will be in a truer position to rail at the expensive toilets and artificial charms of their sisters.

For the evil tendencies of society in general, there seems to be but one remedy, and that, it must be confessed, not a very practical one. Nevertheless, as the teetotalers, with all their fanaticism and absurdity, succeeded in bestowing on the community a boon of almost incalculable value, the abolition of what may fairly be called compulsory drunkenness—it is possible that a combination of heads of families might do something towards checking the tendency to extravagance, of which so many complain. Even without any formal confederation, if every one would only have courage not to do that of which he disapproved, society might be relieved from the degrading bondage to which it is, in many points, subjected. But, for the reasons already stated, it is hopeless to expect any great improvement. No doubt, "whatever is, is right;" no doubt, this is the wisest, the most enlightened, and, in every respect, the most admirable of eras: but we must take the bitter with the sweet; and, with the abolition of privileges, and the extension of popular rights, we must expect to see a general tendency to ostentation and extravagance.

ALFRED ROBERT COOKE.

# Origin of the Schools of Thought in the English Church.

In the religious history of the world there are epochs insulated by periods of repose, when existing beliefs are disturbed, when hitherto accepted convictions cease to convince, and when, in consequence, the obligations deduced from those beliefs, and convictions are set at nought.

Religion is, by the general consent of mankind, required to be based upon Truth. The supreme importance of Religion, as dealing with the mysteries of man's creation, being, and future existence, is acknowledged on all sides; and the duties it imposes are accepted as binding. But this deference is yielded only because Religion is believed to be infallibly true. If in it there be uncertainty and unreliability, its obligations become intolerable, and its restraints are found to be unendurable.

At intervals the speculative world is agitated. It slowly awakes to consciousness that the current Religion does not satisfy the requirements of Truth. It detects flaws in its title-deeds, or discovers that it possesses no credentials whatever. It subjects the assertions of Religion to scrutiny. It questions its authority. Far from acting on any blind instinct of repulsion, Speculation pursues with determination and enthusiasm the analysis of Religion, that it may detach Truth from those heterogeneous elements with which it has been combined by the fraud or ignorance of the past. Unlike Pilate, who, after asking what was Truth, went forth, leaving the question unsolved, with an intensity of purpose paralleled by that with which men in positions of danger strive for life, does it grapple with the momentous questions of Theology, and wring from them a confession of their Truth or of their Falsehood.

The world of thought, having satisfied itself with an answer, —that answer being, not always, highly satisfactory, but contenting the existing state of apprehension—Tranquillity ensues, during which men glory in the achievements of those who purged their creed of what was false, and brought it to a condition of supposed permanent incorruptibility. In these times of repose speculation stagnates, no fresh germs of ideas are thrown out,

or fall on soil too exhausted to receive them, whilst those dispersed by the foregoing storm slowly fecundate, flower, seed, and decay. The old forces have apparently expended themselves. But this is not the case. Silently and imperceptibly they are gathering for a fresh reassertion of their power, by overthrowing the purified Faith, because it, too, has given evidence of imperfections, that Theology may be reorganized on a still newer and more complete system, which in its turn, in the fulness of time, will be itself subverted, after that it has satisfied the then cravings of men, and has accomplished its temporary mission.

We see this law of religious renewal actuating most of the religions of antiquity, advancing hand in hand with civilization. A barbarous mythology will not long content an intellectually cultivated people; and, unless a reformation be operated, and a system be elaborated to meet its requirements, that people must lapse into atheism. Babylonish idolatry was rebelled against by Yanbushadh, when the city was under the influence of social advance. Zoroaster reformed the Iranian creed, when Persia was casting off its primæval barbarism. Buddha upreared his system against a degraded Brahminism, to satisfy an awakening Indian mind. Votan reasserted the Truth, as the basis of all religion, in Mexico, when the Aztec empire was exhibiting a capacity for progression. And Mahomet subverted the Sabian polytheism, when that polytheism was dying a natural death. The Greek philosophers, despairing of the corruption of the popular mythology, did battle for the Truth, some by spiritualizing, others by materializing their gods; one school sublimating them into essential virtues, another reducing them to deified natural phenomena.

The law of development, which is impressed on all animate Nature, is stamped as well on Religious beliefs. As the lowest organisms contain rudimentary traces of members perfected in those above them, so also do inferior theological systems exhibit an upward tendency. And, in cases where civilization and mental culture are not checked, the lower type of religion will eventuate in one higher, truer, and nobler than itself; not altogether perfect, it may be, but certainly in advance of its predecessor, and containing within itself springs which will impel it forward in its turn. Beliefs are never stationary; they are in a state of continual flux. In this they resemble languages, which, though brought to an apparent standstill by a classic literature, are full of dialectic currents, which interpenetrate, and, in course of time, overflow that barrier. Sacred standards may, in like manner, arrest the progress of speculation for a

time; but, in a while, they must give way before the torrent, unless they have been so disposed as not to bar, but to direct into legitimate and safe channels, the current of inquiry.

On the supposition that a Revelation has been made to man, it must be perceived that such a Revelation, as emanating from the Creator of mind, cannot be obstructive to reason, but rather, calculated to facilitate its progress. And also, on the same supposition, it is obvious that the extent of surface over which speculation ranged is narrowed, so that inquiry has to flow between definite barriers, whilst, thereby, its channel is deepened, and its force is concentrated. These barriers can never be overleaped or swept away; and if speculation, instead of glancing along them towards the fields over which its stream may be distributed to fertilize, or into the deep courses where it may avail for the transport of the treasures of learning and discovery, will insist on surging up, and exerting its force to overthrow the adamantine walls of Truth, a counter-current will be produced, which will roll back into the old abandoned channels.

If once it be granted that a Revelation has been made by God to Man, then that Revelation must be accepted as directive of, not as obstructive to, Reason, and must be allowed to fix a limit to development in Religious beliefs. As it is true that, following a Natural law, Religious beliefs develope upwards, so also is it certain that there is a term to this progression; and, that, this term once attained, the forces which impelled upwards exhaust themselves, and degeneration ensues. The vital energy in animated Nature, which determines progression, has to be sustained in full intensity to keep it at the highest attainable pitch. This it can never pass, and any relaxation of the force rapidly induces retrogression. In Religion, also, there is a limit, *viz.*:—Revelation; and mental power, if suffered to languish, will lead to Superstition or Indifferentism, and its highest energies can but lead up to that which has been revealed. When once Religion has arrived at the Truth, by means of a Revelation, it must accept its position, or fall back into some earlier stage of belief. The unfolding of the Divine purpose and will cannot be destructive to intellectual power, though it may narrow the range of inquiry.

If a Revelation be granted, it must further be allowed that it harmonizes with the order of Nature, and is conducive to the well-being of man individually and collectively. For, proceeding from the great Author of Nature, and the Creator of Man, there must be agreement between His various manifestations, and they must conduce to the advantage of the creature

He has made. That such agreement should be superficially manifest is not to be expected. GOD's "thoughts are very deep," and patient search will often detect radical affinities when there exist apparent discrepancies. Allowance must be made for the imperfection of human knowledge, or inaccuracy of human observation, in drawing conclusions on the mutual relation of Revelation and Nature.

We are supposing it to be granted that GOD has manifested the Truth to Man in some manner more explicit than the revelation of Nature. To those who reject this idea, there remains only the great hieroglyphic scroll of Creation in which to search after Truth—and how shall they read without a key to the mysteries of that veiled speech, and who could supply that key but GOD Himself?

Christianity came into the field at the period of religious opinion most ripe for its reception. Egyptian Mythology had broken down under its own weight. Aryan and Semitic doctrines had become intertangled in the East, till a Gordian knot had been formed, which philosophy was powerless to unravel, and which could only be solved by the trenchant blade of a new Revelation. The whole area of the Roman world was encumbered with the husks and chaff of innumerable myths which the threshers had cast away, without leaving grain behind. In that dearth, Christianity appeared, as the Prophet to the woman of Sarepta, when there was but a handful of Truth to nourish, and a drop of Divine Grace to strengthen; and when, before the world, widowed of faith, there lay the desolation of Atheism for itself and its offspring. To it came the new Religion to bless that meal, that it should not fail, and to make that oil to abound.

The ancient Religions had absolutely no means of substantiating their claim for acceptance. The priesthood in most systems was not a caste designed to teach, assuming to be of Divine institution, but was a means of giving ceremonial expression to the popular belief; and when it did lay claim to Divine authority, it pointed to no charters, or at least to none better than those of the Salii, which, as Horace says, he could not understand himself, and which, he hints, were beyond the comprehension of any one. The mythology of these religions was to the Ancients like a tongue, of which they understood neither the laws nor the origin, but which they spoke with fluency; and when the more thoughtful attempted to reduce the deities to a theogony, and their fables to a system, they found, to their no

little dismay, that the gods they worshipped were Natural phenomena, and that the fables told of them were the inventions of poets. "It is best not to be too wise about the Gods," said Euripides.

What people then asked was—"What truths are we to believe?" and—"On what ground are we to regard them as true?"

To these demands, Christianity offered concise and intelligible answers—answers which carried conviction with them; and to this cause it materially owed its rapid advance. Having stated its fundamental doctrines in answer to the first question, to the second it made the following reply:—These assertions are true, because they are taught by a body constituted by the Truth incarnated to be the infallible Instructor of the world. And if it were further asked—How it was to be known that such an infallible guide was provided, the Church pointed to the record of the acts and sayings of its great Founder, in which was detailed how He had first organized this community; how He had then imparted to it that Truth which had been so long hidden from the wise and prudent; how He had given it authority to teach that Truth in all the world; and how He had secured by promise to that body the prerogative of infallibility.

This position was the strongest assumed by any religion. It rested on one axiom alone. It was required to be granted that the Founder was the Truth Incarnate. But the difficulty in granting this was diminished by the production of authentic records, containing Prophecies that such an event as the Incarnation of the WORD was to take place at the time determined of GOD; and also of accounts by eye-witnesses of the miracles performed by the Incarnate One, attesting to His Divine nature, and miracles operated by those whom He had constituted witnesses to the Truth, attesting to the communication of Divine power and authority to them. The authenticity of the Prophecies was rendered the more sure, by the fact that those who had preserved these prophetic books, the Jews, rejected the fulfilment of those Prophecies in the Person of the Founder of Christianity.

Early Christianity pointed to Holy Scripture as containing a history of GOD's dealings with mankind in preparing the way for the Revelation of the Truth, and a Record of the manner in which that Revelation was made. It did not point to Scripture as containing on the surface a completely-digested system of Truth, for it assumed for the Church herself the province of an authoritative teacher. The position taken up by

Christianity was very strong. It did not rest on a Charter alone, but on a living witness to the authenticity of that Charter.

But it did not rest on these two bases alone: it claimed a third, and that one on which the creeds of antiquity had been ignorantly constructed—Natural Religion.

Philosophy had convinced the ancient world that the testimony of Nature was insufficient without Revelation to lead into Truth. God had not left Himself without witness, as the Apostle told the men of Iconium, in that He did good, and gave rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, but they had mistaken the manifestations for the God, and the creature for the Creator. Instead of perceiving in Nature fingers directing towards a Revelation, they beheld only boundary marks; and what were symbols of a future manifestation became to them finalities. Thus, the sun, smitten with darkness, dying in Winter, and rising again in Spring, became, not a recurring prophecy of the course which the Sun of Righteousness would run when appearing on earth, but itself a dying and reviving god—a Thammuz, an Adonis, or an Osiris.

Nature is constantly producing symbols and pictographs, bearing evidence that the Gospel story is agreeable to the order of natural operations; and the unfolding of the laws that control creation, before the eye of science, exhibits the moral governance of the world, in accordance with that insisted on by Scripture, proving the unity of the God of Creation with the God of Revelation.

That the claim of Christianity should be devoid of all uncertainty cannot be expected from a Religion resting upon a Revelation. Natural Religion will always possess this advantage over Revealed Religion, that, whereas the latter depends on historic evidence, the former is sustained by the testimony of observation; and historic evidence can never be indisputably and conclusively established. According to Christian teaching, Natural Religion is harmonized with that of Revelation: they mutually support and illustrate one another. How beautifully the changing seasons complement the teaching of the Ecclesiastical year; and the insect transformations facilitate the comprehension of the doctrine of Resurrection; and the properties of light symbolize the mysteries of the Trinity; and the siderial heavens illustrate the communion of Saints; and the floral creation teems with similitude of the deep things of the Faith—those only who are disposed to receive the Catholic Truth with the trust of a little child can perfectly realize. David speaks of the rainbow as God's "faithful witness in heaven," with its three primary tints

blended into one glorious unity of harmonious colouring; so on earth is there one faithful witness—the Church, with its living Authority, with Holy Scripture, and with Nature, bearing their testimony to the Truth with essential unity of purpose.

Christianity, once accepted, rapidly spread; but Arius arose to dispute the axiom on which it rested. "Arius," asked the President of the Alexandrine Council, "Could the LORD JESUS have fallen, as fell Satan?" "He could," answered the heresiarch. Then CHRIST was not the Incarnate Truth, He was not GOD, and the whole superstructure of Christianity fell with Him. But the Church eventually conquered, and Arianism disappeared. Other heresies which afflicted the Church were of little importance; they carried with them the seeds of dissolution. Christianity could only be assailed, with any prospect of success, in two ways: either by a denial of the axiom on which she rested her claim, the Incarnation of GOD; or by a severance and setting in antagonism of the witnesses to the truth of that axiom. Arius had boldly adopted the first; the Reformation inaugurated an attempt at the second.

The attempt of Arius had failed before the combined strength of the testimony of the Church and Scripture. When he appealed to Scripture, that witness referred him to the court of the Church: and when he appealed to the Church, he was silenced by the Nicene Creed. Authority had been too strong for Arius. A new attempt to sap the foundations of Christianity must be made at another point, far off, but with the same object kept steadily in view. The rock upon which the house was built could not be subverted by the wash of the flood; but, if the house were divided against itself, it would fall, and expose the rock to the fury of the surf.

Throughout the Middle Ages, systems of Natural and Moral Philosophy and Religion, that of Medicine leaning on Galen, Natural History on Pliny and S. Isidore, Ethics on Aristotle and the Neoplatonists, Theology on Peter Lombard, were taught in the schools—

> Those ancient homesteads of error,
> Where the old falsehoods moulder and smoulder,
> And yearly by many hundred hands,
> Are carried away in the zeal of youth,
> And sown like tares in the fields of Truth,
> To blossom and ripen in other lands.

With the dawn of the Sixteenth Century, the assertions of the standard authorities were called in question, and the result slowly arrived at was the complete subversion in the minds of the questioners of all the systems of antiquity. Every branch of philosophy had to be reconstructed. Of old, theory had taken the precedence over observation; but now, theories were submitted to the crucial test of experience before they were given credence. A bond connecting the outward world of sense with the inward world of thought had long ago been perceived; but the two had been unconsciously confounded; and the first germ of a philosophy of nature had been laid, which in after times was forced, without the firm support of observation, into a huge overgrowth of arrogant, narrow-minded dogmatism. This upas-tree of error had to be rooted up to its last fibre. One science after another, elaborately piled up into a gorgeous fabric of fantastic theory, had to be torn down, and its foundations re-laid, gravely and securely, no longer in the quagmire of Fancy, but on the enduring rock of Fact. Stage on stage had to be reared, with a certainty almost as great as that characterizing the processes of the exact sciences. This work advanced steadily, at the cost of indomitable perseverance, and heroic self-denial to men actuated by a passion for Truth and an abhorrence of Falsehood. In those times, when the systems of Natural Science of the Ancients were taught and accepted, there can have been no love for Nature. Love would have begotten observation, and before observation the elaborate theories of the Schools must have fallen to pieces. Carlyle, in his *History of the French Revolution*, makes the remark that the only unhappiness which deserves the name, is that of being born at a time when no one asked himself, "What am I? What do I here?"—but when the torpor of a conventionality, and a passive acquiescence in things as they are, oppresses the minds of men. The continued unremonstrating submission to fallacious teaching is an evidence of indifference to the importance of the subject of instruction.

During the season of passive acquiescence and torpidity, every thing moved smoothly, because it never entered people's heads that change was possible. But when once the possibility of change was admitted, it was found that the greatest difficulties that lay in the way of change were thereby removed. The idea of change having been admitted in the province of Science, necessarily produced a corresponding action in the region of Theology. This impulse in the direction of change in Religion, worked the mighty disturbance of the religious convictions called the Reformation.

Protestantism suddenly severed the chain of Tradition which held Christianity firm, and cast the whole strain upon what it regarded as the more secure cable of the two, Holy Scripture. The spirit of the age was against Tradition. Tradition had proved worthless, and authority misleading, in every branch of Science; and the earnest in the quest of Truth mistrusted it in Religion. They found a difficulty in justifying, by the wording of the Sacred Writings, certain tenets insisted on by the Mediæval Church; and they questioned the infallibility of the guide teaching that which in former times it had protested against. But the promise of the Divine Founder had not failed. He had undertaken to preserve from error, not individual branches severally, but corporately, the Universal Church. The Reformers hastily and wrongly concluded that the whole body was compromised by local error.

Political causes made the Reformation a necessity; and the Reformers were ready and facile tools in the hands of unscrupulous princes, to make the movement at once disastrous to Rome, and in itself complete.

According to the system of the Catholic Church, from the time of the Apostles to that of the Reformation, two features were distinctly prominent.

(1) The Church was held to be the Authoritative teacher of the Truth.

(2) The Church dispensed the Sacraments by means of which its members preserved their union with CHRIST the Head.

In order to overthrow the Church, it was necessary

1. To subvert the Authority of the Church, and
2. To supply some fresh means, other than Sacraments, whereby Christians might be united to their LORD.

And this, with consummate skill, was effected by the Reformers, by

1. Opposing Holy Scripture to Ecclesiastical Tradition, and
2. By inventing the doctrine of Justification by Faith only.

The Reformers perceived that, in a contest with Rome, an infallible basis for operations was necessary to ensure success. A position at least as secure as that of the Catholics was an essential, if they hoped to triumph. The Catholics allowed the authority of the Holy Scriptures, whereas the Protestants disputed the authority of the Church. By assuming, first, that Scripture was opposed to Tradition, and thereby appealing to Scripture against the Church, they succeeded in representing

their cause as an appeal from the human to the Divine, from an allowed infallible on their own side to a presumed fallible on the other. That there was a human element in Scripture, as there was a human element in Ecclesiastical Tradition, was a fact evaded by the Reformers, who reduced the several contributors to the Bible to mere formal instruments used by the HOLY SPIRIT to convey His message to mankind—agents, in short, on a level with the pen that wrote, and the paper that received the writing.

The hypothesis of the Book gained the victory over that of transmission by an incorporated Society. The Society and the Book should never have been opposed. By placing them in antagonism, the Reformers dealt Christianity a severer blow than it had received from the fury of heathen persecution and the insidiousness of heresy. Protestantism, in the heat of the conflict with Rome, cast the whole burden of the proof of Christianity upon Scripture, insisting on it so loudly and so long, that the opinion is thoroughly engrafted on popular sentiment, that Christianity rests its claim on the Bible, unsupported by authority and explained by reason.

But it was not sufficient for the Reformers to overthrow the authority of the Church, if they left the Sacramental system standing. The doctrine of the Church in all ages has been that CHRIST has provided certain means whereby He admits persons into His kingdom, strengthens them to do their work in that kingdom, and keeps them in constant union with Himself; that in every state and condition of life He is ready to help His subjects; and that the means whereby He effects this help are the Sacraments. Thus, Baptism admits into His kingdom, and Confirmation seals the Baptismal covenant. Sin after Baptism is a breaking of the laws whereby the kingdom of CHRIST is governed. Those who transgress, are restored to favour with GOD by Absolution. Strength for soul and body is afforded in Holy Communion, through participation of the Risen BODY of CHRIST. The marriage state is blessed by CHRIST, through His Priest, in Matrimony. His ministers are commissioned and sent, with His own power and authority, by Ordination. And the sick are enabled to bear their sufferings by the grace conferred in Holy Unction.

This is the system of Justification which St. Paul opposes to that of Moses, with such telling effect—to speak as a man—in his Epistles, calling it Justification by the Faith—that is, the method of sanctifying peculiar to the Christian Faith, which is alien to the requirements of the Law. The Reformers gave to Justifi-

cation by Faith a signification it had never before borne, and thus opposed it to the very system which it really represented. By this means they were able to dispense with Sacraments, or, at least, to reduce their importance to a minimum; and they brought over to their side all those to whom the penitential discipline of the Church was irksome, and who were ready to embrace any system which offered them such a speedy, safe, and convenient means of removing the stains of past sins, as an internal conviction that CHRIST's merits were sufficient for the purpose.

We shall see presently what have been the results of the introduction of this destructive heresy.

After a rest from the conflict of the Reformation, the same causes which produced that religious upheaval began to operate once more. That Private Judgment which Protestantism called to its aid in the day of battle, turned round, and is now engaged in demolishing its ancient ally. It was, indeed, inevitable that, when the hypothesis of the Book had done its work in the controversy against Ecclesiastical Tradition, it should in turn be subjected to examination by the light of reason, and its claims be freely canvassed.

After three hundred years of repose, minds have re-awakened to the momentous character of the struggle. The new elements introduced at the Reformation have been given time to work to results, and the positions assumed have been cleared of the dust and smoke of battle, and their justness or defects exposed to view. It has now become evident, that Protestantism at the Reformation took its stand on ground logically untenable. The Holy Bible, on which, unsubstantiated by authority, Protestantism took up its position, is a book composed of sixty-six compositions of various dates, by nearly forty different authors, some learned in this world's learning, others illiterate, written in two or three languages. These compositions are of varied character, historical, legislative, poetic, and didactic; some expressed, in a human point of view, crudely—others exhibiting literary skill.

Why, it was asked, does Protestantism claim inspiration for only sixty-six books, and not for seventy? Why does it accept as canonical certain works which criticism rejects? Why, for instance, does it acknowledge the "Epistle to the Hebrews" as Divinely inspired, and refuse to accept "The Epistle of S. Clement?" On what authority, except that of the printer, does it claim inspiration for Solomon's "Song," and refuse it to the "Book of Wisdom?" Why does it quote the Epistles of

S. Paul as canonical, and reject the Epistle of his fellow-labourer, S. Barnabas?

To these questions Protestantism has absolutely no answer to make. It finds itself in a dilemma, from which there is no escape. If it casts itself into the arms of criticism, criticism spurns it with contempt. If it falls back on the written Word, it finds in it no inspired list of canonical writings, nor any claim to be the final appeal in all matters, doctrinal and ecclesiastical. In vain does it quote such texts as "Search the Scriptures," and "All Scripture is given by Inspiration of GOD," when we are not told *what* Scriptures we are to search, nor *which* are given by Inspiration; and that, if we look for direction to the Apostles, we find them quoting the "Book of Enoch," displaying a familiarity with "Wisdom" and "Ecclesiasticus," and making use of passages in the Heathen poets.

The Bible, standing alone, is on precisely the same footing as the Vedas, the Zendavesta, the Koran, the Popol Vuh, and the Book of Mormon, which lay equal claims to being authentic revelations. But the Bible, in the hands of a living witness to its truth, has a far higher claim for acceptance, especially when it is found that there is a radical accordance between the living voice of the Church, the record of Scripture, and the symbolism of Nature. Catholic truth is Scriptural, and the revelation of Holy Writ is not repugnant to the witness of Nature. Scripture without an authorized Interpreter is worse than useless, as is made evident by the countless forms of heresy assuming the Bible as the text for their peculiarities—witness Taepingism in China, and the Pai Marire belief in New Zealand. In fact, Fancy unassisted can draw any doctrine it may desire out of the inspired Word. And Christendom exhibits the lamentable picture of almost countless sects mutually antagonistic, holding doctrines diametrically opposite, and rules of government wholly dissimilar, yet all claiming to prove their several doctrines and modes of government to be in accordance with Holy Scripture.

Protestantism has now entered on a new phase of existence. Finding that it has no logical standing-ground, it has become impatient of argument, and refuses to establish the truth of that very axiom upon which it depends. Finding itself in a hopeless dilemma, it incontinently flies to the very position vacated at its formation; and intrenches itself behind the authority of the Reformers, and the traditions of the Reformation, in a temper, and with a spirit, against which the first Protestants more consistently protested. Protestantism stands in much the same position of perplexity as that occupied by Heathenism before

Christianity. In ancient days, the new Religion asked of the Pagan world on what it was based, and it had no answer to return. Protestantism is now asked—Why the Bible is to be regarded as inspired? It replies—Because "all Scripture is given by Inspiration of GOD." Precisely so; but, by Scripture, what Books are you authorized to include, and which Books are you free to exclude? But there is "neither voice, nor any to answer." Again—Define Inspiration, and state its limits and extent, on the authority of Scripture alone? Once more, there is "neither voice, nor any to answer."

As Protestantism will give no reply, Religious Speculation must labour to obtain an answer for itself, by whatever means are at its disposal. Never was it so well able to undertake this task as at the present time, furnished as it is with all resources of knowledge, governed by an earnest desire to arrive at the Truth, and matured into a habit of dispassionate research, and temperate estimation of the value and use of evidence. Hence the rise of the modern school of Free Inquiry.

At the present day, the first and most obvious characteristic of religious thought is its restlessness; the second is the very unsatisfactory form which, in most cases, that restlessness takes. Religious speculation has been described by Clough under the similitude of vessels sailing from the same port in the dark, with the hope before them of some day reaching the harbour where they may rest. The old landmarks have disappeared, and the horizon presents a blank. There is no compass to point the way, and the heavenly bodies are obscured by a dark veil. Those who are not diligently groping after the Truth have made up their minds that every thing is uncertain, and they acquiesce in such a condition with an internal despair, saying openly that nothing can be ascertained to be absolutely true, and that, in the general uncertainty of dogma, they may well be content to live respectably, hoping that all will be cleared up in the end.

"I had a dream, which was not all a dream;
The bright sun was extinguish'd, and the stars
Did wander, darkling in the eternal space,
Rayless and pathless, and the icy earth
Swung blind and blackening in the moonless air;
Morn came and went—and came and brought no day,
And men forgot their passions in the dread
Of this their desolation."

Byron was right—that was not all a dream. The time he saw in vision is creeping on us now. CHRIST the Sun is turned to

darkness, and the doctrinal watch-stars have fallen from heaven, and over all steals the blackness of the desolation of uncertainty. If CHRIST were GOD Incarnate, then the new Rationalistic School is a reflux to the old Philosophic Paganism; but if He were not GOD, then the Religion of the Future, which will be evolved from the present speculative inquiries, will be as great an advance on Christianity as Christianity was an advance on Paganism.

Protestantism, having no logical position, must disappear, and make room, either for the approaching Religion of the Future, or for a revival of that against which it did battle three hundred years ago, and which still lives full of energy. There can be only Catholic Christianity and Rationalism; only those who fall back on that point of Church authority abandoned at the Reformation, or those who seek out a new basis for the reconstruction of Religion. That a few will hold on still to what is demonstrably untenable, is only what is to be expected. But it will be only those mentally incapacitated for realising the weakness of their position, or those who allow their reason to be distorted by prejudice. The vast majority of intelligent persons are already convinced that Christianity must have some other holdfast than Scripture alone, if the Faith is not to be swept away into the ocean of Unbelief.

Beside Esau, there has been a Jacob in the womb of Protestantism. There is not only a Sceptical, but a Catholic party as well. Both are actuated by the same governing principle, an intense desire to arrive at the Truth. Both are convinced of the falsehood of Protestantism, and both are determined to have some definite and logical basis upon which to ground their faith. The School of Free Inquiry pierces through Scripture to find a substratum of Truth whereon to build, whilst the Catholic party harks back to the severed cord of Tradition, and holds the vessel of Christianity firm by that and by Scripture together, each occupying its legitimate place, sharing the strain, and relieving one another of the stress.

The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, in a late Charge, asserted that the Catholic party "arose, perhaps, in the first instance from a hearty and innocent sympathy with the development in Christian Art which has been so marked a characteristic of our present times." To suppose for one moment that so deep principled and pervasive a movement should have been the result of so slight and transient a feeling as admiration for Art, exhibits a total want of apprehension of the forces which produce great movements, not less surprising than mournful in one who aspires to guide the views of others. The Catholic School owes

its origin mainly to the conviction that Protestantism is untenable, felt by men who have brains to realize a false position, and consciences to impel them to quit it for one which is better.

But there has been another cause at work to produce this reaction, a cause which tended of old to the acceptance of Christianity by a heathen world. Human nature had been created "very good," but it had become marred by the Fall. That act not only rendered man's body liable to disease, and subject to death, but also darkened his intellect, obscured his vision, disturbed his affections, and perverted his judgment. One end of the Incarnation is the restoration of man, the illumining of his understanding, the enlargement of his vision, the sanctification of his affections, the correction of his judgment, the regeneration of his body. His nature is full of noble germs, but germs which require an external influence to force them into energy, and to develope them into perfection.

Such an influence is Religion.

Some religions have been more, others have been less, successful in effecting this; but none have met with the success achieved by Christianity in developing all simultaneously. Every religion has a beneficial effect on man, but the power of each is limited. Inherent defects in the system often check the growth of what is good, or give scope for the simultaneous propagation of vice. Greek Pantheism developed the appreciation of beauty; but at the expense of morality. The spirituality of Buddhism produces sanctity of life; but at the cost of a waste of energy. The fatalism of Islam induces courage; but it suppresses humanity. The severity of Hindooism elicits self-devotion; but at the price of life itself. All religions, with the exception of Christianity, draw out virtues to exaggeration, till they become vices, and that at the expense of other virtues. Christianity alone harmoniously perfects all that is rudimentary in human nature. One creed may aim at the exaltation of the body, another at that of the soul, and a third at that of the intellectual faculties; but Christianity is designed to elevate evenly all the three. And this, because it is the religion of the Incarnation. It depends on the assumption that God was made Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting, for the purpose of raising to the highest attainable perfection, the reason, soul, and human flesh of the complex being, Man.

As the Religion of the God-Man, Christianity undertakes to deal with man as man. It does not strive to force the spiritual life into abnormal growth at the cost of the corporeal and in-

tellectual life. It is not a Religion of the soul alone [1]. It is not a Religion of the intellect alone. It is equally the Religion of the body. God took on Him our flesh, bones, nerves, and muscles, therefore Christianity is designed for the regeneration of flesh, bones, nerves, and muscles. He took on Him a human soul; therefore His Religion is spiritual also. He assumed man's understanding; and therefore His Religion is intellectual as well. A perfect Christianity is that where every faculty of body, and soul, and mind, have conjointly scope for development. It is a Religion of progress of thought and sanctification of affections.

When Christianity appeared, the old world had discovered that its own religion was but a means of sanctioning licence; and that, so far from checking the progress of vice, it lent excuses for general demoralization; and, feeling this, it put forth its hand and clasped the Cross, perhaps with an instinctive knowledge that it alone could lift drowning nature out of the depths of corruption, and, like the haft of Elisha's axe, could cause the sunken and debased metal to swim.

Where we find Religion under the name of Christianity failing to accomplish its mission, we may rest satisfied that it is either a spurious form of Christianity, not derived by any intelligible process from the doctrine of the Incarnation; or that it is laying too great stress on one portion of its work at the expense of others. Whenever Religion attempts to injure the body, to fetter the reason, or to warp the affections, Nature will reassert its vitality by bursting the obstructions; or evading it through a lateral out-growth, at once abnormal and monstrous.

Protestantism has certainly failed to show its right to be considered as a Religion derived from the Truth of the Incarnation. Those who have had the misfortune of being educated under Puritan influence know, to their cost, its inability to give expansion to the mind and to win the heart; and this has led to the secession of all who cannot resolve to stop their ears, blind their eyes, harden their hearts, and acquiesce in the teaching, with a shudder. They have seen how Puritanism comes like a blight on all that is lovely in youth, all that is venerable in age. Under that doleful system, it was as if whatsoever things were honest, whatsoever things were pure, whatsoever things were lovely, whatsoever things were of good report, if there were any virtue, and if there were any praise, then these things were *not* to be thought of. Poor shivering humanity flies from a creed

[1] This is the mistake which has been made by all Mystics, and by exaggerated Asceticism.

which, like the spectre bride in German legends, paralyzes and kills those who embrace it. We look in vain for a rising generation of Puritans. Our youth are indifferent to religion, or are Catholics; and the remains of the deceased heresy, like the carcase of which Virgil tells, has become the progenitor of a swarm of flower-seeking, honey-making bees.

The Low Church, as a spiritual influence, has disturbed the foundation of morality by exalting subjective religion unduly, and by constituting the personal feelings of each man the only standard of appeal as to the morality of an action, and thus has none of the immutability of Truth. The necessary consequence is a deterioration of conscientiousness; for, the moment that the arguments a man can suggest to himself in excuse, palliation, or defence of a certain course, outweigh, even by a grain, those he is aware of on the other side, he yields in spite of an internal conviction that such submission is sinful.

Protestantism is an emotional religion, a religion which frames its convictions of doctrine, and also its moral laws, on an internal sense of fitness. As each time that action is taken on the feelings against Moral Truth blunts the sensibility of conscience and its power of discrimination; in course of time, personal advantage, or taste, becomes the sole criterion of the morality of every act.

And what has been the moral effect wrought by the doctrine of Justification by Faith, as popularly taught and understood? Divested of the verbiage which clouds it, the Lutheran dogma practically amounts to this: It makes no matter at all what actions a man does, or what life a man leads; if only he can say that he has Faith, and can feel a conviction that the merits of CHRIST are imputed to him, he is sure to be saved. The worthlessness of good works is urged; and it is even insinuated that the cultivation of them is rather objectionable than otherwise, because there is a tendency to make a man thereby rely on his own righteousness. With this doctrine have been combined that of the utter Depravation of Human Nature and of Imputed Righteousness.

Said Bishop Beveridge, "I do not only betray the inbred venom of my heart, by poisoning my common actions, but even my most religious performances also with sin. I cannot pray, but I sin; I cannot hear or preach a sermon, but I sin; I cannot give an alms, or receive the Sacrament, but I sin; nay, I cannot so much as confess my sins, but my very confessions are still aggravations of them."

"The nature of every man in the world is extremely, yea, totally depraved. The word of GOD represents the heart as the

fountain of all evil. Now this is the case, not of some, but of all mankind, without distinction or exception. The nature of *all* is wholly depraved, though some are restrained by the power of GOD from actions atrociously evil in the sight of men." (*The Good Old Way*, published by the Religious Tract Society.) Also, "We are accounted righteous for the merits or righteousness of our LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. We, unholy sinners, take His righteousness and are justified by it!" "GOD justifies the sinner freely, and imputes to him righteousness without works." "The Justification of a sinner has no connexion with his own personal obedience either to the moral or ceremonial law, in the act of his justification, his own performances are not taken into account." (*Sermons* by the Rev. S. Cooper.)

"It is absurd—for the minister of the Gospel to propose to the sinner to do his best, by way of healing the disease of the soul, and then to come to the LORD JESUS to perfect his recovery. The only previous qualification is to know our misery, and the remedy is prepared." (Dr. Hawker's *Works*, vol. vi.)

"My brethren," wrote Bishop Lavington to his clergy, "I beg you will rise up with me against *moral* preaching. We must change our voice."

Tracts containing statements like the following are scattered broadcast over the land:—"The only qualification a man has for being saved is his being a sinner. The one thing that gives him a claim upon the SAVIOUR is the simple fact that he is a sinner. Dear reader! Take your place as a thoroughly bad, good-for-nothing sinner; and then you may look up in the face of the SON of GOD, and say, 'SAVIOUR, Thou art mine; *for* I am a sinner." Again, "To be the chief of sinners makes you unpardonable before men; but this is no difficulty with CHRIST. . . By Him all that *believe* are justified from all things; from all accusations, be they ever so numerous; from all iniquities, be they ever so enormous." (*Tract*, Religious Tract Society.)

To the evil of this teaching the writer of "The Missing Doctrine" (Rivingtons: 1865) bears testimony. This writer is a Protestant, believing in Protestantism, but disturbed by seeing how perniciously the popular teaching of Justification is affecting souls. "The Popery of Human Nature," he writes, "gladly accepts such views of religion as leave men undisturbed in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sin for a season. . . The vast majority are very willing to be told that right belief will save their souls alive. If so, all is well. They have no misgivings as to the correctness of their belief. They may go in peace. These are, indeed, glad tidings of great joy; and he who proclaims

them will always be a welcome preacher to the many who frequent the broad and easy way of a mere nominal religion. . . . It is not meant to question the sincere and earnest piety of the preachers themselves in the present day. To their own master they, severally, stand or fall. But their own very guilelessness may make them less watchfully alive to the moral mischiefs so much requiring repentance and amendment of life, which actually prevail in the hearts of those whom they exhort" (pp. 4, 5).

"When this doctrine shall be once thoroughly understood," writes a barrister in his 'Tracts of an Anti-Tractarian,' "the whole gang of coiners, pickpockets, receivers of stolen goods, brothel-keepers, house-breakers, and all the attendant train of criminals, may go on sinning in security, within the scope of a covenant which procured for them pardon and peace from all eternity; and the blessings of which no folly 'or after act whatever' can possibly frustrate or destroy. . . . The daily increasing crowds of the ignorant and uninquiring which are gained over to the new school of faith—act fearfully on the national welfare. Some among the wisest of our forefathers saw the evil in its beginning; its progress, we of this generation are to witness, and, if it proceeds as within the last half-century it has done, no very distant posterity will see the end."

Of the terrible ravages effected by this doctrine among the Dissenters, who proclaim it without qualifications, it is scarcely possible to speak too strongly. It has become a matter of experience to find among them the most deplorable deterioration of morals combined with the loudest protestations of Faith. But, in the Church of England, where this noxious heresy has been taught with reserve, it has also had its effects, in slowly but surely undermining all belief in the necessity of Repentance, and in the heinousness of sin.

It has been observed by those educated under Puritan influence, that the Protestantism with which they were brought in contact, so far from elevating morality, was breaking it down; that consciences naturally impressionable were by it rendered callous; and that a superficial profession of piety was regarded as a proper substitute for a practical good life. "I shall never forget," writes one who was brought up under strict evangelical supervision, "the shock and surprise I received when I first made the acquaintance of some worthy Catholics. There was in them a something indescribable, a sweetness, a beauty, a repose, I had not dreamed of before. I was fortunate in meeting with *good* Catholics, and I saw the highest development of the

Christian life, in a school distinct from that in which I had hitherto learned. I had before known Evangelicals who passed for saints, and who were certainly good—but their goodness was of an offensive quality—it was like would-be-gentility, self-asserting, self-centred, narrow, and grovelling. I was only waiting my time to break from Religion altogether, so repugnant had it seemed to me to all that was noble, true, and healthy in my nature; but, at this moment, I met with religion of another kind—it seemed to me God-like, it saved me from—I shudder to question what."

If the Incarnation be true, the Religion formed on that great mystery must be adapted to the perfection, not to the destruction, of human nature. It must take in hand the arts, foster the sciences, cherish justice, cultivate Truth. It must hallow the affections, and give freedom to the intellect, and liberty, not licence, to speculation. And it must find work for body, mind, and soul in the cause of truth, purity, and progress. Such, Protestantism is certainly not. Such, a party in the English Church believe Catholicism to be. Indeed such, historically, Catholicism has proved itself to be.

Archbishop Whately wrote a book on Roman, in which he included much of Catholic, dogmas and practices, as having their roots in human nature. He was right. Human nature has its points of connexion with every doctrine of the Church, because those doctrines depend on the Hypostatic Union. It was because Protestantism proved wholly inadequate to meet the cravings of that nature; to exalt, to ennoble, to refine, a nature which needed the hand of Religion to uplift it, that men have turned from it, and are seeking, some in one direction, some in another, a Faith which will do that for mankind which Protestantism has utterly failed to effect.

The objection will probably be made, at this point, that Catholicism abroad has given birth to Scepticism equally with Protestantism. This is certainly the case. From this admission, it will be argued that the English party are labouring under error in supposing that, by a reversion to Catholicism, they will escape from the religious difficulties into which Protestantism has plunged them. But this argument will not meet the case. The Continental Church, at the time of the Reformation, was forced by the shock into a false position; one untrue to her nature, one of antagonism to progress, and resistance to free inquiry, from which she has not had the hardihood to extricate herself. She has shown a persistent resistance to the onward

march of thought, an impatience of criticism, and an aversion from the acknowledgment of having made mistakes. In the place of allowing minds to work, she has cramped them. When inquiry has been sought, she has resisted it as profane. Instead of permitting liberty in matters undetermined, she has enhanced difficulties by proposing exaggerated tests to belief. "Absolute victory," says Victor Cousin, "is the death of philosophy; a rival system is necessary to the better system, and criticism is the life of science." This the Church abroad has failed to realize. She has laboured to strangle philosophy, and to stamp out inquiry.

But this intolerance is not an essential characteristic of the Church. It is the exact converse of her mode of proceeding in the Middle Ages, when she fostered art, science, and philosophy. To Protestantism it is essential, as its basis of belief is illogical; but to Catholicism it is not so, for it has a reasonable foundation on which it can stand.

It is often objected that the Catholic party has no legitimate *locus standi* in the Protestantized Church of England. It is assumed that the English Church dates from the Reformation, and that it was constructed under the influence of foreign Protestantism. These assumptions are, however, wholly without foundation. History proves the identity of the Church after the Reformation with the Church before the Reformation; and though it is certain that foreigners did interfere with the Liturgy, it is also certain that they had nothing to do with the construction of the Church in this realm, which can trace its descent from the divinely-commissioned Apostles of CHRIST. It is perfectly true that the Reformation materially affected the English Church; as it is true that an attack of typhus fever is injurious to the constitution of a patient[1]. But it is no more true that the Church of England now is other than it was before the great disturbance in the Sixteenth Century, than that the convalescent cannot claim identity with the man before the Typhus brought him low. By the Providence of GOD, the hearty constitution of the Church will enable it to throw off the disease, and restore it to the vigour of unimpaired vitality.

The English Church never committed herself to the Scriptures alone, interpreted by Private Judgment. She has distinctly affirmed in her Articles that "The *Church* hath authority in

[1] It is not meant to be asserted that the Reformation was an unmitigated evil. It had its good effects. But its good was by no means unmixed with evil.

controversies of Faith," and that "The *Church* is a Witness and keeper of Holy Writ," which assertions are opposed diametrically to the claims of Protestantism. Radically and essentially, the English Communion is Catholic. It holds the same Faith as the other branches of the Body of CHRIST, the Greek and the Latin Churches. It has the same unbroken Apostolic succession, the same Sacramental System. It appeals to the same Ecclesiastical Councils and Fathers. And it claims the same Divine Authority. All these points were given up by Protestantism, which rebelled against the authority of the Church, which broke the Apostolic succession and thereby nullified the Sacraments, which tampered with the Faith, and appealed from Tradition to the Bible alone. If we desire to ascertain to what order a plant belongs, we examine the characteristic features of each order, and classify the plant accordingly. Now the retention or non-retention of the One Faith, the Apostolic Succession, and the Sacraments, are notes whereby we may decide with precision whether a Religious Communion belongs to the Catholic Church or to Protestantism; and although there may be certain external modifications of form which may make the classification difficult to the unskilled, yet so long as the essential features remain, the position of the Communion in Christendom may be fixed with the greatest certainty.

Anglo-Catholics have sensitive consciences. If they were not certain of the truth of their position, they would leave the English Communion in a body. To them the validity of the Sacraments is a matter of vital importance, affecting their salvation. And if they were not fully convinced of the Catholicity of the Church of England, they would not now be "troubling Israel." In the earlier stage of the Movement the true position of the Anglican Church was not so clearly made out; the odour and touch of Esau were so strong that some doubted, though the voice was indeed the voice of Jacob, that they had not before them a Communion which had sold its birthright. But that obscurity has been swept away. A French writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (May, 1867), observes, "Supported at the same time by Metaphysics and History, Anglo-Catholicism has arrived at two results:—The establishment of the coegality of the Episcopal Churches in the face of Rome; and, in spite of the denials of the Protestant Schools, the proof of the authority of the Universal Church, as well as its own individual authority, derived from Apostolic succession. . . . . The Anglo-Catholic theory utterly repudiates Protestantism and its variations. According to it, England and its

clergy have ever remained faithful to the Catholic Faith. Their doctrine reproduces all the dogmas admitted in the Fifth Century, and formulated in the three principal Creeds. Acknowledging above it only the great visible Catholic Church, the work of Christ, the Anglo-Catholics proclaim that Rome is a sister, not a sovereign; the Pope, in the eyes of the Tractarian Bishops, is only a Bishop like them; but he derives from antiquity, and the importance of his Metropolitan see, the Primacy of the West, and the presidence over Œcumenical Councils. But in spite of these amicable tendencies, Anglo-Catholicism takes a decided stand against Ultramontanism, which incarnates the whole Church in one man. Undoubtedly, the English Church recognizes Unity as of primordial essence; but, for her, it is the unity of mystic union which joins into one body and into a great whole individual units, and declares that this unity has but one expression upon earth, a General Council."

The Catholic party has a fair claim to toleration. It is produced by causes which have been at work for three hundred years, necessitating its appearance. In a Lutheran or Calvinistic communion, it would not last an hour; for the causes which gave it rise would impel it to secede. But in the English Church, the fact that the Anglican is radically one with the Greek and Latin Communions, in Faith, Order, and Sacraments, makes it a duty incumbent on all who hold this truth to remain at their posts.

Tamper with the Creeds, break the succession, or suppress the Sacraments, and there will be at once an Exodus. But whilst these remain undisturbed, the position occupied by the Catholic party is one to the retention of which they have an inalienable right.

Indeed, Latitudinarianism and Catholicism have each an intelligible standing-ground in the World of Thought; but Protestantism has absolutely none. If the Incarnation be a Fact, then Protestantism cannot be reasonably deduced from it. If the Gospel record be true, then there must be some witness to the truth of that testimony. The Bible alone, it must be repeated, is no tenable position. All who appreciate the force of a simple argument can see this. Whither, then, are they to betake themselves? If they hold to Revealed Religion, they must fall back on Church authority; if they do not rely on the authority of the Church, having rejected the testimony of Scripture, they have only the witness of Nature left, and are forced into the situation of the pre-Christian philosophers. A man who

can give a reason for his Faith, or want of Faith, is to be respected; but he who holds his faith without being able to say why he holds it, is either a bigot or a fool.

One can sympathize with those who say, "We see no conclusive evidence to convince us that the Church is divinely ordered to teach the Truth;" and, "We see evidence of mistakes, exaggerations, scientific errors, and historical inaccuracies in the Bible, and therefore we can not accept it as the Word of God"—for they are in a logically just position. We can also sympathize with those who say, "We find three witnesses to the same Revelation—Nature, Scripture, and the Church; and to us they seem to speak the same Truth, to mutually support one another. The Church, we find from Holy Scripture, was ordained to teach permanently the Truth, and the Church acts as Trustee to that Truth, on the authority of a Charter, to the authenticity of which she has witnessed; whilst Nature illustrates this Truth." Such a position is just. It may not be wholly unimpeachable, for that historical evidence can never altogether be; but it is sufficiently firm to be assumed and respected. But who can feel respect for those who say, as the beginning and the end of the matter, "We believe the Bible to be true; but yet can give no reason for our belief; we cannot say why we accept four Gospels, and reject others; why we cling to Daniel and Ezekiel, in spite of criticism; why we brand Wisdom as 'Apocryphal,' and accept the Canticles as 'Canonical.'" Catholics assert the authority of the Church to decide the Canon; but Protestants have rejected this authority, and accept only that of private opinion. As for the Protestant, his day is passed for ever. "Who gives any thing to poor Tom? whom the foul fiend hath led through fire and through flame, through ford and whirlpool, o'er bog and quagmire; that hath laid knives under his pillow, and halters in his pew; sets ratsbane by his porridge; made him proud of heart! Bless thy five wits!

> 'Still through the hawthorn blows the cold wind,
> And poor Tom's a-cold.'"

Let him lie in his shivering fit, in the quagmire he has elected for his bed, whilst all who are sane and thoughtful divide into two parties—those who hold to a Revelation, and those who reject it. And those accepting a Revelation will find themselves necessitated to assume a Catholic position; and, in the struggle between these antagonists, Tom will be trodden under the feet of the disputants, into the dirt he loves so well.

Scepticism must work itself out. It is full of energy, has powerful weapons at its disposal; and is, at present, certainly actuated by a manly, earnest devotion to the cause of Truth. It regards Catholicism as erroneous. But in like manner does Catholicism looks upon it as heretical. A surprising amount of mutual misconception exists. Catholics are apt to regard the School of Free Inquiry as animated by a recklessness, irreverence, and disregard of religious convictions; nay, more, by an animosity against all that is by them held sacred, which is intolerable in a philosophic system. They thus regard it, from an inability to appreciate the position on which the Free Inquirer stands. They fail to see that he is struggling in the waters of uncertainty, and feeling for a footing on which he may find security. They fail to realize that those things which to them are certain, are not so demonstratibly true as to satisfy the other. That is not perversity which makes him who is colour-blind dispute the difference between red and green with those who have sensitive eyes. Having a firm grasp of certain truths themselves, they cannot understand how that these are impugned by the other, without violence to his conscience. To him who believes, to doubt may be dangerous; but to him who has been educated to disbelieve, to question is necessary and right.

On the other hand, the Free-Thinkers are unjust to the Catholic School in the English Church. Because it has adopted a mediæval form of expression, they conclude that it is a mere recurrence to the ignorance, bigotry, and despotism of the Middle Ages, under the mask of its picturesqueness. Actually, the Mediævalism of the Catholic Revival is an accident. At a certain period in the history of the Arts, under the influence of the Church, art attained a perfection never before arrived at; and for that reason the new School has selected Mediæval art as a means of expression. This is accidental; it is not essential.

The High Church party considers that it has a Mission to perform—the witnessing to CHRIST, to the perpetuity of the Church, to the efficacy of the Sacraments. It surrounds those Sacraments with gorgeous Ceremonial, because, where the power thus to dignify then is present, such Ceremonial is fitting and right. It is not, however, for Ritual that the party is fighting, but for Doctrine.

In times of poverty and persecution a high Ceremonial is impossible, but the dogmas it symbolizes are not the less believed in. The bent of minds differs in different ages, and must regulate the amount of Ritual suited to the times, but this

can only be discovered by experiment. The mysticism of Mediævalism alone would not be generally useful in this practical age. But when Protestantism has sanctioned all such ceremonial as does honour to the creature, and has robbed the Creator of that honour due to His Name, it becomes imperative on the Catholics of the present day to insist, with what in another age might seem an exaggeration of zeal, on decent Ritual, a matter not essentially of first importance, but rendered important by the refusal of the time to recognize it. It has become necessary to impress men at this day with the long-forgotten truth, that to God must be rendered the things which be God's, and that Cæsar must not concentrate all homage, honour, and respect on himself alone.

The Catholic party, in appealing to Tradition, discovered that Tradition was in favour of Ritualism. In order to save the Faith and the Scriptures, it insisted on the authority of the Church; and, to be consistent, it was obliged to adopt a Ceremonial, to which that authority testified as Catholic, in East and West, and in every age. It has found that a significant Ceremonial is of great value in educating the faith of the worshippers; that it meets a requirement of instinctive reverence, naturally implanted in man; and that it has lashed into fury the World and the Devil—a sure proof of its importance. It would, therefore, be very injudicious of the Church party if it abandoned Ceremonial. But Ritual is regarded by Catholics as a handmaid of Religion—not as Religion itself; to be used when opportunity is afforded for its use, but to be done without when its absence is compulsory. They have too intense a faith in the vitality of the doctrines which they endeavour to teach, to suppose that these truths depend for their influence on the manner in which they are presented to the people; and they are too well assured of the validity of the Sacraments to suppose that the mere outward form and manner in which they are celebrated is of the essence of their efficacy.

Let each party treat the other with the courtesy and consideration of honourable foes, acknowledging in each other the sincerity of the motives actuating it; and let both consent to away with petty persecution, invective, and slander. Violence, abuse, mob force, legislation, will not stamp the life out of either party; for, however hard the blows dealt on either side, that in which the Truth lies may truly say with old George Herbert—

"We are the Trees whom shaking fastens more."

## Analysis of Argument.

A. I.—The Law of Religious Renewal.

*a.* The motive actuating such renewal is the desire to arrive at the Truth.

*β.* This renewal is an upward movement approximating to the Truth.

*γ.* There exists a necessary limit to such upward development—the attainment to Truth by Revelation.

*δ.* A disturbance of Belief after Revelation induces a return to a former imperfect condition of Belief.

*ε.* Mutual relations of Nature and Revelation.

II.—Christianity appears.

*a.* The motives which led to its acceptance.

*β.* The claims Christianity made to be accepted.

1. It claimed for the Church divine Authority to teach the Truth.
2. It pointed to Scripture as establishing this claim, and witnessing to the same Truth.
3. It showed that the Order of Nature harmonized with Revealed Truth.

III.—Christianity assailable in only two ways.

*a.* By disputing the Axiom on which it rested—the Incarnation.

This was done by Arius.

*β.* By setting the Witnesses in apparent antagonism.

This was done by the Reformers.

IV.—The period of the Reformation.

*a.* Causes which led to the Reformation.

1. The discovery of the untrustworthiness of Authority in matters scientific, led to mistrust of all Authority.
2. And finally to rejection of Authority in matters Religious.

*β.* The claims set up by the Reformation.

1. It objected Scripture to the Authority of the Church.
2. It opposed Justification by Faith to the Sacramental system.

V.—The period of the New Reformation.

*a.* Causes which have led to the rejection of Protestantism —a discovery of the untenability of the position assumed at the Reformation.

*β.* Present attitude of Protestantism has necessitated the formation of a School of Free Enquiry.

VI.—Present Condition of Religious Convictions.

*a.* Restlessness of thought; modern practical Unbelief.

*β.* Catholic reaction against Protestantism.

B. VII.—The Object of the Incarnation, the Perfection of Human Nature.

*a.* The failure of other systems to counteract evil and develope good led to their rejection in favour of Christianity.

*β.* The failure of Protestantism, in like manner, has led to the formation of two independent Schools:—

1. The Sceptical School.
2. The Catholic School.

VIII.—The objection that Foreign Catholicism has given rise to Scepticism met.

*a.* Foreign Catholicism forced by the Reformation into a false position.

*β.* Mediæval Catholicism occupied one very different.

IX.—The objection that Catholicism has no legitimate position in the Anglican Communion met.

*a.* The English Church radically Catholic.

*β.* The essentials of Catholicism are:—

1. Unity of Faith.
2. Apostolic Succession.
3. Sacramental System.

*γ.* The conviction that the English Church is Catholic, makes it a matter of Conscience with the Catholic party to remain in her Communion.

X.—The present position of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Scepticism.

*a.* The necessary extinction of Protestantism.

*β.* The mutual relations of the other two Schools.

S. BARING-GOULD.

# Immoral Literature.

THERE are doubtless some who would consider that the whole range of fictitious literature is comprehended in the title of this Essay. The Puritan jealousy of all that appealed to the imagination, of all intellectual energy that would not be contained within the dreary limits of a rigid Calvinism, has left traces, which lapse of time is only slowly effacing, on the religious thought of England. The founders of the Puritan theology deliberately closed their eyes against all truth that they could not fit in to its place in their harsh and gloomy system. They would admit of no ideas which would seem to soften the hard lines of the stern and cruel image which embodied their conceptions of GOD. They would not see that the FATHER which is in Heaven does deign to lead His children heavenwards by the proper use of all the faculties and powers that He has bestowed upon them. They would not understand that imagination, and intellect, and tenderness, and admiration of the graceful and yearning for the beautiful, were implanted in His children by a loving Father—not as mere weeds, to be crushed down painfully and diligently, when they cannot be altogether extirpated, but as living links in that great chain of love wherewith He binds His children to Himself.

And yet, in order to do this, the Puritans had deliberately to shut out the threefold witness which was continually before their eyes; and to refuse wilfully to comprehend the indications of the purposes of the Creator which are given in the outward fabric of creation, in man's own nature, and in the Book of Revelation. The glow and brightness of the material creation, decked with fresh harmonies of changing colour at every changing season of the year, echoing ever with sweet sounds, the song of birds, the soft sighing of the winds, the deep thunder of the rolling waves, had no voices for them, except to remind them of the presence of a world tainted and scarred with sin, to be trampled under foot with scorn and hatred, as if an "enemy" had done all this, to make barriers between man and GOD. And so those means by which man's very instincts urge him to link the worship paid on earth to the worship paid in Heaven, the organ with its

pealing melodies, the choir with its full-voiced harmonies, the sanctuary with its sublime magnificence, were to them but as gorgeous veils, thick with embroidery and woven gold, yet shutting out from view the inner holiness, the clearer vision of the Almighty. They could not use them as angels' wings, whereon pure thoughts and fervent longings were evermore borne upwards to that highest glory where these, its shadows and its types, are developed in their perfection and fulfilment. The elaborate splendour of the old Jewish Ritual, the gleams and glimpses of the Ritual of the Church in Heaven that break out here and there in the rapt Vision of S. John the Divine, had no place in their sympathies, found no room in their system, must have been simply unintelligible to their perceptions—if, indeed, they ever bestowed upon them any portion of those thoughts, whose only worthy office they believed to consist in vain attempts to look into the counsels of the Almighty, to sound the very depths of His will, to define in words the ineffable mysteries of His purposes for, and His dealings with mankind.

All throughout the harsh, cold, and unsympathetic system of a dreary Protestantism, ran the presumptuous error of ignoring the office of the imagination, of doggedly refusing to acknowledge its ministry among the many servants to whom the work of God has been entrusted. Because imagination had been abused to purposes of evil, they would not understand that its proper office is for good. Love had little place in their system; and so they could not perceive that the work of love is to purify and strengthen, and draw forth good with patient tenderness, not sternly to reject and seek to destroy, because of apparent evil. Therefore, with a severe inflexibility of hatred, they set their faces as flints against all the shapes and forms in which the imagination embodies itself, whether in art or literature. They gave these things hard names; they cast them out like Ishmaelites; they drove them to the other side the frontier line; they warred against them in their efforts to return, as against enemies of the chosen people and would-be destroyers of those temples which they were zealously endeavouring to build.

The common law, that if you teach a man to think evil of himself, evil will almost inevitably grow upon him, was more than fulfilled in this case. As is the usual course of outcast classes, the works of imagination deteriorated and grew corrupt as time went on; till, at last, they fully justified the bad repute which had been arbitrarily assigned to them at the first. The black marks that had been fixed on them seemed to become

interwoven with their texture. The brand that had burnt on them became a portion of their character. Driven from the fellowship of the good, they were welcomed with a hearty fellowship by evil, and hence came to partake more and more of the nature and character of their forced associates. The stage became what it was when Etherege, Sedley, and even Dryden, wrote its comedies, and Charles II. patronized its actresses. Poetry, where not of a distinctly religious character, degraded the purity and faith and holiness of love, to the gloating sensuality of the satyr, or the weary, mocking trustlessness of the sybarite. And the literature of fiction, for the most part, took as its subject the seducer and his victim; and as its mission, either to depict the humorous side of gross impurity and coarse sin, or to throw a golden haze of sentiment over scenes and purposes which are most unfit to be brought, as subjects of amusement, before the pure and innocent, even when their most repugnant features are eliminated, or cast into the deepest shade.

The writers of those days, so far as that class of literature with which only we are now dealing is concerned, depicted society, such as it was in its coarsest and most exciting aspects, faithfully and accurately enough. But they seem to have thought of no responsibility, to have recognized no mission, to have believed in no possibility of any work undertaken by them bearing fruit for good. We find in their pages no attempts to disinfect or purify the moral, or more truly the immoral, atmosphere in which they lived, by casting abroad upon it fresh ideas of purity and truth and nobleness. There are no tokens that it ever even suggested itself to these authors, that the mastery over the imagination was given them, that they might bear it up into higher and purer regions; that they might bring ideas within its grasp, upon which fastening itself, it should be guided and supported on an upward course, instead of being turned and rivetted to earth, by strengthened bonds of sensuality and selfishness. And this went on till Walter Scott gave to the world those wonderful stories, which appeal to no morbid sentiment, which depend for their attraction on no subtle allurements of a refined sensuality; which stir the imagination with influences as stirring, as bracing, as purifying, as the breeze that sweeps over the fragrant heather of his own Scottish hills. And then earnest men and women were brought willingly under the charm of an enchanter who relied for his magic upon no waving arms, or measured paces, or soft suggestions of voluptuous thought; but on the deep sympathies with manliness, and nobility, and truth, and purity, and constancy, and the daring of self-abnegation, which are inherent

in the constitution of humanity. So, too, he taught them to understand that mere amusement may be turned to noble ends; and that the imagination has its ministry for good among the constituents of our moral system. He forced them to discern that this faculty of living in ideal scenes, and among ideal persons, is in truth among the many talents which the Great MASTER has entrusted to His servants; that if it is most foul guilt to squander it in riotousness and uncleanness, it is also faithlessness to seek, in fear and in distrust, to wrap it in a napkin, and bury it in the earth, as a useless and a dangerous possession.

There seems, indeed, no likelihood, at the present time, that imaginative literature will ever again become an outcast from any portion of society, or will be dealt with by any sweeping anathema. The expediency at least, if not the necessity or duty, of recognizing the existence of the imagination, and of supplying it with pure and healthy food, is fully allowed on all sides. Every section of the Church has its own special fields of literature; not only its own sermons and hymnals, its own essays, manuals, and books of devotion, but its own poetry, its own magazines, in which a serial tale—often ludicrously out of harmony with the remaining portion of the contents—is an inevitable ingredient; and even its own novels—all flavoured, of course, more or less strongly with certain peculiarities of theological opinion, and having in common, as their object, the engrafting of these peculiarities on the affections by continual association with the imagination.

Now this tacit, but wide-spread, sanctioning of the use of the imagination, as a legitimate means of intellectual and spiritual improvement, is in the Catholic Church both the assertion of a right and the assumption of a responsibility. It is the assertion of a right, inasmuch as the Church thus puts forward its claim to the title of Catholicity in its widest and deepest meaning, claiming for GOD, through CHRIST, not only all men every where, but the whole of each individual man. It asserts the truth, which Manichæism and Puritanism either openly deny or practically ignore, that the whole man, as he is made, is capable in every part of rendering homage and service, and giving glory and honour, to his MAKER. It claims every faculty as having its own duty of cultivation, its own mission of improvement, its own development provided for, in some added fitness of the redeemed of CHRIST for the great glory of their future destiny.

Such theory is, indeed, the only one that fully meets the necessities of the case, and adapts the Revelation of the Past, the

Present, and the Future of Humanity—Creation, Redemption, and Resurrection—Eden, the Cross, and Paradise—to the actual constitution of individual man, and the existing system of Human Nature. It would be great and most unwarrantable presumption to set aside any portion of the surface of the earth, or any race of human beings, as hopelessly incapable of spiritual growth, as given over to the service of the Devil, as outside the boundary lines of the Kingdom of the LORD and of His CHRIST. It is presumption, the same in kind, and hardly less in degree, to set aside any portion of the faculties, sympathies, and perceptions with which, in their magnificent profusion, the CREATOR has endowed Humanity, as unclean, as useless, or as dangerous; not in their misuse, but in themselves; and therefore to be abandoned to disuse—to be left to shrivel up, like unused limbs, into insignificance, pettiness, and want of power.

Therefore it seems to be a position at once tenable and important, that the Church should neither deprecate nor overlook the fact that there is an actual benefit to be derived from the moderate and temperate use of influences that affect the imagination. We must allow that it is gainful, if the imagination can be prevented from fastening on what is unholy, what is untruthful, and what is impure; from feeding, with a morbid appetite, on the refuse, garbage, and husks that the swine do eat; if it can be induced to exercise itself on pure, and truthful, and noble objects, and be developed, in such exercise, into a natural and healthy growth. For it would seem that there is a double office given to the imagination, when developed in a natural and healthy growth. On the one hand, it has a mission to purify the perceptions of the intellect, and enable it to discern, as through a more transparent medium, and with a clearer vision, the true glory and beauty of all that is noble, and truthful, and pure, and self-denying, amid its common relations and employments. On the other hand, it has a vocation to stimulate the affections, and to fix them on the things of which the nobleness is thus perceived, and so to raise them up, not only to a recognition, but also to an actual realization, of the true objects, and aims, and hopes of life—and this in every legitimate way, and by every lawful means.

It is not only by exciting the imagination with stimulating spiritual food, by forcing it into artificial channels, or by pressing it as a bondsman into the service of devotion, that the Church recognizes its office and its work. It is, undoubtedly, the highest office, the most glorious development of the imagination

to realize spiritual truth, to live in the gladness and the rest of Heaven, while the body is labouring and wearying on earth. But this, except by special grace, is not to be effected or attained at once. The imagination will not, in ordinary cases, have a healthy growth, or perfect life, if suddenly torn from its natural position and transplanted into a richer soil, and an artificial, even though it be a purer atmosphere. The choicest fruits of the Spirit, the highest fervours of devotion, the most perfect abstraction, the most distinct realizations of the unseen, need careful and gradual acclimatization before they can become the natural and healthy products of the mind of man. It appears, in many cases, as if the imagination strengthened itself to grasp the truths belonging to God by exercise on the truths belonging to humanity, just as a tender and reverent love of the beauties and harmonies of creation ofttimes is seen to ripen into an earnest longing for the greater glories and more perfect harmonies that are, as yet, behind the veil. The attempt to fix the imagination, in all cases, exclusively on spiritual truths; to allot, for its sole scope of exercise, the hymn, the prayer, the fervours of devotion, the imagery of the future state—however beautiful in theory, has been found to be dangerous in practice. Doubtless there have been, and are many in the Church, Martyrs and Confessors, Saints and Virgins, Bishops and Doctors, men and women of the deepest learning and most cultivated intellect, men and women of the simplest life, and amid the hardest and most wearying labours, who have been called by grace to this, and found in these things their true life. But, for the most part, experience has shown that an undue and over-confident straining for these highest places in God's Kingdom on earth has, too often, been succeeded by lassitude and ended in reaction. The food meet for Angels has produced eccentric and unhealthy developments, in natures unpurified and unprepared. The outcoming of the affections thus unduly stimulated has proved to be, not only in weak growths, and flavourless fruits, and scentless blossoms, as of fruits and flowers forced into unseasonable ripeness, but even in strange unlooked for issues of fanaticism, and heresy, and unbelief.

Thus it may be willingly conceded that the literature of fiction has an office and a purpose, even where it is not directly connected with spiritual things. Indeed, there is ample scope and fitting subject for its exercise upon the present realities of life. It is something to rejoice at, if the thoughts of labouring and toiling men can now and then be lifted up above the ordinary course of their cares and business, and may be reminded that there is a

way of interpreting the things around them, nobler than that with which they are presented by self-interest and human passion. It is a clear gain to humanity, if even a harmless solace can be provided for hours of weariness, or sickness, or compulsory idleness; but it is a much greater gain if, in these idle hours, the beauty of self-denial, the nobleness of true manhood, the glory of purity and truth, and simplicity, and single-hearted constancy, can be forced upon human nature, which needs these incentives to counteract its selfishness. It is a work clearly not to be despised, if the mind can be induced to take in the idea that there is a higher standard of life, even in its most ordinary aspects, than can be found in the lax judgments and still laxer practice of modern society, in the unscrupulous struggles of politicians, in the engrossing excitement of field-sports, or in the grasping cunning and fierce greediness of the Stock Exchange. Even if such an auxiliary have at command only the lower influences, if it can but present motives infinitely inferior to those which the Church brings to bear upon the education of the souls of the faithful—still, even the day of small things is not to be utterly despised; even such help is clearly not to be rejected or disdained.

Thus, undoubtedly, there is a mission allotted to those to whom the gift is given of mastery over the imagination, whether as a poet, dramatist, or novelist. It is to open men's eyes, that they may see the legions of God's Angels that are around them in mean shapes and common forms. It is to teach them to recognize the true harmonies and glories of human life, in its hard, unattractive every-day duties, in the wearisome monotonies of its self-negations. It is to transform into brightness the weariness and dulness of duty, not by gilding it with false colours, but by casting on it a clear ray of truth from Heaven, as the gleam of the autumnal sun crowns with a golden glory the sere leaves, whose fading tints, seen under the dull grey sky, were suggestive but of sadness, and decay, and death.

There have been, and there are still, many such masters of their art among us; many, whether of deliberate purpose, or from the light that was within them shining forth unconsciously, who have forced us to recognize their mission, and have put forth all their strength in exercising a mighty influence for good. Dickens (we speak here merely of his moral influence) has soothed and comforted many an anxious heart, by those prose idylls—breathing, in every line, of quiet trust and simple con-

fidence; has weakened at least, if not uprooted, by dragging them into light, crying abuses, that were growing, like poisonous lichens, on the darker sides of our social system; and has enabled us to recognize and scorn hypocrisy and deceit, by showing them in their actual colours, and calling them by their real names. Thackeray has helped us to understand the beauty of sincerity, and unselfishness, and truth, by very contrast with his vivid pictures of the hardness and the baseness of worldliness and self-assumption, and the ugliness of meanness, and selfishness, and pretence. Kingsley—in his fiction at least—has given us true perceptions of the nobleness of true manhood, the strength of humility, the grandeur of truth, and honesty, and trust. Anthony Trollope—while he has reminded us that even the world has a harsh and bitter sentence for selfishness, and arrogance, and fear of its opinion, and contentment with its own low standard—has nobly set before us the duty of constancy and forbearance, and considerate allowance for human weakness, and kind and gentle judgments. Miss Yonge—at least in her earlier manner—has told us of the glory of lowliness and self-mistrust, the strength which a true fellowship with the Church Catholic brings to the needs of life. Miss Muloch, of the brotherhood which bands together all classes of the social system, in the consciousness of a humanity and a redemption common to all alike, of a bond of union that lies far beneath the surface of the necessary distinctions of society. And we are thankful that we may add the name of one more mighty master in the craft. Bulwer's later writings have been striking recantations of the false principles of his earlier novels. To turn from the pages of *Ernest Maltravers*, or *Paul Clifford*, or *Eugene Aram*—to *The Caxtons*, or *What will he do with it?* is like exchanging the stifling atmosphere of an orchid-house, rich with the gorgeous colouring and fantastic outlines of its scentless flowers, for the sweetness of the heather and the bracing of the mountain air, or the freshness of the breeze that blows over the mighty sea, as it lies glittering in the summer sun. Such a change is the confession of a great master of his art, that the really noble objects upon which to exercise it, the objects to which the sympathies of men are really drawn, and which they recognize instinctively as responding to their best and highest faculties, are simplicity and purity, and honesty, and straightforward manliness; not the excitement of crime, nor the morbid self-analysis of a criminal, nor the sentimental selfishness of sensuality. And in all of these it is pleasant to recognize a teaching and an influence for good. Few would willingly forget the lessons they have learned from John Halifax, and Guy Morville, and Mr. Harding, and Sir

Amyas, and Pisistratus Caxton, and Colonel Clive, and Tiny Tim.

But the presence of light makes darkness more intense; and the true and honest work that is done by real masters of the art, brings out into more clear relief the baseness of others, who have laboured in a very different spirit. For there is a school of novelists which would seem, deliberately and with care, to have selected the very worst features in the style of the great writers whom we have mentioned, and to have adopted them, exaggerated, deformed, distorted, and unbalanced, as the characteristics of their own system. They have stolen from Kingsley his admiration of physical strength. They have purloined from Dickens his occasional confusion of grotesqueness with humour, and of passion with strength. They have plundered from Bulwer his perception of the strange fascination of crime—his habit of coupling and contrasting physical beauty with moral deformity; and from Thackeray they have appropriated the mistrust of humanity—the hopeless sense of its infirmity, that runs, in mournful undertones, beneath the sparkling current of his wit and satire. And having thus, unlike bees, skilfully extracted the poison from the most beautiful and fragrant flowers, they have stored it in cells, of which the framework has been adapted from Alexandre Dumas, and the vilest specimens of French novels; and, like dealers in quack medicines, coining a word to express the rubbish that they sell, have ticketed the product of their labours with the title of "sensational" literature.

All ideas of nobleness or elevation are absurdly out of place in connexion with this school of novel manufacturers—for they can hardly be called writers. Under its hands, Fiction might be imaged as standing gazing wistfully on the door of the Divorce Court, and sentimentally on the Gallows, instead of pointing to the Cathedral Porch, or gazing upwards to the bright blue sky. If they have a system at all, it is to drag out of the darkness the images of the murderer, the seducer, and the harlot, and set them where the gorgeous rays of fancy can stream over them, and brighten the repulsive harshness of their features with soft light, and decorate them with its own brilliant colouring. The sole effect of their writings is to present sin and guilt, with their rottenness painted over, and their shame varnished with brightness, as habitual and pleasant subjects for amusing contemplation. If they raise any voice to disclaim their sympathy with the vice they represent, it is expressed in faint warnings, that read like extenuations; and in reprobations so

gentle and tender, that they seem almost allurements and enticements.

The Church clearly owes to society the duty of plain speaking in this matter. It is not now as it was in Puritan times, when all novel reading was put aside by religious people, as polluted and defiled, and evil in itself. In those days, no particular warning was needed against any special style of fiction, because all that appealed to the imagination was considered as a stranger to religion, and that in the old meaning of the word in which a stranger was synonymous with enemy. It would be useless now to denounce novel reading as sinful in itself. It would be vain to attempt to put the exercise of the imagination altogether under a ban, or even to persuade people that its only permissible employment is on subjects exclusively devotional. Surely the time is come for very plain outspeaking in the matter, now that the press is pouring forth a flood of novels, which seem to contend in nameless rivalry, and, expressing loose morality in yet more loose grammar, in undermining, with equal recklessness, the purity of English morals and the purity of the English language.

Strong language can only be justified by producing proof, not only of the justice, but also of the necessity, of its employment. It is right, then, to show, by an examination of a few of the most popular specimens of the "Sensational" school of fiction, that no injustice has been done it in the above description.

The founder of the school was probably Miss Braddon; at least, *Lady Audley's Secret* was the first of the kind that, by its success, attracted general attention. And it is fair to say, that, taking *Lady Audley's Secret* as a specimen of Miss Braddon's style, there is little to be alleged against it, except its utter uselessness and silliness. There is no profit at all to be got out of it, by any process whatever. No one could possibly be made, by its perusal, better or wiser, more charitable to their fellows, or more patient in suffering. There is no one character in it which the reader likes to think about, or numbers among the imaginary friends whom he would like to have, or which he fancies, in the tender phantasy of affection, is dimly reproduced in its best features in some one among the circle of his acquaintance. There is no pleasure in reading its careless and ungraceful English. There can be no interest in the story, when its secret is once guessed. The time spent over it is simply time utterly lost, unrequited by the gain of a single fresh idea, or of a quaint conceit, or noble thought, or of a sentence that lingers in the memory like a sweet

harmony. Yet the work had a great sale, and won for the authoress a certain amount of reputation. And, undoubtedly, it had its merits. There was much cleverness in the management of the plot, the interest was ingeniously kept up to the end, and the boldness which fixed upon a would-be murderess for the heroine, was tempered by the ingenuity which contrived just so much excuse in the position in which she was placed, as veiled, to a certain extent, the real fiendishness of her character. And on the other hand, the fascination of her outward bearing was so managed that it did not utterly conceal the repulsiveness of her real nature.

The great harm done by the book was its association of the ideas of beauty, and softness, and delicacy, with the realities of coarse sin and daring wickedness. It was in the subtle contrast between the refinement of the criminal and the vulgarity of the crime that the piquancy of the book consisted. It was not because Lady Audley had chiselled features, and a musical voice, and golden tresses, or because she had attempted murder, that her fascinations became so irresistible. The secret of her attractiveness was in the union of the two conditions of refinement and crime. And this excited a certain feeling of that morbid sympathy, which is, more or less, a pleasurable sensation. No one would have thought the gallows too good for a coarse-featured, loud-voiced, oakum-haired woman, who had first deliberately committed bigamy, and then endeavoured to dispose of an inconvenient husband by pushing him down a well. But no novelist would have dared to place the hangman's rope round the neck of the Lady Audley of Miss Braddon's creation. And exactly in proportion as it deadened the sense of horror at wickedness, and awakened sympathy with crime, it became powerful for evil. The mania for golden hair that broke out at the time, among all ranks and classes of womankind, was undoubtedly a token of instinctive sympathy with—at least the fascinations of the adulteress and would-be murderess of the popular novel. It is probable that many women would have committed Lady Audley's crime, and have risked her punishment, if they could have ensured her attractiveness, and have claimed her success.

But the book did harm in another way. It made novel writing easy to the meanest capacity, if only sufficiently unscrupulous as to the means of success. No fertility of conception, no poetry of language, no quaintness of humour, no aptness in depicting character, no quiet pathos, no tender love for the aspects of outward nature, was needed for this sort of novel

writing. All that was required for the reward of popularity was the power of conceiving an attractive woman and a hidden crime, and the trick of coupling the innocent fairness of an Angel with the dark imagination of a she-devil. The only necessary skill was that which could suggest a plausible motive for a murder, and a clever scheme for effecting and concealing it. Still, except in its tendency to create a morbid sympathy with crime, and a diseased appetite for descriptions of criminals, there was, perhaps, no very great harm about *Lady Audley's Secret*.

But there is, unfortunately for this class of writers, a limit to the interest that can be taken in crime, even when committed by pretty women. A certain monotony, even in murder, is distressingly inevitable. The *Newgate Calendar* itself is not altogether inexhaustible in the variety of its romance. Yet the popular taste, excited by the highly-spiced diet that had been placed before it, could not be contented without such stimulants. However fascinating the hero or heroine might be, the public were comparatively indifferent to them, if they did not come up to the mark in the quality and the quantity of their hidden wickedness. Yet the situation seemed to suggest its own remedy. The Sixth Commandment being exhausted, and the public palate having palled on the repetition of its breach, the eye naturally wandered down the table to the one that followed. And so sprang up a new phase of the "sensational novel," in which the ingenuity of the writer was expended in travelling as closely as possible along the edge of the Seventh Commandment, instead of actually breaking the Sixth. In this case, the great art appears to consist in contrasting a certain surface appearance of innocence and simplicity with the most ingenious and refined expression of sensuality and immodesty —in veiling the real nature of these things, by making them appear the natural result of truth, and impulsiveness, and unconventionality. We will take, as a type of this sort of novel under its least objectionable form, a work that has passed through two or three editions, been re-published in a cheap form, and reviewed with approbation in an exceedingly long article in the *Times*.

*Cometh up as a Flower* has one thing at least that is not in common with *Lady Audley's Secret*. It is very well written. There is force of description, and smartness of dialogue, and power of delineating character, and gleams and glimpses here and there of true and deep pathos. Much of the praise bestowed upon it, by the *Times'* and other reviews, was fairly and honestly

its due. There s internal evidence (though the detestable flippancy and coarseness of thought in many passages almost render it incredible) that the writer is a lady, and one who, in some way or other, has mixed in good society. Yet the book cannot be spoken of except in terms of almost unqualified condemnation. The story is simple enough. A young lady, precocious and uneducated, suddenly encounters a heavy dragoon, endowed with those broad shoulders and luxuriant moustaches, which the heroines of modern novels appear to find utterly irresistible. It is fair to add that there is nothing at all objectionable about this particular 'plunger'—as it seems, in some way, to be funny to call an officer of heavy cavalry. He is very good-natured, simple-hearted, and harmless; and appears to have no particular vice belonging to him, unless there is any which may be supposed to be inseparable from utter vacuity of character. In fact, he is far too good for the heroine. But, such as he is, surely never before, in fiction or reality, did the course of true love run in such a rapid and tempestuous career. They meet, as strangers, in a churchyard for a moment. They sit together at a dinner party. And at the third interview the father of the young lady is, naturally enough, astonished to find "his favourite daughter sitting, in the dusk of the evening, with a man whom, to his certain knowledge, she had seen but twice before in her life, lying at her feet, and clasping her hand, apparently unforbidden." And from thenceforth the reader continually finds himself in the presence of familiarities and endearments, which, in real life, would be very embarrassing to behold, and are by no means edifying to read about.

Now, this is all very cleverly done—as well, perhaps, as such description of work admits of being done. But the effect intended to be produced upon the mind of the reader is, that it is a very fine thing indeed to be truthful, and impulsive, and natural, and unconventional. Only, when one comes to think of it, it is pleasant to reflect that such proceedings are, in reality, neither truthful nor natural; and, though they are certainly impulsive, it is to be hoped they may long continue unconventional. There is in the order of nature—and not only in the world of novels, or poems, or plays—a certain elevation and sublimity about true love, which raises even coarse and common natures into refinement and nobleness. Its typical development is not a struggle for kisses between a drunken bagman and a chambermaid. There is a modesty, a reticence, a shamefacedness in woman's nature, which is not to be confounded with

mere wilfulness, and lightness, and passionate impulse. If such wooing—if, indeed, in the true sense of the word, it be wooing—as is here described, were the fashion with English maidenhood, then would it utterly have cast away its crown of the gentle dignity, and refined purity, and unconscious self-respect, and sweet reserve, and patient self-control, that give its holiness to love.

But, repulsive as all this is—disgusting as it is to hear of this English maiden "hurling herself at the not-particularly-delighted head of the big Scotchman," as her practically-minded sister truthfully describes the process—it is, perhaps, merely that bad taste which is sometimes produced by exuberance of animal spirits. There is worse yet to come. The lovers are parted, by a deceit which is certainly most base and cruel; and the lady is married to a very estimable country gentleman. Of course the reason of the separation is discovered at last, and then comes a scene which we will transcribe:—

"Looking into his haggard, beautiful, terrible face, I forgot all I should have remembered; forgot virtue, and honour, and self-respect; my heart spoke out to his. 'Oh, don't go,' I cried, running to him. 'Don't you know how I love you? For my sake, stay; I cannot live without you!' I clasped both my hands on his rough coat-sleeves, and my bowed head sank down upon them. 'Do you suppose I can live in England, and see you belonging to another man?' he asked, harshly. 'The world is all Hell now, as it is; but that would be the blackest, nethermost Hell. Do let me go!' he said, fiercely, pushing me away from him roughly, while his face was writhen and distorted. 'If you go,' I said in my insanity, throwing myself into his arms, 'I'll go too. Oh! for God's sake, take me with you.' He strained me to his desolate heart, and we kissed each other wildly, vehemently; none came between us then. Then he tried to put me away from him. . . . . But I would not be put away. I clung about his neck in my bitter pain. 'I'd rather go to Hell with you than to Heaven with him!' I cried blasphemously. 'Oh, don't leave me behind you! you're all I have in the world now; oh! take me! take me with you!' My hair fell, in its splendid ruddy billows, over his great shoulder, and my arms were flung about the stately pillar of his throat."

No comment is needed on this scene. It is fair to add that the end is better than might have been expected. But, we ask, is that most degrading and humiliating spectacle—a wife en-

treating a reluctant lover to commit adultery—a fit subject for a writer, with any sense of shame, to imagine, or for a reader to dwell on for amusement. To take a very simple test; we believe there is no theatre in London, even of the lowest kind, in which any manager would dare to produce that scene unaltered, dramatic and effective as it is. And yet the worst of the book is not to be found in any particular passage. There is about the whole novel a sort of polluted atmosphere, an air of immodesty, a deliberate dirtiness, a perpetual suggestion of ideas which any virtuous man, much more any modest woman, would blush to recognize, even in their thoughts. The writer cannot even describe a young lady waltzing, without rushing into —to say the least—voluptuousness that borders on sensuality. The passage is given, that these hard words may be justified:—

"Another couple passes us; racers these; and I bite my lip till it bleeds as I look after them. Dolly, in maize tulle, and pomegranates in her hair; smooth cheeks, like living rose-leaves, her scarlet lips half apart, is floating down the long room, lying restfully in Dick's arms, with her head on his shoulder. Dolly has a most reprehensible style of dancing, I think; though Dick does not seem to think so, as they swim fleetly round, with the most perfect agreement in their supple movements. Dolly is the sort of woman upon whom Mr. Algernon Swinburne would write pages of magnificent uncleanness. . . . 'I so seldom meet with any one whose step suits mine; it is *such* a treat!' I hear Dolly saying very softly; while she looks at him, as I fancy Dalilah looked at Samson when she tried to wile the secret of his strength from him. Dolly reminds me of

'The maid of Cassivelaun,
Whom Gwydion made by glamour out of flowers.'

'Sandy! the canny Scot! Daddy Longlegs!' say I to myself, indignantly, recalling all the ignominious epithets that she had heaped on the man, at whom she is now looking with the eyes of a hundred Loises rolled into one."

There is not a character in the book whom a brother would like his sister to resemble, or whom any sensible man would not shrink from taking as his wife; yet it was met with general acceptance and a wide circle of admiring readers. But we will pass on to another aspect of the fashionable novel. The theme of this is a sort of devil-worship of sheer muscularity and brute strength, invariably employed, as the old heathen deities were

supposed to have employed their power, as the instruments of reckless profligacy and unbridled sensuality.

The "cool captain," who is the hero of this class of novel, is always an object of envy to his fellow-captains, and of unmeasured admiration to a certain class of women; partly because he is larger and stronger, and possibly a trifle more unprincipled than themselves; but especially because he can smoke more tobacco, and take bigger drinks, and yet keep his head cool for general purposes of quarrelling and gambling. It is also necessary, for the perfection of his character, that he should be utterly selfish, exceedingly disagreeable in ordinary society, and cruel and ferocious whenever he has an opportunity of exerting his personal strength. In short, the conception of a "cool captain" is a realization of the ideal of a perfect man, which might be supposed possible to a tiger.

The women who surround these men are thoroughly sympathetic. They are all charming, graceful, accomplished, and fascinating, but without even a perception of any higher motive than the sensual gratification of the present. With them love is an amusement or a passion. In the one case, the result of mere silliness; in the other, the outcome of deliberate wickedness—in both having its issues in the same result—the humiliation and degradation of all in womanhood that is pure, and loveable, and noble. And the interest of the tale in which these men and women are concerned usually consists—to speak plainly—in the probabilities of the commission of adultery.

In one way, indeed, the contemplation of these characters will, probably, do but little harm, except to the very youthful and the weak-minded. No sensible girl, who has seen any thing of society, would feel much excited at the contemplation of a "cool captain." She would know very well that such a man is, after all, simply a selfish and ferocious ruffian, with a certain superficial polish on him, which would very speedily be rubbed off by the wear and tear of matrimonial life. She would also be aware that such a husband would to a certainty be cross, bearish, and immoderately jealous; that the "big drinks" would be by no means conducive to domestic felicity; that his nose would soon grow red, and his hand shaky; and that, in all probability, his wife would have the delectable office of nursing him through a series of attacks of *delirium tremens*. Also, it might occur to her that the "evil light" which is always coming into his eyes at every imaginable provocation, although very romantic to think about, may be a decidedly unpleasant adjunct to the inevitable *désagrémens* of married life.

The danger lies in the skill and power with which reckless

passion and the utter absence of self-restraint are depicted as the very characteristics of real and earnest love. The juggling process by which this foul delusion is produced, is that most dangerous of all things, a devilish mockery of truth. It grasps the noblest elements of love, devotion, abnegation of self, and utter confidence, and images them as they might be in their wildest excess, if unbalanced and ungoverned by any higher principles, and represents them doing their natural work when ministering to evil, as truly as when efficient of the noblest good. Or, rather, it makes a counterfeit of these things; it takes self-will, and sensuality, and lawlessness, and lust—and calls them by noble, even by holy names, and fashions them into an image, and crowns them with a lurid light, in mockery of their true glory; and, with mighty blare of trumpeting, bids those who are willing to be deceived to fall down and worship them. Many a young girl, who in her heart would be very much afraid of such men as Guy Livingstone or Major Keene, would be irresistibly fascinated by the seeming nobleness of giving up all, even modesty, even self-respect, even shame, in the devotion of a passionate love.

We will take one example of this school, not as the worst, but as the very best we know. *Maurice Dering* is written with very great ability. There is a freshness and an intensity, and a graphic vividness, about many of the scenes, which are not surpassed, even if they are equalled, by any of our living novelists. It is not without words of true tenderness and pathos, or passages which read like aspirations after good, seen with a dim perception, scarcely believed in, seeming to have no more substance or reality than the beautiful cloud vision, for the embrace of which Ixion forfeited his heaven, yet confessed as the true satisfaction of the yearnings of humanity, and earnestly, even passionately, longed for. There is also, undoubtedly, true art in the way in which the bright prospects of the opening scenes change by degrees, first passing into deepening shadows, then into the thick darkness. Indeed, the gradual progress by which crime and calamity mingled into one deep, enduring sorrow, close in, page after page, upon the story, recalls to mind the terrible grandeur of the old Greek drama, and Até with her solemn silent tread, the companion and avenger of the wickedness of man.

The male characters, too, are by far the best of any that we meet with in this author's works. They are splendid specimens of animal beauty, strong, reckless, defiant; and, even while utterly unable to carry out the thought to any practical purpose, seeming to have some idea that life has higher ends and higher

compensations than the pursuit of self-gratification, or the excitements of sensuality. There is a terrible energy, almost rising into grandeur, in the scene in which two of the men deliberately decide to prevent the possible seduction of a married woman, by the death of the would-be seducer, even though the duel, which is the result of their deliberations, is very like a simple murder, in its studied and cold-blooded arrangements. The effect, too, which is intended to be produced seems simply this, that it is true nobleness, in such a case, to defy the laws of God and man; and to accept, in the very spirit of lawless recklessness, whatever consequences may follow.

Now this idolizing of brute force and stern ferocity is bad enough; but the worst part of the book is the general tone and conception of the story. Two women, in the opening chapters, are on the eve of marriage; but both are really in love, not with their intended husbands, but with the hero of the story, Maurice Dering. One of these is simply vain and silly, the other is clever, daring, and deliberately wicked. Here is the scene in which the latter tells her love, if such a word may be used for her mad passion. It must be noted fully, to appreciate the scene, that the woman who is speaking, knows perfectly well, not only that her own affianced husband is close at hand, but that the man whom she is addressing has given his whole heart to another woman:—

"Dering stood silent for a minute or two, slightly in advance of his companion,—gazing on the scene with a genuine admiration; his left arm resting on the muzzle of his gun, his right hanging listlessly by his side. Suddenly, slender fingers stole round that right wrist, lightly at first as thistle down, but always tightening their clasp; and a voice, low and sweet, though tremulous with unutterable passion, murmured in Maurice's ear one word—his own christian name—only one word! What of that? Have we not known orations, funeral or valedictory, that took days in composing, hours in declaiming, and yet were not half so eloquent as Astarte's farewell? That little lissome hand, in despite of the fiery blood that was leaping through its veins, was as soft and cool as white velvet; but under its touch the strong soldier shrank and shivered, as the Baron of Smaylhome's false wife may have done, when the dead adulterer's grasp scorched her to the bone. After that, he stood still in his place, as if under some mesmeric spell; never turning his head nor diverting his eyes from their fixed gaze, though surely they realized no one object, far or near. He did not hear the half of the broken syllables that followed that first word which told

him all. For Ida would not leave her self-abasement incomplete."

Now all this is undoubtedly very clever in its way. There is a certain fascination given to the scene, an evil glamour cast around its recklessness and indelicacy. Even the author's apology—for he offers that sort of apology which aggravates tenfold the original offence, from its transparent insincerity—and the author's deprecation of criticism in the future, on the plea that he is incapable of doing the very thing of which he makes his readers guilty; to wit, the lingering over "any ensample, real or imaginary, of woman's degradation or dishonour"—are feints, more or less skilful, to carry off the air of reality which clings about the scene. To a certain extent, our sympathies are enlisted for the moment with the pain and passion of the woman. It is impossible to look upon the depths of such a nature, so stirred up, without unutterable pity.

Yet nothing can well be imagined more repulsive or disgusting than the whole conception of this scene. It is simply painful to contemplate calmly its utter disregard of all modesty, and reticence, and self-respect; its barefaced profligacy of passion; its utter shamelessness of abandonment to the impulse of the moment. And almost worse to think of is the little surprise shown by the man under these circumstances. He is made to behave as if it were a common experience of life; as if shamelessness were a common characteristic of aroused affection; as if, in ordinary English society, such solicitation were as much a matter of course as among the harlotry of the Haymarket.

It would be a foul libel upon English womanhood to assume, even for a moment, that there is any truth in these pictures. But it is bad, and base, and cruel, to put such thoughts into the minds of the young and innocent. It is shameful to write words which shall deliberately take the side of self-indulgence in the hard conflicts that must often rage between passionate impulse and maiden modesty. It is a most subtle and dangerous temptation to represent such license as habitual in the higher classes of society, as associated with the greatest outward delicacy and refinement, as entailing no loss of position, no bitterness and no agony of self-reproach. For this outbreak of passion is redeemed by no repentance. The woman is not represented as hating and loathing herself in the bitterness of her shame, after having thus vainly cast herself at the feet of a man who simply disregarded her before, and who, as she must know, will despise her for the future. Here is the scene at the wedding itself:—

"And Ida Carew? Surely the most callous spectator there would have shrunk and shuddered, if he could have guessed at the tumult of conflicting passions rioting and raging in that wicked, wayward heart. Of that inward strife, the placid, handsome face betrayed not the shadow of a sign. She was always so pale that no change was perceptible here; yet, throughout the early morning, a weary, sleepless look haunted her face; and if her maid had told tales, perchance something might have been heard of red lavender, or some other among those mysterious feminine stimulants, of which the vulgar male world is but little aware. She brightened up as the day went on, and never looked more perfectly lovely than when she stood by the Altar. But mark! At the very moment when she uttered the vow to 'love, honour, and obey,' those wonderful eyes were lifted up under the bridal veil, and shot their one, straight, swift glance to the spot where, in the background of the group, stood Maurice Dering."

Can any thing be conceived much worse than this? No more terrible retribution could be imagined for unbridled self-will and deliberate casting-away of the restraints of modesty. The wilful defilement and deliberate mockery of the marriage-vow; the absence even of a single effort to bend the mind to the fulfilment of the duties of a wife; the prospect for the future indicated in these words, is as revolting and terrible as any of the scenes in the *Harlot's Progress*, or in *Mariage à la Mode*. Yet there is reason to fear that these scenes may serve rather to stimulate than to warn. Many thoughtless readers will be so carried away by the interest of the scene as to lose sight entirely of its iniquity and degradation. Many an imagination will be so excited by the vivid colouring, that duty will seem more distasteful, more impossible than ever, and passionate abandonment be assumed as the only reality of happiness. Perhaps the reluctance to matrimony which is complained of among the higher classes may have some excuse, if young men imagine that those are the pictures upon which English maidens love to dwell, the models upon which they love to form themselves. Few men would not shrink from matrimony, would not feel themselves driven back upon the shame and misery of illicit connexions, if they could contemplate the possibility of their bride, at the Altar, uttering the most solemn vows—with her eye turned on a "cool captain" in the background.

But the plot gets worse and worse, as it goes into the married life commenced under such auspices. The remainder of the novel is chiefly occupied with the efforts of Ida Carew to procure for

herself the society of a lover who scorns and loathes her in return. It would seem impossible to have conceived an idea much more revolting than that of a married woman laying a deliberate plot for the seduction of her dearest friend. But the wickedness and profligacy even of this situation is ingeniously heightened, when we find that all this is done on the chance that a third person—not the husband of either of these women—may be brought nearer to herself, in his very shame and agony at the fall of the woman whom he had really loved, and whose love, in his high sense of honour, he had put away far from him for ever.

All this is admirably told. The calculating wickedness of Ida, the weak wickedness of Georgie Gascoigne, the fascinating wickedness of Gerald Annesleigh, are all put before the reader with wonderful skill and power. It is not till the book is closed, that the reader thoroughly realizes the utter degradation of the scenes and people with whom he has been mingling, or perceives the deadliness of the poison which he has been deliberately taking in to defile and pollute his imagination. It is not till afterwards that the thought occurs how fearful the state of social life would be, if it were really such as is depicted in these pages. Yet a moment's reflection makes any thoughtful mind shudder and recoil, as if looking into a great gulf open at his feet. It is terrible to think that writers like the present are employing their great talents and undoubted influence to impress their youthful readers with the idea that the society into which they are about to enter, is one in which maidens habitually give their affections to other than their betrothed husbands, in which matrons continually expose themselves to the most fierce and dangerous temptations; in which, in short, the old ideas of modesty, and innocence, and purity, are looked on as the forgotten dreams of a forgotten age, and sin and self-indulgence, more or less open, more or less disguised, are the common rule of life.

There is a scene in these pages, between Gerald Annesleigh and Georgie Gascoigne, in which the latter is only saved by accident from yielding to a temptation into which she has been led simply by a weak and silly vanity, which would fully bear out all that has been said. But enough has been given to indicate the great danger of the book. There are minds in which the false beauty of its passionate tones will long linger with an evil influence, like base or mocking words, wedded to a noble melody, which will not suffer themselves to be forgotten, or cease to ring through the chambers of the memory, even though their very presence there is felt to be a pain and shame.

These examples have been taken from the best written of this

class of novels. Each of the books that have been mentioned has something to recommend it, either cleverness, originality, energy, or graphic power of description. And the evil that is in them is tempered and mingled with some gleams of good, some indications of better things. But almost every box from the circulating library contains examples of a very different kind. The greater part of these are exceedingly silly, written in very indifferent English; and would be utterly unendurable in their stupidity, did they not derive a kind of factitious excitement from the evil suggestiveness of their subjects. The books which are about to be mentioned now are taken at random from the boxes ordinarily sent out from the different libraries. For instance, here is *Armstrong Magney*, which professes to be a semi-religious novel, and is really a description of the miserable doubts of a sceptic, worked up into melodramatic situations, and clothed in language which would be telling in its energy, if its "vaulting ambition" had not "o'erleaped its selle," and fallen into sheer grotesqueness. And even here there is a tone about the love passages, an air about the description of the female characters, which are inexpressibly offensive to pure-minded men and women, and simply humiliating and disgusting to those who know from experience the blessing of an earnest and a holy love. But this does not seem at all the ideal of the gentleman in *Armstrong Magney*, who says his prayers before the picture of Prometheus Vinctus. All his feminine portraits have that sort of subtle voluptuousness about them which is associated with an Indian Nautch-girl, or the Teufelinne of the Venusberg. It really seems as if it were impossible, in these days, to conceive of love, except as a kind of refined sensuality; or to imagine the possibility of looking at a pretty woman, without doing that which Holy Writ has set before us as partaking of the guilt of actual sin.

*Armstrong Magney* appears to have been written by a man. But readers will recollect a recent sketch in *Punch*, which found a ready response throughout all England. An "old-fashioned party (with old-fashioned prejudices)," choosing a book from a library, speaks thus: "Ah, very clever, I dare say. But I see it is written by a lady. And *I* want a book that my *daughters* may read." So the world thinks and speaks openly about the lady writers of the day. And it is a fact which any one may verify for himself, that, as a rule, in any box full of modern novels, the most voluptuous and unclean have either the name of a lady on the title-page, or are manifestly the work of a feminine pen. And these will usually be the most thumbed and worn from use in the

box. Here is one. *The Confessions of Gerald Estcourt* bears on its title-page a name which is honourably associated with one of the very best of our English novelists. This book has the double demerit of being exceedingly dull and exceedingly improper. It certainly is free from that offensive tone of passionate and lascivious sensuality which holds its revels at the very approach of sin. There is no excitement whatever in the vice that it depicts; it is simply placed before us as a matter of course, which is rather a bore than otherwise, even at the time, and certainly is not associated afterwards with any grave thoughts of shame or of repentance. The most disgusting part of the book is the cool matter-of-fact way in which it speaks of the ordinary sins between men and women, without even the excuse—if it may be called the excuse—of aroused passion or sudden temptation. The hero of the book is a very self-satisfied young gentleman, who is good enough to describe for us his course of life. "I lived in two worlds. One was when I rode to the park by the side of some high-born creature on horseback, or grazed my animal's legs against the wheels of a carriage wherein reposed the pretty form of a dowager, at whose house I had spent the previous evening, and where I had made my appearance, redolent of Ess. Bouquet, in embroidered shirt and infinitesimal necktie, to dance until the small hours with the prettiest girls of the season; or to lean over their chairs at the opera, and whisper nonsense under cover of the music, whilst they held their fans before their mouths, and turned their eyes upwards, as they murmured their half-reproachful, half-approving answers. The other world—when I rushed off, at the conclusion of the aforesaid opera or ball, with companions of similar taste, into an atmosphere which made it of little consequence whether I was scented with one of Rimmel's distillations or the essence of tobacco, and into the presence of women from whose recognition by daylight I should have fled as from a pestilence."

What little interest does attach itself to the career of Mr. Estcourt is centred in his illicit connexion with an abandoned woman, named Julia Sherman, whom he afterwards marries—and takes the consequences. We have given the writer credit for the absence of passionate description and gloating sensuality; but almost, if possible, worse than these, is the cold-blooded, business-like way in which these matters are described. It is all bad together—the loathsome degradation of the parents who absolutely manœuvre to thrust their daughter on Mr. Estcourt as his mistress—the effrontery of the girl herself, insisting deliberately, and without the extenuation—we will not say of

affection or devotion, but even of aroused passion—on her shame. The whole affair is put in the position of an ordinary piece of business, viewed in the light in which it would present itself to a woman to whom the sale of herself to advantage is a mere matter of business, with which affection has as little to do as with any bargain on the Stock Exchange.

But, perhaps, the most revolting passage in the book is the one in which his own sisters talk to Mr. Estcourt about his connexion with Julia Sherman. There is something absolutely painful in the calm tone in which these young ladies reason about "these little affairs being all very well in their way;" in the utter absence of all surprise, or indignation, or sorrow, or shame; in the warning to take care, because at some future time such a connexion may possibly prove—what does the reader suppose?—inconvenient. In fact, the description altogether of these sisters is not particularly hopeful, if they are to be taken as representatives of the "high-born creatures on horseback," who are given us here as the author's ideal of the upper classes of society.

"Beatrice and Gertrude," we are told, "were no less pure by nature than their sister; but the education of maturity had brushed all the bloom from their minds, whilst she retained the guilelessness of hers. Emmeline would have listened with the greatest complacency to a story which would have dyed the cheeks of Beatrice with scarlet, and caused Gertrude to purse up her mouth to a degree of fabulous minuteness, whilst the tell-tale flash from her eyes revealed that she understood the *double entendre* which it was intended to convey." From which it is to be inferred that the conversation addressed to "high-born creatures on horseback" is habitually seasoned with anecdotes and inuendoes which are not fit for a modest woman to listen to, and for which any right-minded man would probably kick the puppy whom he heard addressing them to his wife or daughter.

As has been said, the most atrocious part of the book is the calm, unimpassioned way in which these matters are discussed. Even if there were any indications of a cynical or bitter spirit, it would slightly modify the disgust which the book is calculated to arouse. But there is nothing of the kind to be met with. The fact remains that a lady is not ashamed to put her name on the title-page of a novel, a greater portion of which consists in the arrangements made between an unprincipled young gentleman and a wretchedly depraved and calculatingly wicked woman. And, as there is no special dedication to the class of women who may be supposed to take a professional interest in the subject, it

must be concluded that the authoress considers the subject a fit one to amuse the leisure and to enliven the contemplations of pure and innocent maidens.

It does not seem necessary to say more than this. The shamelessness of the thing is apparent on the face of it. Doubtless, as the writer affirms, it is a faithful description of a state of things that does actually exist; but the anatomical exactness of the details is not usually constituted a satisfactory defence of the lasciviousness of an erotic picture. But we may take another novel—*Constance Rivers*—which also bears the name of a lady on the title-page. The chief incidents in this absurd and improbable story are an "assault with intent" in a railway-carriage, and a temptation-scene between a married woman and a young unmarried man, the husband of the former being very near at hand. And it may be remarked, as a general rule, that when books of this class are written by a lady, it is the woman, not the man, who is represented as the temptress. The writer has also made her hero form a sinful connexion with a girl in India, seemingly only for the purpose of introducing some pages of sensual description. The strange thing is, that in this case the author seems perfectly unconscious of what she is doing. She appears utterly powerless to recognize the nature of her work, simply unable to comprehend that such shameless subjects are most unfit, not only for the pen, but for the thoughts of any modest woman.

Here again, taking our examples almost at random, is a book called *Idalia*. In this case, there is a name on the title-page which, as far as we know, might belong to either sex; but, from internal evidence afforded by the book itself, it is scarcely possible to doubt that the writer is a lady. Utterly silly, preposterously extravagant, and ludicrously absurd, the only wonder is that any one can be found to read the book through; or, having read it, can be induced, by any imaginable persuasion, to read another from the pen of the same author; yet, as the same name appears on the title-page of many novels, it is evident that there must be some attraction about the style for a certain class of readers. It is possible that this attraction may consist in the character of the heroine. Idalia is a sort of feminine Monte Christo. She is magnificent, fascinating, possessed of unbounded wealth—a few palaces in the principal cities of Europe, and a casual kingdom in the East, forming a part of her inheritance—exceedingly brave and clever, and endowed with a voluptuous beauty, which is continually compared with that of the Venus of the Harzberg. This charming

creature leads exactly the life that might be expected from one endowed with her capabilities. Scenes of sensual enjoyment, where neither money nor principles are of the slightest object, are easily wrought up to any conceivable pitch. The business of Idalia's life appears to be the ensnaring young men into what a very charitable literary critic, using the mildest language, might call the strongest possible flirtations; her chief pleasure consists in drinking great draughts of "fiery Vermuth." It is fair to add, that all this is supposed to be in furtherance of some unintelligible scheme of Italian liberty. There is a hero to match her, who would be best described as a magnificently idealized "cool captain"—such a one as might have entered into the brain of the original narrator of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*—did he not also bear a strong family resemblance to Captain Bobadil and Baron Munchausen.

It will, therefore, be readily conceived that the love passages between the pair are simply scenes which we can only describe as highly vigorous animalism. The chief point in this novel, and it is really an original one, is the complication arising from the fact that Idalia chooses to be considered the mistress of a very great scoundrel, in preference to being recognized as his daughter. This, coupled with the liberal and unconventional demonstrations of affection, which are habitual to her, affords opportunities for some very peculiar writing. Doubtless the situation is calculated to afford much amusing and edifying discussion, and to enlarge materially the ideas of young ladies, as they talk it over at their five o'clock kettledrums, and amongst the solemn mysteries of "hair-brushing."

Almost enough has been said on this part of the subject: a word or two will suffice for one or two more of these books.

*Love's Conflict*, which also bears a lady's name on the title-page, comes first to hand. The "conflict" in this case is in the mind of a married woman; and her uncertainty is whether or not she shall elope with her husband's cousin. A reasonable epitome of the contents of the book would be a temptation scene, and padding; but the general effect is heightened by some coarse insinuations respecting the early life of the heroine. Readers of Lady Herbert's charming book, *Three Phases of Christian Love*, will remember how S. Monica bore with an unloving, and even cruel husband; and how her faith and patience at last won, not his love only for herself, but his soul for CHRIST.

In *Once and Again*, by the author of *Cousin Stella*, we have what may be supposed to be the modern treatment of a similar situation:—

"She fled from the world of reality into that of fiction. Novels had for her all the savour of hitherto untasted fruit. She might revel in them now—she was married. She might read any thing and every thing. Of all that she read, those that she studied most were the works of Balzac. Passages were dwelt on, perilous descriptions perused and re-perused, until Louisa's imagination was on fire. Summer and autumn rolled by; and, little by little, slowly but surely, Louisa came to understand what she had done by marrying without love—she had sold herself into a bondage worse than Egyptian. Her very thoughts must be controlled; she might die by inches; she must never lift up her voice in complaint. M. De Villemart had become an object of contempt to her. She took almost a pleasure in unveiling his defects to herself. She seemed thus to acquire a right to despise him."

Such is the author's view of the probable conduct of a married woman, under such circumstances. The not improbable consequences may be readily conjectured. In this case a lucky pistol-shot disposes of the husband, before any great harm has come of it. It is also fair to say, that, except this singular view of a married woman's conduct, there is nothing offensive in the book.

The last book which shall be here noticed, is the most vile and gross of all. "Manhattan" may be a man or woman. It is to be hoped the former. At all events, the book *Marion* is one which is not fit for any modest woman to read. The scene is laid in New York; and the tale is simply a description of the life that is led there by kept mistresses, adulterous wives, and the disreputable rowdies whom they gather round them. The chief feature in it is a sort of Harlot's Progress, only without a moral, describing the life of a prostitute, from her first sale by her parents, to her attainment of the position of the leading courtesan in New York. Difficult it is to say which is the salient feature of its pages—open immorality, intense vulgarity, or excessive stupidity. There is neither amusement, excitement, or cleverness of any sort to be found in it. It is only mentioned, because it may be considered a sign of the times, that such a book has reached a second edition. Much it is to be hoped that its circulation is among that class of fallen women, and their associates, whose habits and customs it only too faithfully depicts.

Sufficient extracts for the purpose of this Essay have now been given. Let it be distinctly understood, that these are merely samples—selected almost at random—of a class of books that are widely circulated at the present moment. Such examples might

have been multiplied almost indefinitely, if it had appeared necessary, or even desirable.

It has been said that these novels are, for the most part, exceedingly silly in conception, and very weak in execution. But their literary merits or demerits are not the point which is here being discussed. They are merely samples of the ordinary novels, drawn from the bulk at random; and what has been said of them might be said, if it were needful, of almost any number of their fellows. What is intended to be pointed out, is simply that the key-note of all this literature is, to speak plainly, the sin of lust; and the question to be seriously considered is, whether the progress of seduction and adultery, described up to a certain point with most minute attention to details, is a fit subject for the amusement and recreation of Christian men and women.

Surely it is a bad, a base, and a most ignoble work, deliberately to train the thoughts to dwell on evil in its most alluring form, and to bring home to every reader the idea of those most fierce temptations, which, happily, in their awful reality occur to very few. Surely it is an office contemptible and loathsome, to pander to the imagination, to stimulate its most polluted cravings, to deceive it into self-gratification, to dress the garbage fit for swine with the accessories of a royal banquet. If it is a shameful thing to entice the thoughts to dwell with satisfaction on pictures of voluptuousness, when clad in harlot's robes, and dwelling in harlot's houses, it is surely most devilish to portray such evil robed in the drapery of simple innocence, defiling home and hearthstone with its foul pollution, and presenting its allurements under the outward guise of a pure maidenhood and a chaste matronhood.

Yet parents who would shrink from exposing their daughters to pollution, by contact with the very hem of the garment of a fallen woman, will have these books lying on their drawing-room tables, will let their children read them freely, and discuss them openly, and saturate their imaginations with them, and weave their day-dreams from them, and build up out of their alluring pictures their ideals of the noble and the beautiful, as if there were no shamefulness in thought, no sin except in actual deed. Is it possible that such studies can prepare their daughters to be true-hearted English wives and English mothers? Can they be thus fitted for the sacred duties that await them in their after-life? Is it likely that they will rise up from the habitual contemplation of untruthfulness and shamelessness, considered as mere matter of amusement, extenuated and excused with all conceivable skill and ingenuity, described with all accessories

that can increase and heighten their effect, into the posture of those who should shrink from the very thought of impurity and shame with a worse horror than from death? Are men likely to believe in women whom they know are habitually dwelling on the arrangements of Gerald Fitzgerald, and discussing over their tea-tables, or with their neighbour at the dinner-table—if he be *fast* enough—the merits of Ida Luttrell, or the personal attractions of Idalia? Will they believe that such maidens will rise up into women such as they would have for wives, trusting fearlessly their whole lives into their hands? It is not easy to form upon such models a matronhood like that of her of whom Lady Herbert has lately given us such a touching picture, who "spoke little, never preached, loved much, and prayed always;" or to the ideal of an English wife described in the noble words that follow—words that it is a pleasure to transcribe, and which none can read without at least some stirrings of the heart, some yearnings for the lofty earnestness and deep simplicity of love of which they speak:—

"Believe me, the whole course and character of your lovers' lives is in your hands. What you would have them be, they shall be, if you not only desire to have them so, but deserve to have them so; for they are but mirrors, in which you will see yourselves imaged. If you are frivolous, they will be so also; if you have no understanding of the scope of their duty, they also will forget it; they will listen—they *can* listen—to no other interpretation of it than that uttered from your lips. Bid them be brave—they will be brave for you: bid them be cowards—and, how noble soever they be, they will quail. Bid them be wise, and they will be wise for you; mock at their counsel, they will be fools for you: such and so absolute is your rule over them. You fancy, perhaps, as you have been told so often, that a wife's rule should only be over her husband's house, not over his mind. Ah, no! the true rule is just the reverse of that: a true wife, in her husband's house, is his servant; it is in his heart that she is queen. Whatever of best he can conceive, it is her part to be; whatever of highest he can hope, it is her's to promise. All that is dark in him, she must purge into purity; all that is failing in him, she must strengthen into truth. From her, through all the world's clamour, he must win his praise; in her, through all the world's warfare, he must find his peace." (Ruskin, *Crown of Wild Olive*, p. 214.)

Such thoughts, we earnestly hope and believe, unless the springs of English social life are already poisoned at their founts, do lie very deep in the hearts of English men and

women still. But they are in no way whatever to be suggested by the sensation novel.

The question arises whether these things are mere trifles, fleeting eccentricities of fashion, which may be fittingly disposed of by quiet ridicule—or the upgrowth of a deeper evil, demanding earnestly stern words of utter reprobation. Are these ugly eruptions symptoms of overflowing health, or of a deadly inward pestilence? Are they butterflies, produced in transient abundance in some chance summer heat; or lichens, feeding on decay, and poisoning the body on which they grow? Are they as meteors that flash through our atmosphere with a momentary brilliancy, or as the wild-fire, whose presence is at once a certain token of underlying corruption, and a lure to lead the unwary to destruction?

Reasons are not wanting to give cause for fear lest these things be signs and portents, showing that English society has need to take very solemn thought to cleanse and purify itself. It may be, like the bright clouds that precede the tempest, they are warnings to set about this work in time, lest one of those great seasons of retribution fall on it, in which corruption and decay are eaten out of a nation's life, by the burning fire of affliction. Indications there are in abundance, which force thoughtful observers to look with sad distrust upon the tendencies of the present age.

Even concerning its light literature, it is more than probable that the worst has not been told in these pages. The "sensational novels" which we have described are harmless and innocent, when compared with the French literature which is silently percolating, with its unutterable nastiness, through all the strata of English society. The books that lie about on drawing-room tables, and are greedily perused in railway carriages, are purity itself compared to others, which veil the depravity which they describe under the cover of another language, and which, as yet, are only devoured in the privacy of the boudoir, or in the secrecy of the bedchamber. No words of ours can describe the grossness of the ideas, or the utter filthiness of the imagery of these books. In them, purity of thought or chastity of life become sheer unrealities, the dream of the fanatic, or the delusion of the devotee. In them, the holiest words are associated with the most hideous meanings, and most terrible mockeries of truth. In them, love is a synonym for sensuality; and purity, that which lends a zest to passion; and marriage, only a social state that renders adultery possible. And it is a simple fact that these novels are largely imported, extensively

sold, and widely read. It is not for us to say among what classes of society they circulate; but it must be remembered that the ability to understand and to enjoy them implies a certain amount of education, and the possession, to a certain degree, of intellectual refinement.

And there are not wanting certain signs that this evil is doing its work. At least, words that cannot be heard except with shame and sorrow are freely spoken, uttered without reserve, by those whose acquaintance is most intimate with the so-called fashionable life. It is said that the dress and bearing of our English maidens are affectedly fashioned into a certain likeness of those which are deliberately meant to symbolize the effrontery and shamelessness of the impure. It is said that a certain hardness of manner, and recklessness of speech, are purposely and wilfully assumed, in an attempt to rival the only fascinations possible to those who have no shame to trouble them, no self-respect to shield them, from whom the sweet blush of modesty is fled beyond recall, by whom the tender graces of pure womanhood have been cast aside for ever. It is said that Aspasia and Phryne, Vivien and Guinevere, are the models on which English maidenhood and English matronhood are forming themselves—that tender-hearted maidenhood, that true-hearted matronhood, which were ever the very glory of our land. It is said that the best of our young men are seeking for wives in foreign lands, because the life of our English maidens is notoriously become so extravagant, so reckless, so untrue, so saturated to its very heart with fashionable frivolity, as to unfit them for domestic life. It is said that those of a lower stamp of manhood, both in the upper and the middle classes, when they can afford the luxury, are content to contract connexions which are not meant to be permanent, to own establishments of which the mistress is not a wife, and become the fathers of families which they can never own. And if there be any thing at all of truth in these sayings, then there is cause to fear lest the strange revelations which are made now and then in courts of justice be only glimpses in which the existence of a fearful hidden evil is revealed; lest the sensational novel be in truth the appropriate luxury of a social system of which the Divorce Court is the handmaiden, and Mrs. Jaggers is the necessity. It cannot be forgotten that a literature very much resembling this was the outward expression of that foul profligacy, the produce of selfish luxuriousness and enormous wealth, which heralded and made possible the horrors of the French Revolution. It may be well to know what others think

of us; and we will close this portion of the subject with an extract from a newspaper, which circulates very widely amongst the mechanics and small tradespeople of great towns. The words are bitter, but bitter tonics are sometimes healthful:—

"HIGH JINKS IN HIGH PLACES.—A WARM WARNING.—At the latter period of the reign of Louis XV., the extravagance and profligacy of the nobility were carried to such a scandalous extent, that even Madame du Barry, the monarch's mistress, advised her paramour, as a matter of policy, to check and discountenance the prevailing immorality. The king replied that as things would probably remain as they were during his lifetime, he did not care to interfere; but prophetically remarked that, after his death, the deluge, or, in other words, the overthrow of monarchy by democracy would certainly come. His words were fulfilled to the letter. The French nobility continued during the reign of Louis XVI. those unbridled excesses that had even entailed the censure of his predecessor's concubine. They revelled in every luxury; expended enormous sums in gambling; were constantly engaged in duelling; and whilst the poorer orders were clamouring for bread, lavished fortunes upon courtesans, actresses, and procuresses. Public indignation did at last boil over; the "deluge" predicted by Louis XV. came with a vengeance, and crowned and coronoted heads fell plenteously beneath the headsman's axe. These historical lessons do not seem, however, to have any wholesome effect upon those who might mostly profit by them. "Young France," as the fops and fribbles of Parisian society designate themselves, are even more viciously inclined, more extravagant, profligate, and immoral, than the nobility in the time of Louis XV.; and not having learnt wisdom by experience, they may expect, sooner or later, another deluge, of even a more direful character than that which sent kings, queens, and nobles wholesale to the scaffold. But "Young England" is not a whit better than "Young France." The rising generation of our nobility, &c., is as deeply steeped in dissipation as the aristocracy on the other side of the Channel. Fabulous sums are lost upon the race-course—fortunes exchange hands during a single Newmarket meeting; and whilst the tenantry of this duke and that marquis is rack-rented in order to supply the means for paying their noble landlords' debts upon the turf, the noble landlord himself does not reduce his personal expenditure by one farthing, or deny himself one luxury to which he had been accustomed. We obtained, through the evidence given by the Marchioness of Hastings, at the trial of the man accused of having stolen her jewellery, some insight as

to the heedlessness and thoughtlessness prevalent in aristocratic households. Her ladyship said that she never put her rings in a jewel-case, but "left them about any where." So far, then, as regards the care taken by the Marchioness of her property, a gem worth four or five hundred pounds—a sum that would relieve the pressing pinching necessities of thousands of poor and industrious persons—might find its way to the dust-hole, and be lost for ever. Then, again, we are told by certain trustworthy writers that the character of a people may be judged by the character of their dramatic entertainments; and if, as we presume it does, the rule applies to individuals as well as to multitudes, the tastes of those royal and aristocratic young gentlemen who expect some day or another to rule or govern us, are neither of a very intellectual or elevated order. Menken, it would appear, has more attractions for the Prince of Wales than Shakespeare. No sooner did the naked representative of Lord Byron's hero re-appear in London, than the heir-apparent hastened to see her. Of course there is no accounting for, or controlling of, tastes. So if royalty prefers the drama of the kennel and the gutter to that of a higher standard, the former may possibly flourish for a time in the sunshine of royal patronage, whilst the latter lingers in neglect."—*Reynolds' Weekly Miscellany*, Oct. 27th, 1867.

This extract brings up another portion of the subject, upon which it may be advisable to say a few words. It will be imagined that the taint of books like those that have been discussed must of necessity, like all odour of corruption, diffuse itself in every direction, and especially in this case in a downward direction. If the literature which is found by experience to gratify the tastes of the highly educated classes is prurient and sensual, it may reasonably be supposed, that as we descend the scale of social life we shall find the same tone generally prevalent, with the addition of a more open coarseness and a less veiled indecency. It is therefore a matter of some interest to ascertain how far the degradation of these books has percolated through the social strata, and what signs and tokens it has imparted in its passage, at least for those who care for the well-being of English society, and who believe that in the moral as well as the physical world, disintegration is a token and accompaniment of corruption.

It may be well to state briefly the result of the examination of a bundle of newspapers and serial publications, procured through a publisher, as samples of those that have the widest circulation among mechanics and artisans.

First come several penny newspapers. Of these, it will be enough to say, that though, as a rule, extremely radical in politics, and habitually expressing their opinions in the strongest language, they are, on the whole, respectably conducted and wonderfully well written. The reports of the Police Courts, as might have been expected, are evidently relied on as an unfailing source of interest to their readers, and the details of a certain class of cases are usually given at full length. Yet there are no more signs of absolute depravity of morals, or positive sympathy with sin, than might easily be found in the columns of the *Times* or the *Standard*. One paper, the *Penny Illustrated Paper*, deserves especial notice. It is really admirably conducted, and contains a very clever serial. The illustrations are exceedingly good, when the price of the paper is considered; and the advertisements—a most important feature—are unobjectionable.

Next in order come two profusely illustrated papers, devoted entirely to the reports of the Police Courts. One confining itself to the different tribunals of our own country; the other raking up the records of crime from all quarters of the world. In both of these especial prominence is certainly given to such cases as may be supposed likely to gratify a morbid or impure imagination. But the reports seem tolerably truthful, the unclean details are simply given and by no means lingered on with the zest of a fashionable novelist, and there is no lascivious commentary. Next in order come the numberless *Family Heralds*, and the like, forming a sort of link between the newspaper and the novel. These periodicals fill the place in one social class which is taken by the Magazines in another. They are almost always well conducted, and, for the most part, have a sort of semi-religious tone about them. The tales in which they abound are full of oppressive landlords, and wicked peers, whose chief occupation is the demoralization of a virtuous peasantry. In fact they have taken up the business that has long ago been used up by the inventors of the melodramas of the older school. But if often exceedingly silly, they are usually harmless.

Below these comes the literature that, among the working classes, performs the functions of the circulating library. This chiefly consists of penny novels, usually appearing in numbers, which seemingly extend to interminable lengths. Their subject is, almost invariably, crime. Highwaymen, Burkers, Buccaneers —especially "Boy Pirates," and "Female Highwaymen"—are the ordinary heroes and heroines of their pages. Of course it is undoubtedly a bad and vile thing to habituate the mind to the contemplation of crime in any shape. Yet these books may not

be so very harmful, after all. The literature of the Anglo-Saxon race has always had a lingering sympathy with the Outlaw and the Buccaneer. With the one, since the days when the love of the people were with the brave and reckless men with whom the oppression of the conquering Norman had filled the fens and forests of old England. With the other, since the heart of the nation throbbed with mingled pride and hate at the name of Spain; and Frobisher, and Raleigh, and Drake, and Hawkins thought it little shame, in peace or war, to sweep rich prizes from the Spaniard, wherever they could meet him on the broad seas.

Perhaps there is not much more real harm in tales about Dick Turpin and Black Bess, than in the ballads—which once formed almost the whole literature of the English peasant—about Maid Marian and Robin Hood. At all events, in this case again, however base the idea of the thing itself may be, it is not basely done. The tales are not written with much coarseness. There is even an attempt to throw an air of magnanimity and romance about crime, which is silly, and perhaps even dangerous, but is pleasanter to read than the selfish wickedness of a Lady Audley, and the deliberate ferocity and sensuality of a "cool captain." But there is no coarse sin depicted there. The love of these robbers is a highly romantic affair, expressed in the most high-flown language, and revelling in very exalted ideas of fidelity and self-devotion. In fact, it must occur to any one who takes up one of these penny serials, after enduring a course of fashionable novels, that badly written as they are, it is, after all, a more noble thing to elevate murderers and harlots into heroes and heroines, than to degrade ladies and gentlemen to the level of prostitutes and assassins.

The greatest and foulest blot, extending, with a few honourable exceptions, over this entire class of literature, will be found in the advertisements. It would be difficult to conceive any thing more utterly vile than these. They consist usually of announcements of indecent Pictures and Photographs, varying in price from threepence to three guineas, of "Sealed Books," memoirs of notorious courtesans, incentives of every imaginable description, put forth with a profligate audacity which makes it difficult to realize that there are laws for the suppression of these things, and a Society actually embodied for the purpose of carrying these laws into effect. In this, too, they are most dangerous, that they are found occasionally even in periodicals and newspapers which in themselves are tolerably unobjectionable, and which a respectable working man would probably not hesitate to admit into his house.

Of course, below all this, there is a great pit of most foul uncleanness, into which it is not necessary that we should look. Neither are we concerned in this place with the literature that is distinctly devoted to any particular purpose, whether of religion, or infidelity, or even—*for there is such*—of open vice. We are dealing here only with that literature which has the widest general circulation among working men, and which represents among them that class of works of imagination which has been our subject all along.

Certainly what has been seen of this clearly shows the necessity of a more familiar and thorough acquaintance with the habits and ways of thought of working men, than the Church, for the most part, possesses. It proves that they greatly need guidance and wise counsel, not only from the pulpit, or in the school, but to follow them, as with authority, into their workshops, and into their homes. The very education which is so freely put into their hands involves an added responsibility to the Church, to labour that, as far as may be, it become the instrument of good, and not of evil. The need of guidance, loving and tender, yet accepted as authoritative, is one which suggests itself most clearly to any one who thinks at all upon the influence which a literature like this is likely to exercise over the less educated classes. And yet this is a most difficult task. It is not easy to overcome the shyness, and pride, and keen sensitiveness of working men, or to induce them to receive counsel and guidance from those of whom they appear to entertain a deep-seated jealousy and distrust. The Church undoubtedly stands as a connecting link between the employer and the employed, affording to both alike that which they mutually need—authoritative counsel, guidance, and comfort. It seems only through the instrumentality of the Church that any lasting influence for good can be exerted over our mechanics and artisans. Yet really to reach them, really to get hold of their affections, and induce them to render the ready obedience of faith and love, is one of the most difficult problems of the present day, and needs for its solution all prayer for earnestness, and energy, and love, and that true wisdom which is from above, in those who minister at the Church's Altars.

With this, indeed, the present Essay is not directly concerned. But we would urge those who admit cheap literature into their houses, or who have any habitual intercourse with those who do so, to keep a watchful eye upon the advertisements. Many a working man, who would keenly resent any interference with his choice of a newspaper or a novel, would be thankful to have his attention called to the foul pollution that, in this way, he

was bringing into his household. Also, it seems that care and attention may be profitably bestowed on the creation of a cheap literature of an innocent and healthy kind, and this devoted chiefly to amusement, mingled perhaps, if possible, with instruction pleasantly conveyed. It is surely possible, among the great names and noble deeds in English history, to find adventures as stirring, and characters as attractive, in the boldness of their daring, as even a Turpin or a Morgan. Other parts of the field are already occupied. There are many distinctively religious publications, which are doing their work admirably well, and meet with a large measure of success. What is wanted is a literature suited to those, and they not always the worst of their class, who feel the same distaste for a distinctively religious periodical, regarded as a means of amusement, that many in a different class of life have conceived for the religious novel. Of course it would be better that they should read distinctively religious or instructive books; but as they will not, it is better that what they insist on having in its stead should be made as harmless as possible. Yet it is a matter that needs very careful handling. Any thing like patronage, or an effort to force any class of reading upon the mechanic, would at once ensure its failure. It must be accommodated to the tastes of the class for whom it is meant; it must be sufficiently attractive to stand or fall on its own merits; and yet it must be, at least harmless, and, if possible, profitable. We can do no more here than indicate the conditions of the problem. A successful solution of it would confer an incalculable benefit upon the Church.

Some conclusions of the same kind appear to attach themselves to the former portion of the subject. The immense amount of pernicious rubbish that is circulated in the shape of novels indicates an abdication on the part of parents of their functions of counselling and guiding their children, with the authority that has been committed to them. Perhaps this is only one sign, in the altered relations of parent and child, of the lawlessness that seems to take a foremost place among the characteristics of the present day. If so, then it is only one more reason that the Church should exercise the authority that has been committed to it also, and afford that guidance and counsel which the tendencies of the present day appear so earnestly to require. By whatever name such systematic guidance may be called, the thing appears to be imperatively demanded, if the glory of English purity, English modesty, and English truthfulness is not to depart utterly from the rising generations of our youth of both sexes.

This work must be done wisely, and judiciously, and temperately, not rejecting the good because a portion of it has been spotted with the touch of evil. It would be cowardly and base and false to go back to the Puritan system, or to accept the misuse which men have made of the gifts of GOD as an excuse for calling any of His works unholy or unclean. On the contrary, experience shows that the exercise of all their faculties, in their highest reach and on the highest objects, is the surest way of preserving mind and body in a thoroughly-healthy state. Too rigid an exclusion of what is really lawful seems to lead to issues almost as dangerous as too great license. As a common practical result, deceit, and falsehood, and petty trickery, and unreality are the characteristics of that system which denounces most bitterly the love of the beautiful and the exercise of the imagination.

Thus, even in the matter of literature, a free exercise of the faculty of the imagination, a loving study—not in distrust and fear, but in open-hearted thankfulness—of the beautiful, must lead us up to a perception of the unloveliness and baseness of all that is untruthful or impure. Even Nature teaches that it is the ripe fruit and glowing flower which are clothed with the brightest tints, and made attractive by the sweetest fragrance. Even Nature teaches that what is decayed, and rotten, and corrupt is only fit to be swept away, and hidden out of sight and out of mind. Even Nature writes the same noble sentence as the Word of GOD upon all objects on which the faculties of man are to be exercised:—"Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

# Charitable Trusts, and their probable Future.

When a silk stocking has been mended so often with cotton that not one thread of the original silk remains, is it still the same stocking as it was at first?—and if not, when did it lose its identity?

This is a problem the solution of which lies at the bottom of half the questions which affect all those great corporations, and those important societies which, without the legal status, have all the characteristics of a corporation, that have endured sufficiently long to have changed, sometimes insensibly, but sometimes also by bold and rapid strides, the main principles of their original foundation. And in tracing the past history, and probable future destiny, of those provisions for works of charity and piety which the loving care of our forefathers has secured for us, we shall find the same question perpetually facing us, and serving as an analogy to guide us in forming a judgment upon the moral character of the different dealings with these institutions, which an inquiry into their history will show to have taken place.

Before, however, commencing a brief *résumé* of the history of Charitable Trusts—the mode in which they have been dealt with, and the different provisions which have been enacted for securing their due performance—it may be as well to clear away a misapprehension, which is not altogether a merely verbal one—I mean the common error, which so many persons fall into, of confounding Charitable uses with gifts in Mortmain. Indeed, I should hardly be wrong in assuming that, with a large number of persons who have not had a special legal education, the expressions are considered to be convertible terms; and "Mortmain" is supposed to be the regular technical legal phrase for "Charitable Trusts."

This, however, is not so; and the confusion is productive of great injustice to our mediæval ancestors. For it is an undeniable fact, that the whole history of our mediæval legislation displays a decided jealousy of gifts in Mortmain, which is very different, and sprang from very different motives, from that antipathy to charitable gifts as such which reached its culminating point in Lord Hardwicke's Act (9 Geo. II., cap.

36), which commonly, but most unfairly, goes by the name of "The Mortmain Act."

The truth is, that the opposition to gifts in *Mortmain* was founded simply on the principles of feudal tenure. A gift in Mortmain was merely a gift to a corporation, whatever its character might be, ecclesiastical, eleemosynary, or lay; and whatever its object—charitable, political, educational, or any thing else. One fundamental doctrine of the feudal system was the maxim, which has been recently put forward, almost as a discovery of modern times, notably by the late Lieutenant Drummond, that "Property has its duties as well as its rights." But the meaning attributed to the phrase is widely different in old feudal writers and modern political economists. With the moderns the notion is, that the man of property has duties towards his poor dependents and inferior associates. But the idea that the founders and upholders of the feudal system attached to the maxim was, that in that gradation of ἄρχοντες ἀρχόντων, which they had established, every man who held any property, except only the apex of the social pyramid, the Sovereign himself, had some immediate superior, some over-lord, to whom his allegiance and service were due. A large part of these services consisted of personal aid in war, and the payment of considerable sums in the way of "reliefs," as they were called (or "heriots," if a beast was taken instead of a sum of money), upon the death of the tenant; or, again, the right which the lord had to dispose of his tenant, if a minor, in marriage, for his (the lord's) own benefit. It is therefore obvious, that when a valuable property was once made over to a corporation, which could not personally fight in the battle-field, which never died, and never could be disposable in marriage, the advantages to be derived by the over-lord from the property thenceforth were sensibly curtailed. And so we can well understand how all the great land-holders, whose influence in legislation was then paramount, were perpetually enacting statutes of Mortmain, to prevent their subject-fees from falling into the "dead hands[1]," that could neither draw

[1] "Some have said that it is called Mortmaine, *manus mortua, quia possessio eorum est immortalis, manus pro possessione, et mortua pro immortali;* and the rather, for that, by the laws and statutes of the realme, all ecclesiastical persons are restrained to alienie. Others say it is called "*manus mortua*" *per antiphrasin*, because bodies politique and corporate never die. Others say that it is called Mortmaine, by resemblance to the holding of a man's hand that is ready to die; for what he then holdeth he letteth not goe till he be dead. These and such others are framed out of wit and invention; but the true cause of the name, and the meaning thereof, was taken from the

the sword nor open the purse-strings, to come to the relief of the lord's necessities; whilst, all along, the judges—many of them ecclesiastics, and all of them sympathizing more with the Commons than the great Barons and Landlords—were astute in devising the most ingenious contrivances for defeating, and rendering entirely inoperative, the statutes which the Parliamentary leaders were, with Sisyphean toil, perpetually amusing themselves with passing.

Of course (and this was no doubt the source of the confusion), as many, perhaps most, of the gifts for charitable purposes, were made to Corporations, which alone had that perpetuity of existence which was essential to secure the continued performance of Trusts intended for the benefit of all time, these gifts suffered from the measures which were repeatedly passed for restraining the alienation of land to Corporations. But the point which I wish to insist upon, in favour of our mediæval ancestors, is, that the suppression of charitable and pious impulses was not, as it was with the politicians of the Hanoverian dynasty, the direct and immediate object of their enactments; but was only a collateral and, so to speak, accidental result of measures which were adopted from other motives.

It is singular to observe how many of the institutions with which we are most familiar, and which have become interwoven with all our proceedings of every-day-life, so that we fancy it would be impossible to get on without them, have been, nevertheless, the inventions, or creations, of comparatively recent times. Any one at the present day would find it impossible to deal with property in any but the simplest way, without having recourse to the medium of "Trusts." And yet the whole system of Trusts which now pervades our dealings with property of every description is one of comparatively modern invention. It is unknown to the Common Law, and owes its origin to the circumstance that it was to the Chancellors of the kingdom that the King had to refer to administer that residuum of natural justice which remained in the Sovereign, to control or supply the defects of the judicial power delegated to the judges of the Common

effects, as it is expressed in the Statute itself, *per quod quæ servitia ex hujusmodi feodis debentur, et quæ ad defensionem regni ab initio provisa fuerunt, indebitè subtrahuntur, et capitales domini eschætas suas amittunt.* So as the lands were said to come to dead hands as to the lords; for that, by alienation in mortmaine, they lost wholly their escheats, and in effect their knights' services for the defence of the realme, wards, marriages, reliefes, and the like; and, therefore, was called a dead hand; for that a dead hand yeeldeth no service."—*Coke upon Littleton*, 2 B.

Law. These Chancellors happened to be mostly Ecclesiastics, who had a weakness for deeming it right to compel a man to do that which in conscience, if not in law, he was bound to do; and who therefore used their power to convert what Casuists call "duties of imperfect obligation" into very perfect obligations indeed, so far as the desire to avoid the disagreeable alternative of imprisonment of the person, and sequestration of property, would be calculated to lead to such a result.

Take the first instance we have in Christian times of property devoted to charitable uses. At the first commencement of the Church, whilst the infant community is yet small in numbers, and all but confined to one place, we find a system of Communism established. This, however, it is obvious, from the frequent allusions to property (*proprium*, something peculiar to the individual, not shared in common with his fellows), to possessions, to "those who are rich in this world's goods," appearing in the Apostolical Epistles, was speedily abandoned. But here, whether it were one common stock of all the property belonging to every member of the Church, or the contributions made by the different members according to their means, that had to be administered, the distribution appears to have been considered a function of the Church. And it seems a remarkable fact that the Deacons, who were expressly appointed to relieve the Apostles of the labour of "serving tables," should so soon have come to be regarded as one of the Ecclesiastical Orders. From this it may well be inferred that the distribution of gifts made specially for charitable purposes was regarded as an office of the Church, to be discharged by her own specially ordained ministers.

It is a frequent subject of complaint by many Clergymen, that so great a burden should be laid upon them in the supervision of all sorts of Charities in their parish; and it is a subject of lamentation that it is too frequently their lot to be regarded in the light of the "Relieving Officer," instead of the Parish Priest. And very reasonable such a complaint very often is. But then it should be considered, *per contra*, what an enormous influence for good the Parish Priest really acquires through the fact of his being the medium of conveying temporal relief. How many a poor wretch, sunk in sin, and hardened in iniquity, has been induced to let the Priest hold communication with him, because he is the official distributor of some local beneficence, who would have stoutly resisted any attempt to let "the Parson" have any thing to say to him, on matters concerning his soul, if the way had not been thus smoothed. And I do not know

whether it has not been a Providential means of checking the influence of those intruders on the Sacred Office, who, under the name of "City Missionaries," interfere with the spiritual province of the Parish Priest, that one of their rules strictly forbids them to distribute charitable relief.

However, whether good or bad in its effects, the system which made the Church itself, through its own officers, the distributor of charitable funds, was the system of our ancestors. There was no notion then of giving land or money to a trustee, upon trust, to apply it in a particular specified manner to a particular specified purpose. The plan actually adopted was, that all the alms contributed through the Offertory at the Celebration of the Great Sacrifice were left to the Bishop's disposal, without any one to control him in the execution of this duty, except his Ecclesiastical superiors, who would regard any neglect or breach of duty in this respect in the same light, and would punish it in the same manner, as they would have done any other spiritual offence. And when a wealthy person wished to create an endowment for the perpetual performance of the Divine Offices, or for any eleemosynary purpose, his plan was to give his benefaction to some actually existing Ecclesiastical Corporation—Bishop, or Abbot, or Parish Priest, as the case might be; or, if his endowment were of sufficient amount or value, to procure the creation by the Crown of some new Corporation, for the purpose of receiving, and applying his gift—but still, in each case, leaving the performance of the object as a part of the spiritual duties of the holder of the endowment, and enforceable only by the spiritual superior, in the same manner and by the same means as the performance of any other spiritual duty was to be enforced. (*Vide* Finlaison *On Charitable Trusts.* Prefatory Essay.)

One mode of exercising some control over the administrators of charitable gifts was indeed provided by the establishment of Visitors; for, wherever a Charitable Corporation or Institution was founded, it was held that the founder or his heirs retained, or might delegate to any other person, the right to inspect the institution, to correct improper administration or malversation, and generally to enforce obedience to the statutes or rules of the Foundation. And as the King was the founder of the majority of the Charitable Institutions of mediæval times, the jurisdiction thus reserved to him, and which he was accustomed to exercise by his Chancellor, became very much confounded with the ordinary jurisdiction of the Chancellor, which he exercised in all cases of Trusts. The fact, however, was, that the visitatorial jurisdiction existed only where the estates or property

which were dedicated to a charitable use were vested in the body that was entitled to the beneficial enjoyment of them. Where, however, the estates or other property were vested, not in the persons who were intended to have the benefit of them, but in some other body or person, in trust for them, there the visitatorial jurisdiction was excluded, and the Court of Chancery, by virtue of its ordinary jurisdiction in all matters of Trust, undertook the redress of all grievances in the administration of the property. And it was upon this distinction that several cases of great interest and importance that have arisen in recent times—as the case of the Magdalen College School, and the contest between Mr. Whiston and the Dean and Chapter of Rochester, as to the management of the Cathedral School there—have been relegated from the Court of Chancery, and left to the jurisdiction of the Visitor.

Of course it must happen, that wherever any one except the King is the Visitor, he can possess no coercive jurisdiction. All he can do is to hear, in a "forum domesticum," complaints made of breaches of the statutes, or other irregularities and misfeasances. He can depose any officer of the body, or any other person whose misdoings may have rendered him liable to such a penalty; and he can order the funds and property of the Institution to be applied in a different way to that in which they have hitherto been applied, if he thinks that improper or unauthorized. And there is no appeal from his decision. But then, when all is done—when he has pronounced his judgment, deposed officials who have misconducted themselves, ordered a different disposition to be made of the property of the Institution, given any number of directions for putting things upon a better footing, or issued any amount of the most stringent orders—after all, he has only been able to call spirits from the vasty deep. But suppose they refuse to come at his call, or to do his bidding—what then? Why he, or the persons aggrieved, can only then apply to the ordinary tribunals of the country, and obtain from them a judgment, which *they* can and will execute, founded upon the judgment of the Visitor. Hence, in practice, where a sturdy opposition to reform, or restitution, is made by a body subject to visitatorial jurisdiction, the result too often is, that the unhappy remonstrants have the double expense, the double trouble, and the double chances of failure, which arise from having to go through two courses of procedure instead of one. And so, however valuable the visitatorial jurisdiction may prove, where there is an honest desire on the part of the body visited to rectify what is amiss, so soon as they are made fairly

acquainted with it, it too often proves, as in such cases as the Magdalen College case and the Rochester School case, a most potent means in the hands of a body who are determined to oppose all reformation, to enable them to defy and baffle all attempts at forcing them into the observance of the spirit of their foundation.

But worse even than this mischief, is the difficulty of dealing with the Visitors themselves: "Quis custodiet ipsos custodes." In too many cases the Visitor is himself *particeps criminis;* sanctions the misuse made of charitable funds; condones, and even authorizes, the most flagrant breaches of the rules and statutes of the Institution; and justifies the widest departure from the wishes of the founder. And in such a case there is absolutely no remedy at all. If, indeed, he refuses to act when called upon, he may be compelled by Mandamus to hear the case, and give a decision; or if he attempts to exceed the powers vested in him, he may be restrained by a Prohibition, or in some cases, by an Injunction of the Court of Chancery. But his judgment, when once given, being final, there is no appeal from it; and if, for any reason, he errs, wilfully or by mere error of judgment, there the matter must rest, and there can be no further attempt at remedying the state of things complained of.

At the present day, indeed, where every question concerning any public or quasi-public institution is sure to excite considerable interest, and draw upon it the attention of numbers of the best educated part of the community, the dread of public indignation has served to keep Visitors, when appealed to, from committing any flagrant departures from the plain course of their duty. But in days not very remote from our own the instances are not unfrequent, in which Visitors themselves have exhibited the most audacious defiance of all principles of common truth and honesty in the exercise of their appellate jurisdiction. It certainly speaks well for the conduct of the clerical administrators of our oldest charitable institutions, that, although for feudal reasons a check was early attempted to be put upon alienations of land in mortmain, yet it was a long time before the aid of the Legislature was invoked to enforce the administration, or remedy the malversation of estates devoted to charitable uses. And when at last Parliamentary interference was invoked, the remedy applied was characteristic. By the Statute of Westminster (13th Edward I., stat. i., cap. 41) it was provided, that if land which had been given to a Charity was aliened, or if the charitable uses were not performed for a period of two years, *the land should revert to the founder or his heirs.*

It did not provide any machinery for enforcing a performance of the charitable trusts imposed on the land-holder, but simply confiscated the land itself. It remedied the neglect of King Log, by handing the complainants over to King Stork. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, if those who had reason to complain of the grievous misuse of charitable funds, were slow to avail themselves of the remedy offered by the Statute. They naturally would feel, that by holding on under the present system, however scandalous or shameful the mismanagement or peculation which prevailed, there was, nevertheless, a possibility that, with a change of the rulers, for the time being, of the body charged with the administration of the estate, there might come a change of conduct, and a restitution of the rights of those who were properly entitled to the benefits of the Charity. But should they once set the Statute in motion, there was simply no hope at all left of a better state of things. The whole source from which any future benefit was to be derived would then be dried up and destroyed by the confiscation of the land.

Things, however, went on without any violent measures being either required or adopted for some centuries, until the middle of the Sixteenth Century. Then, indeed, the storm broke with all the fury of a tornado upon the Monastic communities, which were the principal holders of the lands that, through a long series of years, had been dedicated to charitable uses. Manners and customs changed but slowly in the Early and Mediæval times. The stocking was only occasionally but slightly darned; and no one could doubt the substantial identity of the institutions of the time of the first Tudor Monarch with those for the support of which the Plantagenets had established so many foundations. But with the Reformation the whole aspect of the case was changed. The stocking was then cut, and torn, and darned, and patched, and made up again in such a different fashion, that it is no wonder at all that very serious doubts as to its identity should have struck the minds of those who had to deal with matters involving the question. The principle, however, of the identity of the Post-Reformation Church with that which preceded the rupture with the Pope was established at an early date; and it was settled that since the Reformation the obligation of saying Mass, or praying for the souls of Benefactors, was well performed by saying the service according to the Reformed Liturgy.

"And they which hold in *Frankalmoigne*" (or Free Alms), says Littleton, "are bound of right before God, to make orisons, prayers, Masses, and other Divine Services, for the soules of their

grantor or feoffor, and for the soules of their heires which are dead, and for the prosperity, and good life and good health of their heires which are alive." On which Coke observes:—"Since Littleton wrote, the Lyturgye or Booke of Common Praier and of celebrating Divine Service is altered. This alteration notwithstanding, yet the tenure in *Frankalmoigne*, remaineth; and such prayers and Divine Service shall be said and celebrated as now is authorized. Yea, though the tenure be in particular, as Littleton hereafter saith, viz., to sing a Masse, &c., or to sing a *placebo et dirige*, yet if the tenant saith the praiers now authorized it sufficeth." (*Coke upon Littleton*, 95 *B.*)

But it was not merely the change made in the national creed, and the mode of performing Divine Service, that constituted the principal points in which Charitable Trusts were affected by the Reformation. It was, rather, the wholesale plunder and robbery, first of the lesser Monasteries, then of the greater, under Henry VIII., and lastly the confiscation of lands devoted to so-called superstitious uses, under Edward VI. and Elizabeth, that well nigh destroyed for a time all the provision that had been made up to that time for keeping up the offices of religion, or relieving the wants of the sick and poor, and performing the other spiritual and corporal works of mercy. It is unnecessary here to dilate upon the infamous means which were adopted to bring about this atrocious rapine and plunder. The effect, however, upon charities was ruinous and overwhelming. As before pointed out, the old policy and mode of providing for the performance of religious or charitable services, was not to vest lands or property in a body of trustees, upon trust, to apply the funds committed to them in a specified manner. The most usual course was to make a grant in *Frankalmoigne*, as it was called, to some already existing Ecclesiastical Corporation, or to some new one founded for the purpose, who took the land as their own property, but were bound, by a merely moral obligation, to render to the donor and his descendants the service of praying for their prosperity in life, and for the rest of their souls after their death. And these were only held to the application of the profits derived from the estates thus conveyed to them, to purposes of religion or charity, by the same obligation of the rules of their order which bound them to a similar application of all the property of which they had the disposal.

And so, when the storm had laid low the goodly trees, away went all the fruits which they had borne; and with the destruction of the Monasteries, for a time, there was an end to nearly all the provision made for works of piety and charity throughout

the land. And one can form some notion of the frightful miseries entailed upon the unhappy dependents upon those institutions, by their ruin, from the fact, that during the reign of Henry VIII. no less than seventy thousand persons are said to have suffered capital punishment, principally for offences against property, which were mainly induced by the poverty and desolation brought about by the sudden cessation of the alms distributed so freely by the Monasteries.

It is true, indeed, that, in the spirit of the more chivalrous highwaymen of the Claude Duval school, who were accustomed, after stripping a traveller to the skin, to show their generosity by giving him back a shilling to pay the next turnpike, both Henry and Edward did, out of the enormous spoils which they seized, fling a few fragments to the poor, in the shape of some new endowments established by them, such as the six new Bishoprics of Henry, and the Grammar Schools of Edward. But small, indeed, was the percentage of property once solemnly dedicated to the service of God and His poor, that was thus allowed to escape the ravening maw of the courtiers and sycophants, *whose descendants to this day live on the unhallowed spoil* secured by their ancestors. And perhaps there never was an event in English History that had more effect on its ultimate destiny, than the providentially early death of Edward, whose life, had it been prolonged to the age of his father, would probably have ended in stripping England of every provision which even Henry left untouched, for works of mercy and love, as well as bereaving her of every particle of Catholic Faith or religious reverence.

To Edward indeed, or to those that ruled in his name, we are indebted for the extinction of Mortuary Trusts altogether. Henry, much as he had shuffled with various phases of the Reformation, had a keen horror of the pains of purgatory for himself, and in his will actually made selfish provision for a liberal supply of Masses to be said for the repose of his own sinful soul. But "the engineer was hoist with his own petard," and the Statutes of Superstitious Uses, which were passed during the reign of his son, deprived him of what benefit he had hoped to gain from such a provision, by precisely the same means as those by which he had robbed his own ancestors, as well as thousands of private persons, of similar benefits. "Nec sors est justior ulla, Quam necis artifices arte perire sua!"

By the time that Elizabeth had held sway for some few years, the tide began to turn. The misery and destitution produced by the wholesale robberies of Henry VIII. and Edward

VI. were so appalling, notwithstanding the temporary reversal of their policy under Queen Mary, that something must needs be done to try to fill up the gap made by the devastations of her father and brother. And the remedy which Elizabeth adopted was highly characteristic of her. Sydney Smith used to say, "that if A sees B in distress, it is not in human nature to withstand desiring C to relieve him." And this was exactly Elizabeth's feeling. It did not occur to her to give back to charitable uses the lands still remaining in the possession of the Crown, which had been seized during the late reigns and diverted from such uses; nor did she even prevail upon her courtiers, who were the principal holders of what had been thus seized, except what was still held by the Crown, to restore their ill-gotten gains. But instead of this, she, in the true spirit of Sydney Smith's *mot*, passed several Statutes for encouraging her subjects to bestow lands and goods in aid of charitable purposes, the principal of which (43rd Eliz., cap. 4.) has an important effect at the present day[1]. Its main object was to establish a Commission for superintending all Charitable Institutions, and for the redress and repression of all misappropriations of charitable property, so as to avoid the expense, and delay, and obstacles of every sort, to which the promoters of charitable gifts, or the vindicators of such from abuses, were exposed in proceedings according to the usual course of law. And very effectually the Commission worked, and very completely did it answer its purpose for many years. But it has long since become obsolete. Institutions and manners have changed, and the mode of procedure originated by the Statute is no longer adapted to the existing forms into which the matters with which it deals have fallen. In short, the stocking has been again so extensively darned that it no longer fits the leg for which it was originally intended; or rather, in this case the leg itself has grown and burst the stocking, which has had to be darned and patched to make it fit, in a fashion very different to that in which it was originally produced.

But the important point in which the Statute affects us at the present day is, that it contains a statement of the purposes to which charitable gifts may be lawfully dedicated. And it is still held that no gift is good, or capable of being supported, as a gift to a Charity, unless it be for one of the purposes mentioned in the Statute, *or for some analogous purpose*. And the pur-

[1] The 35th Eliz., cap. 7, and the 39th Eliz., cap. 5, were also Acts passed in favour of Charities, and the support of the Poor, Workhouses, and Hospitals.

poses expressly mentioned in this Act of Elizabeth are the following: — The relief of aged, impotent, and poor people; the maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers and mariners; schools of learning, free schools, and the support of scholars in universities; the repair of bridges, ports, havens, causeways, churches, sea-banks, and highways; the education and preferment of orphans; for or towards the relief, stock, or maintenance of houses of correction; the marriages of poor maidens; the supportation, aid, and help of young tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and persons decayed; the relief or redemption of prisoners or captives; and the aid or ease of any poor inhabitants concerning payment of fifteenths, setting out soldiers, and other Taxes.

It is remarkable that the Statute does not expressly mention gifts for the support of a Chaplain or Minister, or for the performance of Divine worship; and the omission was not accidental, but designed—for it is expressly stated by the framer of the Statute himself that "it was of purpose omitted in the penning of the Act—lest the gifts, intended to be employed upon purposes grounded on charity, might, in change of times (contrary to the minds of the givers), be confiscated into the King's Treasury. For *religion being variable, according to the pleasure of succeeding princes,* that which at one time is held for orthodox, may at another be accounted superstitious; and then such lands are confiscated, as appears by the Statute of Chantries, 1 Edward VI., cap. 14. (Sir Francis Moore's *Readings on the Charitable Uses Act of Elizabeth,* Duke, Char. Uses, p. 125.)

Notwithstanding this significant omission, however, it has long been held that gifts for the support of a minister, or for the performance of Divine Service, are good Charitable Gifts, within the meaning and intent of the Statute. And innumerable gifts of this nature have in fact been made, and upheld, as being analogous to those purposes which are expressly mentioned in the Act.

There was not much change in the principles upon which Charitable Trusts were administered during the succeeding reigns, until the Rebellion of 1688 led the way to the passing of the first batch of Toleration Acts, under William III. Not merely Romanism, but Dissent, and Nonconformity to the Established Church, of every kind, were illegal; and though the personal penalties to which recusants of every description were liable were frequently remitted, or tacitly allowed to fall into desuetude (except in the case of the Romanists, who always suffered, whatever party, High Church or Low Church, Anglican or Puritan, was in power); yet, as the holding and propagation

of their tenets were contrary to Law, the Law could not permit any gifts for their support to be established, or recognize the right of any object of such gifts to enforce the performance of the Trusts attached to them. And in fact so jealously were gifts in favour of the peculiar forms of worship of Dissenters regarded by the judicial authorities, that even a charitable provision, made to relieve the distress of certain dissenting ministers, though not at all for the support of their religious institutions, was held to be void.

The case is an interesting and instructive one, as showing the principles which, before the passing of the Toleration Acts, regulated gifts of this sort. And as the report of it is not long, and is in a somewhat more lively style than the ordinary run of Law Reports, I give it at length. The Mr. Baxter, the defendant, was of course the celebrated quondam Nonconformist, and author of *The Call to the Unconverted*:—

"Robert Mayot, who was a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England, by his last Will, 12th October, 1676, bequeathed 600*l.* to Mr. Baxter, to be distributed by him amongst sixty pious ejected Ministers; and adds, 'I would not have my charity misunderstood. I do not give it them for the sake of their nonconformity; but because I know many of them to be pious and good men, and in great want. He also gave Mr. Baxter 20*l.*, and 20*l.* more to be laid out in a book of his, entitled 'Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted.*'

"Upon this will, Mr. Attorney-General exhibited an information, wherein he alleges this charity to be against the law; and that, therefore, the right of applying this money was in the King; and that his Majesty had declared his pleasure to be that this 600*l.* should go towards the building of Chelsea College.

"Mr. Baxter, in his answer, stated the controversy between the Conformists and Dissenters; and showed upon how small a matter some, that conformed in all other points, were kept out of the pale of the Church, and ejected from their livings; and then swore himself a Conformist, and that he knew many poor, pious, and ejected ministers that were in great want, and forced to undertake servile employments for their livelihood; and that he accepted of the trust reposed in him by his testator, and intended, as soon as he could get this money of the executors, to distribute it according to his testator's intention amongst poor ejected ministers, who he supposed were not disabled by law from taking a legacy; and said he did not believe the testator had any design against the Government, being very conformable to the Church, and one whom he never saw; and that the

testator was very charitable, and sets out many excellent charities of his in his lifetime, that were legal and allowed; and as for the book mentioned in the testator's will, it was, he hoped, not condemnable, nor ever condemned, but had been printed two-and-twenty times, and licensed, &c.; and hoped the doctrine and disposition of the Dissenters, merely as ejected ministers, was not so bad as to forfeit all charities; his Majesty having, in his declaration, declared in these words, viz.:—'We must, for the honour of all of either persuasion, with whom we have conferred, declare, that the desire of all for the advancement of piety were the same; their zeal for the Church the same; they all approve the Episcopacy, and a Liturgy in a set form; and if on such excellent foundation any such structure should be for lessening the gift of charity, a vital part of the Christian religion, we shall think ourselves unfortunate, and defective in the administration of government GOD hath intrusted us with,' &c. And Mr. Baxter said further:—'He thought his Majesty was not mistaken; and that not only religion, but humanity, binds men to pity those who spent their lives in studying to know GOD's will—and yet, by mistake in some opinions, are fallen into want; and therefore owned his dissent against resigning other men's sustenance, and hoped the Court would not misconstrue that act of charity.'

"The Attorney and Solicitor-General, &c., argued that this was a devise to the sixty ejected ministers, *eo nomine*, as they were Dissenters; and to suffer them to take by such a devise was almost to make a corporation of them; and it would certainly encourage and keep up a perpetual schism in the Church, which the law would not endure.

"For the defendant it was argued, that this was a good bequest, and that Dissenters were not disabled from taking a legacy. Any devise, though to a superstitious use, was good at common law; and it would not be pretended that this devise was within any of the statutes of superstitious uses. The devise was made by a Conformist, who, had he or a dissenter given 10*l.* apiece to sixty dissenters by name, there would not be the least pretence to make that legacy void; and what has the testator done here? He has deputed Mr. Baxter to name the sixty persons for whom the Charity was designed; and what law has disabled him from executing this power of nomination, though he had been a Dissenter? But he, by his answer, has approved himself one of the Church of England; and it was said, there could be nothing of weight in the objection, that such bequests would keep up a schism in the Church; in regard here was nothing durable; no land, no rent, no annuity given,

only one gross sum of 10*l.* to a man, which would only buy bread for his family for a very little while; but if there was a real mischief, yet to damn this charity would be no remedy to the evil; for it would but teach the Dissenters for the future to name the parties, or to dispose of their charities in their lifetimes. And in that case the Dissenters will only have a better opportunity of drawing out and extending their donor's charities. And it was observed, that the bequest was to 'poor ejected ministers;' now there are many ejected for want of titles, and are fit objects of charity.

"The Lord Keeper told Mr. Attorney, that the causes of this moment ought not to be brought before him, but in term time, when he might have the assistance of the Judges; but however, being that he had now heard the matter, and was not doubtful in the case, he would not defer making his decree; and adjudged the Charity (that is, the use) to be void, and that the money should be applied for building of Chelsea College.

"Then it was argued, that if the Charity was void, the money ought to remain with the executor; but the Court said, there was a difference between the Charity and the use; and that the use was void, and not the Charity.

"Then it was observed to the Court, that the practice had always been to apply Charities in *eodem genere;* and this being intended for ejected ministers, ought to go amongst the Clergy.

"And thereupon the Lord Keeper decreed it for the maintenance of a Chaplain for Chelsea College." (Attorney-General *v.* Baxter, 1 Vern. 248.)

This was in 1684—before Dutch William had landed in Torbay. But in 1689, things had greatly changed. The Toleration Act had meantime been passed, and the spirit of it had completely affected the judicial mind; and so we find that, without any reasons assigned, upon a rehearing of the case before the Lords Commissioners, the former decision was reversed, and the money handed over to Mr. Baxter, to distribute according to the testator's wishes and directions. (2 Vernon, 105.)

The Toleration Act puts all the "Orthodox" and Protestant Dissenters upon the same footing as the Established Church, in respect of provisions for the support of their worship and charitable institutions. "Since the Act of Toleration," says Lord Mansfield, "Dissenters are entitled to all manner of legal protection. Charities to their mode of worship have been established since the Revolution." (Rex *v.* Burton. 1 Wm. Blackstone, 300.)

But, until the Roman Catholic Emancipation Acts of recent

times, the toleration extended to Protestant Dissenters brought no relaxation of the determined hostility of the Law toward the Romanists; and, even so late as 1802, a bequest, for the purpose of bringing up poor children *in the Roman Catholic faith* was held void as against the policy of the law. (Cary *v.* Abbott, 7 Ves. 490.) So a gift for the support of "a Catholic Priest" (Attorney-General *v.* Todd, 6 Keen, 803), and a bequest to promote the publication and circulation of a book in support of the Papal Supremacy (De Themmines *v.* De Bonneval, 5 Russell, 289), were similarly set aside; and, oddly enough, we should think, in the present day at least, Lord Eldon, in 1826, held that Jews were entitled to a vote in the election of a Vicar, to be chosen by the inhabitants of a parish, but that Roman Catholics had no such right. (Edenborough *v.* Archbishop of Canterbury, 2 Russ. 111 n.) But the Romanists have been more severely pressed upon than any other religious denomination; because, in addition to their being under the general ban of the Law, as dissenters from "the Establishment," the great majority of their Charities are coupled with injunctions, express or tacit, to say Masses for the souls of the donors, or to perform other services which the Law has chosen to pronounce superstitious and illegal; and consequently they have no means to enforce the performance of the duties attached to the gifts, if the donors refuse or neglect to perform them; and, in a great majority of cases, do not even dare to acknowledge the purpose of the gifts, lest they should, by disclosing the illegality of the trusts attached to them, render the gifts themselves liable to forfeiture.

From the time of Elizabeth up to the advent of the Hanoverian dynasty, public policy had been all in favour of the promotion of charitable gifts, and all legislation concerning them had been directed towards giving inducements to increase them, by facilitating the proceedings for their establishment, and the correction of abuses in their administration.

But now a new spirit prevailed. Under the influence of Lord Hardwicke, an Act was passed (9th Geo. II., cap. 36), as has been stated, incorrectly called "the Mortmain Act;" the effect of which has been most ruinous and disastrous to Charities. The Act required that, for the future, no gift for any charitable purpose, of any land or real estate, should be valid, unless it should be made by *deed*, indented, sealed, and delivered in the presence of two or more credible witnesses, twelve calendar months at least before the death of the donor or grantor, and enrolled in Chancery within six calendar months from the execution; and made to take effect at once in possession, without any reserva-

tion, for the benefit of the grantor, or any power of revocation.

The consequence of this Act has been, first and mainly, entirely to put an end to all gifts, *by will*, of land, or of any thing "savouring of land," for charitable purposes. And the very stringent construction which has been put upon the Act, by successive judicial interpretations, has made the operation of the Statute more severe than apparently even its framer intended. For it has been held to apply, not merely to gifts of land or houses, &c., in kind, or of money to be laid out in the purchase of land, but also to money to arise from the sale of land, and money secured by a mortgage of land; which, if the object of the Statute was merely to prevent the acquisition of *land* for charitable uses, were clearly not within the supposed mischief to which the Act was intended to put a stop.

But the real animus of the supporters of the Act was, their dislike to Charities, of whatever kind, as such; and a desire to do all in their power to discourage gifts to charitable institutions. And as, in those days, the permanence of charitable institutions seemed to require, as an almost necessary element of their support, that their endowments should consist of land, the prohibition against testamentary gifts of land appeared, and in fact has been in practice found, to operate as a heavy blow and great discouragement to charitable gifts altogether.

This is obvious from the following account of the objects sought and the arguments used by the framers of the Act:—

"This Act is said to have originated in consequence of several heirs-at-law having suffered considerably by injudicious, ostentatious dispositions, by the owners of lands, to charitable and other uses: and the case of one Mr. Mitchell, who was going to leave a very large estate in land to one of the Universities, was mentioned. The Bill passed the House of Commons by a large majority, but was much opposed in the House of Lords; and petitions against it from the two Universities, and other charitable institutions, were presented. It was argued against the Bill, that though there were many hospitals in the kingdom, they were far from being sufficient for the purposes designed; and that there was such a deficiency in every branch of public charity, as to render it both uncharitable and unwise to make regulations which would very much prevent the increase of all public charitable funds. One argument in favour of the Bill was the danger to be apprehended from too great a liberty of granting lands in Mortmain, lest any particular society should become so powerful as to be able to prescribe laws to the Govern-

ment, and overturn the Constitution." (Shelford *On Mortmain*, p. 118.)

So that it was plainly regarded at the time as a contest between the claims of a man's "heirs-at-law" and the advocates of that policy which, up to that time, ever since the days of Elizabeth, had been sedulously pursued by statesmen, the policy of multiplying and enlarging charitable foundations, by increasing the facilities for making gifts to pious and charitable uses. In other words, it was one of those numerous conflicts between the Church and the World, in which the children of this world were wiser in their generation (and more powerful too) than the children of light.

The second object of the Act, that of securing publicity to all Charitable Trusts, by the enrolment of the deed constituting or establishing them, though it has been fatal to an immense number of charitable donations, through the ignorant or careless omission to comply with the formalities required by the Act, is, on the whole, calculated to produce a beneficial effect. For there are numerous instances on record of gifts of money or other personal estate (which do not require enrolment), where, after the death of the donor, a fraudulent trustee has simply appropriated the property to himself; as, through want of the obligation to publicity imposed by the Statute in the case of gifts of land, the objects of the gift have never known of their rights, and have never, therefore, taken any steps to enforce them. And the only really weighty objection to this provision of the Statute is, that it renders necessary a somewhat troublesome and expensive procedure, which, especially in small matters, is very apt to be omitted, so that the whole gift is vitiated and rendered ineffectual.

The Act has never had force in Ireland; nor have the Statutes against superstitious uses. And considering the numbers of Mortuary Trusts which have been created in that country by Roman Catholic donors, which must all have been rendered at once subject to forfeiture if those Acts had applied there, the Irish may consider themselves fortunate in having escaped the closely-woven meshes of such an ingenious drag-net.

There is little that calls for observation in the history of Charitable Trusts from the time of Lord Hardwicke's Act down to the well-meaning attempt by Sir Samuel Romilly, in 1812, to increase the facilities for dealing with the malversation of Trust Funds by fraudulent Trustees (52nd Geo. III., cap. 101), which, since the Act of Elizabeth had become obsolete, were well nigh out of the reach of the law, except by processes that often considerably

exceeded in costliness the whole value of the property in litigation, and always led to heart-wearying delays. The narrow construction, however, that judicial decisions put upon the Statute, deprived it of nearly all its beneficial effects, and left sturdy misappropriators of Charitable Estates to avail themselves of all the ninety-nine chances out of a hundred, that the then existing modes of procedure in such cases afforded them of escaping the retribution due to their misdoings.

In 1819 the evil had grown so vast and so intolerable, that a Commission to inquire into and investigate the whole subject of Charitable Trusts was appointed, and (for John Bull seldom does things in a hurry) continued their labours till 1837. And very instructive are their Reports, which at length have borne fruit, in the appointment, in 1853, of the present Charity Commissioners, who are not, as their predecesssors were, merely appointed to investigate and report on the subject, but are armed with the most extensive powers for advising and controlling trustees of charitable funds in the execution of their duties; and have nearly all the administrative, and a large part of the litigious functions of the Court of Chancery delegated to them. There are few persons who have had occasion to apply to the Commissioners for advice or aid, in the administration of Charity property, who would refuse to testify to the efficient manner in which they discharge their functions.

One of the most valuable provisions of the Acts establishing the Commission is that which creates an official trustee of Charity property, in whom all intending donors may, if they please, vest their intended gifts, with the full assurance that they will thereby, at any rate, escape one evil which has overwhelmed so many admirably-planned schemes for the benefit of posterity—the necessity of entrusting their execution and development to a body whose continuity of existence is preserved by self-election, and who are completely exonerated from all supervision and control, and whose administration of the property entrusted to them is but too often one continuous system of peculation, jobbery, and wrong.

It was a great difficulty to determine how to deal with Roman Catholic Charities, in framing the Acts for the existing Commission. An Act passed in 1832, shortly after the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act (2 and 3 Wm. IV., cap. 115) had at last established the validity of gifts for the support of Roman Catholic education, or the performance of Roman Catholic services. But still the Statute of Superstitious Uses remained unrepealed. And a very large proportion of Roman Catholic

Charitable Trusts were, as was well known, in reality coupled with purposes which the law declared superstitious and illegal. The Roman Catholic Bishops and influential persons, on the other hand, were well aware of the large amount of mismanagement, not to mention actually fraudulent misappropriation, of charitable funds which this state of things had permitted, and in fact given rise to, in their Communion and were very anxious to be armed with the power of calling for the interference of the Commissioners to redress such misdoings—if only they could be ensured against the risk of causing a forfeiture altogether of the object of their solicitude, by inviting inquiry into its foundation and real object.

The Legislature, however, was not prepared to relax, even in the case of Roman Catholics, the statutory prohibition of "Superstitious Uses." The Irish Members, on the other hand, were resolved to prevent the passage of any Act which should enable Commissioners to push the most searching investigations into their Charitable Trusts, without protecting them against the risk of a forfeiture. And so, as the passage of the Act for England was a matter of pressing moment, and "the Irish carriage stopped the way," an arrangement was come to by which the Roman Catholic Charities were excluded from the operation of the Act, and the jurisdiction of the Commissioners, for a period, which was several times enlarged, with a view to enable the Roman Catholic authorities to devise some scheme which should be acceptable to themselves, and not altogether distasteful to a "Protestant" Parliament. And the final result has been the passing of an Act (23 and 24 Vic. cap. 134) by which Roman Catholic Charities have been subjected to the jurisdiction of the Commissioners, upon the terms, not that their Charities devoted to "illegal superstitious uses" shall be rendered valid, but that, where illegal purposes are coupled with legal, the property shall be apportioned; and that part of it which is devoted to illegal uses shall be appropriated to other charitable purposes, for the benefit of Roman Catholics, of a nature which the law will tolerate.

As matters actually now stand, therefore, there can be no doubt that gifts for charitable purposes stand in a better position than they have ever done since the Reformation. The establishment of the existing Charity Commission,—not only fully armed with powers of inquiry, and having a staff of inspectors, whose express duty it is, as a sort of detectives retained on behalf of the poor, to flash their dark lanterns into all the hidden nooks and corners of peculation and jobbery, but having,

moreover, large powers of aiding with their advice honestly disposed trustees, and speedily bringing to justice all dishonest ones,—is a benefit that cannot be too highly appreciated. Bridgman observed, nearly a century ago, that, "In contemplating the subject of Charitable Uses and Trusts, it is painful to reflect that trustees should ever have existed capable of applying to their own private purposes the increased rents of those lands, and the augmentation of those funds which, many centuries ago, our forefathers had piously devoted to the maintenance of charitable uses. But such must ever be the case, while the persons who are the immediate objects of a founder's bounty remain ignorant of those salutary rules which the Court of Chancery has laid down in such cases." (Preface to Duke, *On Charitable Uses*, p. viii.)

And no doubt it is true, that the first element of a proper scrutiny into the administration of Charity Estates must be a knowledge of the laws to which the administrators of them are amenable. But this knowledge is only the first step to a return to a proper state of things. "What is everybody's business is nobody's business;" and in charity matters, as the objects of the charity are, *ex hypothesi*, poor, and therefore, probably, ignorant and friendless, it is a matter for unmixed satisfaction, that all that any person—a country clergyman is the most likely to be interested in such matters—who becomes aware of any Charity which, either from fraud or ignorance, is mismanaged or misapplied, has to do, in order to get things put on a right footing, is, to set the ball rolling by communicating the facts to the Charity Commissioners. He may then rest perfectly assured that they will take the matter up, probe the alleged abuses to the bottom, and, without involving him in any risk of expense, if the case be a proper one for legal interference, bring the matter before the proper tribunal for correction and redress.

The great drawback to a general satisfaction with the existing state of things consists in the existence, unrepealed, of the Statutes of "Superstitious Uses," and Lord Hardwicke's Act, prohibiting the gift, by will, of land, or any thing "savouring of land," to charitable purposes.

As regards the Statutes of "Superstitious Uses," they are plainly inconsistent with the policy of the Toleration Acts, especially now that these Acts have been extended to Roman Catholics. Even if it were admitted that Prayers for the Dead were "superstitious," according to the doctrine of the Church of England (the direct contrary having been established in the well-known case of Brecks *v.* Woolfrey, 1 Curtis, 891), yet, now that

other religious communities besides the Established Church are recognized, and allowed to make provision for the performance of their own religious rites and services, what possible justification can there be for picking out some particular rite or doctrine, and branding that as superstitious, and prohibiting its performance, or at any rate forbidding provision being made for its continuous observation; whilst other rites, as "superstitious" as prayers for the dead can be supposed to be, are allowed and encouraged, and any trust established for their performance supported and maintained?

And, as regards the Act of George II., it plainly does either too much or too little. If it be sound policy to prohibit land in specie from being held in trust for charitable purposes—and there is some argument to be advanced for that view (as land once held by a charity cannot be aliened, and so is taken out of the market, and withdrawn from commerce altogether)—yet, then it would have been sufficient to have prevented *land* from being so held. But it was senseless to extend the provision to money charged on land, or money secured by a mortgage of land, as it would have sufficiently met the difficulty to have confined a charitable legatee of such subjects to the personal remedies for compelling payment of the debt or charge, and merely prohibited the taking of the land instead of the money; and the extension of the prohibition to money to arise from the sale of land, is absolutely in contradiction to the policy of keeping land in the market, and a subject of commercial dealings; as it must necessarily require a sale to realize the subject of the gift.

If, on the other hand, the true policy was to restrain testators, on their death-beds, from making a cheap restitution for their own sins by giving away to charity that which was just slipping from their grasp; dividing, as some one has said, the duty of fasting and praying, by doing the latter for themselves, and making their descendants do the former—why limit the prohibition to land? Why not extend it, as many statesmen at times have urged, especially the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, to personal property as well? What reason or good sense is there in forbidding a man to give by will half an acre of land, on which to build a set of almshouses, and allowing him to give 100,000*l.*, or more if he pleases, in money or stock, to give pensions to poor people, or for any other charitable purpose?

In dealing with charitable gifts, two things constantly call for observation. One is, that as most of the permanent Charities established before George II.'s time are endowed with land, and the value of land has increased enormously since the days when

the original gift was made—what is to be done with the surplus rental, after the charges originally made payable out of it are satisfied? This problem has been the fruitful source of the most vehemently contested litigation in late years. A testator, say in 1500, having a piece of land worth £20 a year, gives it to some City Company, or some Ecclesiastical Corporation, upon trust to pay forty shillings a year, apiece, to ten poor men. In 1850, the land, which, in 1500, was worth £20 a year, has been taken into the limits of a fashionable suburb, or is let for building warehouses, and produces £1000 a year. The Trustees still go on paying the ten poor men their forty shillings a year apiece, and pocket the £980 a year surplus themselves. This is one of the commonest cases that come before the Courts. Lord Guilford's dealings with S. Cross Hospital, where he continued paying the doles originally fixed for the poor Almsmen, and took the surplus of £16,000 a year to himself, is a notable instance. Fortunately, however, for the interests of the poor, the Courts have laid down a rule, which very frequently, though not always, embraces such cases of gigantic wrong-doing. The rule established is, that where it can be made out that the donor intended the whole gift to go in charity, then although he has given specific sums, which did, in point of fact, at the time of the gift, exhaust the whole profits, yet the charity shall not be confined to the specific sums so given, but shall be entitled to the benefit of any increase which the advance in value of the subject of the gift may produce. How that surplus is to be disposed of, whether by augmenting the grants to each of the original objects, or by increasing the number of objects, it is for the Crown, as *parens patriæ*, acting by the Attorney-General, to determine. But where it can be made out that the donor did not intend to give the whole subject of the gift to charitable purposes, but has only charged the estate with the payment of certain specified sums; there the surplus, although at the time of the gift it were worth only a few shillings, and may now be worth hundreds of pounds, belongs to the donees of the estate for their own benefit.

Another circumstance which presents many puzzling questions, is, what is to be done with a gift, which is devoted to purposes that, although highly laudable in their day, have now, from political or social changes, ceased to have any existence. Such a case has arisen upon a gift to procure the redemption of slaves taken by the Algerine Pirates, who once infested the Mediterranean, but whose occupation is now happily gone, and with it the occasion for the application of the Charity—or the innumerable gifts for

procuring the release of poor prisoners for debt. In all these and similar cases, it is an axiom that the estate having once been dedicated to charitable uses, the charity shall not fail by reason of the failure of the specific objects, either from there being none such in existence, or from the objects named being illegal; but once more the Crown, as *parens patriæ* shall apply the gift *cy près*, as it is termed (meaning in legal phraseology "as near as possible"). And some curious applications of this *cy près* doctrine there have been. Thus, it may be remembered that in the case of the gift to Baxter for pious and poor Nonconformist Ministers, cited above (pp. 302—304), when it was at first held that the gift was illegal, it was ordered to be applied for the maintenance of a Chaplain for Chelsea Hospital. So where a legacy was given to a Jewish Charity, which at the time was illegal, one-half of it was given to the Magdalene Hospital, and the other to the London Infirmary. And a still more remarkable instance is to be found in the parish of S. Mary Woolnoth, where a "charitable" gift for the purchase of faggots to burn heretics in Smithfield, is now applied, *cy près*, to supply coals for the poor at Christmas.

And now what is to become of Charitable Trusts, in the future, at least of that large class of them which is connected with the Church of England, in case of its dis-establishment.

It is not my intention here to discuss the means by which such an event may be brought about, or even to consider the probability or possibility of the occurrence of such a state of things. But assuming it to have actually happened,—supposing, for the sake of working out the subject of the future of Charitable Trusts, as we have already examined their past history and present condition, that the dis-establishment of the existing Church of England had been accomplished,—what would be the result so far as concerns the property devoted to the direct support of the Services of the Church, or to other purposes more or less closely associated with it?

In order to arrive at any conclusion on this point, it is necessary to distinguish between two different ways in which it is conceivable that such dis-establishment might be effected. The first and most obvious course is by a simple withdrawal of all State recognition of the Church as a privileged body, and the reducing it to a level with every other Religious Community in the country. The second mode would consist in the recognition by the State of some other Religious Society as "the Church," and the transfer to it of all the peculiar rights and

privileges with which the existing Church of England is now invested.

At first sight, there appears to be no reason why, so far as regards property endowments, the dis-establishment of the Church should produce any effect at all, why it should not be precisely as it is in Natal, or in any other Colony having an independent legislature of its own; in all of which the judgment of the Privy Council has dis-established the Church in the very mode now under consideration; but in all of which cases the endowments of the Church, and all charitable or other Trusts for its support, or for any purposes connected with it, are left uninterfered with; though of necessity the tribunals of the State have to determine, where a division has occurred between two, or it may be more Societies, each claiming to be "the Church," which is the one that answers to that character, so as to be entitled to the enjoyment of Church Property.

In the case, however, of the Colonies one element is wanting, which, in the case of the Church in this country, would give rise to serious discussions and vehement contention. For, in those Colonies which have a Legislature of their own, it is probable that there are very few, if any, endowments which have been provided out of the public funds of the Colony; or if there are such, they have been supplied by grants made by the Legislature of the Colony itself, which have not, as yet, been revoked, and which, therefore, *pro tanto*, constitute a Colonial Establishment.

But here, in England, it would be argued, that until comparatively recent times no distinction had been made between the private property of the Crown, and the National Revenues. And it would, probably, be insisted that all gifts made by the Sovereign, were really national grants, and liable to be resumed by the nation at its own will. And upon this ground a fierce attack would be made, not only upon those endowments which might be proved to have proceeded from direct Parliamentary grants (which, perhaps, are not many), but upon all the Royal foundations and gifts by the Sovereigns of England for Ecclesiastical purposes, from the earliest times; and it is not improbable that attempts would be made to bring the old Parish Churches, the tithe, and the glebe, wherever their origin could not be clearly traced to private donation, under the same category.

But even should such arguments prevail, there would still remain to be dealt with that immense number of Churches, which, since the commencement of this century, have been built by private benefaction, and the endowments which have been supplied by the same means for their ministers. If any rights of

property at all are to be regarded as sacred, one would think that these, at least, would have an irresistible claim to be considered as inalienably dedicated by their donors to the service of the Church of England, and to nothing else; and it would be a monstrous and a palpable injustice to confiscate them, or to appropriate them to any other uses, and yet to leave the Trusts for the support of Dissenting Chapels and Dissenting Ministers throughout the kingdom untouched.

And, besides these, there would be a large number of private gifts, of lands, and money, and property of all descriptions, dedicated to charitable purposes, more or less in connexion with the Church, that would remain to be disposed of. And these there could be no pretence whatever for touching or interfering with. The utmost that one would imagine could be done would be to deprive the Church of its special privileges and preferential position. One can hardly expect that it would be absolutely proscribed, unless, indeed, perchance the "toleration" under the influence of which all these changes are to be made should be of the complexion of that advocated by Garibaldi, who writes, "I know you say 'Liberty of worship, liberty of conscience, liberty for all opinion,' and I repeat the cry; only it must be in the mouth of honest men. Does any body believe in liberty for vipers, for crocodiles, for thieves or assassins? And what is the Priest, but the assassin of the free soul—far more mischievous than the assassin of the body?" (*Guardian*, January 15th, 1868.)

Of course, if the Liberalism of the politicians under whose influence such portentous changes are to be wrought were of this character, there could be only one reply to our question—confiscation—utter and irremediable confiscation of all gifts, whenever and by whomsoever made, for the support of any religious services whatever, or of any object connected with religion or religious observances. I say any religious services whatever; for that is what the liberals of the Garibaldian school are bent on destroying. The question of Dissent does not present itself prominently in Italy, where Protestantism has really no existence; and there is no practical distinction between Ultramontane Romanism and the most pronounced Infidelity. But in England any attempt at the destruction of provisions for religious worship, or the promulgation of religious doctrine, would affect equally all sects and phases of religious belief. The attack must be made on all, or on none. And this is one of the great safeguards against its being made at all. For the position of affairs now is very different from what it was in the time of the Great Rebellion, when the struggle was not for the extinction of

religion or religious endowments, but for the depression of the Church, and the exaltation into its place of Presbyterianism or Independentism. But at the present day there could be no question, at least under any existing conditions, or under any which we can conceive as at all likely to occur, of selecting any of the recognized forms of Dissent, and planting it in the Church's place. The only conceivable form under which all the private benefactions for the support of the Church or its institutions could be confiscated, would be a crusade against all religious institutions, and all provisions for their support, of whatever kind or description they may be. But surely the strength of the party of pure irreligion, unless augmented by that of Dissenters of all shades, is totally inadequate, and, for all that can be foreseen, is likely to remain inadequate for effecting such a revolution as that. And the Dissenters are wise enough to see, that whatever measures might be taken for a withdrawal of all *public* endowments of the Church, any attempt to confiscate *private* benefactions for its support would be a fire at Ucalegon's, which they would have the most lively interest in extinguishing with all convenient speed.

Hence, should a dis-establishment of the Church occur by the mere withdrawal of the peculiar privileges now allowed it by the State, and the confiscation of all its revenues derived from State grants or National resources, still one cannot but believe that such would be the extent of the spoliation; and that all the trusts and provisions for its support, or for the support of any purposes connected with it, that have proceeded from any private source, would be preserved intact, as they have the best guarantee for their conservation in the personal interest of a large class of its most vigorous foes.

One benefit indeed, at any rate, one would think must of necessity result from a dis-establishment of the Church in the mode now under consideration. It must surely, sooner or later, bring with it a repeal of all the provisions against so-called "Superstitious Uses;" for if the Church were once deprived of its pre-eminence, and all sects and religious bodies were reduced to one level before the law, there could be no possible pretext for branding as "superstitious," and prohibiting as illegal, any particular doctrine maintained by any particular religious community. The only just ground upon which any religious doctrine could be pronounced illegal, and gifts for its maintenance prohibited, as against public policy, would be, that it was opposed to the existence of order and good government—such as the doctrine that Kings excommunicated by the Pope might lawfully be deposed or murdered by their subjects—or, that it

was inconsistent with the well-being of society—as in the case of the doctrine of a community of goods, or the Mormonite views of polygamy.

The other mode of dis-establishment, however, which I have suggested, would probably be more fatal to all charitable foundations for the benefit of the Church: that is, if one could conceive the case of the State's transferring its recognition as "the Church," and the privileges with which it is endowed, to some other religious body, as it did in William the Third's time, in the case of Scotland, by transferring the privileges of the Establishment from the Episcopal to the Presbyterian community; or, as has been proposed in the case of Ireland, by recognizing and endowing with all the Ecclesiastical revenues of the country, the Roman Catholic Church. In England, such a revolution can hardly be contemplated as possible under any existing or even conceivable circumstances. If any religious establishment at all is permitted, the Church of England, as at present constituted, would seem to have the most overwhelming claim to occupy that position. And the only way in which one can conceive such an event as possible, is by the State's resolving to enlarge the area of that body which it would recognize as the Church, and for that purpose striking out from the Act of Uniformity and repealing all that at present excludes those religious bodies whom it might desire to include in its comprehensive system—much as the late King of Prussia perforce compelled a union between the Lutheran and Calvinistic bodies in his dominions, which produced the anomalous compound known as "the Evangelical Church of Prussia."

Such a body, whether a distinctly different communion, or an enlarged and liberalized State Church, would of course, *ex hypothesi*, at once take the benefit of all public and State endowments; and there can be little doubt that the legal tribunals would hand over to it all the private charities and foundations for the support of the Church throughout the land. And those who might wish to keep up the old forms of service, and to provide for the teaching of the old doctrines, of what they would regard exclusively as "the Church," would have to establish fresh endowments, devoted to that very object, in terms so explicit as to render it impossible to mistake or to misrepresent their intent.

But—and this brings me to the last point which I propose to discuss in connexion with this subject—would such endowments be readily obtained? Would many, would any, persons be found who would so completely ignore the history of the past, as to

suppose it possible that they could succeed in doing that which no prince, potentate, or prelate, nor any private individual, has ever yet been able to accomplish—to establish a Charity which, for any length of time, should be applied, honestly and without fail, to the purposes to which it was intended by its founder to be devoted.

The whole history of Charitable Trusts preaches one moral at least in the most unmistakeable terms—the impossibility of creating a perpetuity. Apart from all questions of State policy —apart from the consideration of how far it is really right and consistent with a fair view of justice to posterity, that one generation of men should take upon themselves to mark out to all futurity the way in which the profits of the land held by them shall be applied—that my present occupancy of a portion of the soil should entitle me to say that, five hundred or a thousand years hence, its produce shall go to support an institution which I, under my circumstances and with my views, consider good, however alien it may be to the circumstances and views of after ages: apart from all such considerations, there is the fact —the one plain, broad, unmistakeable fact, that *it is impossible.* Peculation and jobbery are nature's laws of Mortmain. And it may safely be affirmed, that of charities which have been established for a hundred years and upwards, the percentage is almost infinitesimally small where the endowment is applied as the donor, were he alive now to direct its administration, would have wished to see it employed. In the worst, and those, unhappily, the most numerous cases, that which was intended for the maintenance and comfort of the poor, or the religious education of the young, goes to sustain the greed and luxury of those who have got the possession, and to whom the administration of the fund is committed. But even in the best cases the gift is devoted to some purpose totally alien from the intention of the founder; nay, even diametrically opposed to it. Can any one suppose that the pious Baron, of Plantagenet times, who gave away a Manor in *Frankalmoigne,* that he might have the benefit of constant prayers and Masses for his soul's repose, would be satisfied with Coke's doctrine that the service was well performed by saying the Matins and Evensong from the Book of Common Prayer? Or, to say nothing of such cases as the S. Cross Hospital, and the Cathedral foundation of Rochester, that the pious Jew who gave a large benefaction for the purpose of encouraging the study of the Pentateuch and the Talmud, would feel altogether gratified by having his money given to the Magdalen Hospital and the Infirmary of London?

And is it to be supposed that what has been will not again be? Is it to be imagined that posterity will treat us better than we have treated those who have gone before us? Nay, we need not wait for posterity to disappoint our hopes. If we do but live a few years after establishing a permanent trust, the management of which we have committed irrevocably to other hands, we may chance to see all our expectations blighted: like those unfortunate donors who, having contributed their money freely to found a Bishopric in Natal, upon the express understanding, and in the full faith and reliance, of the Bishop's being subordinate to his Metropolitan, and subject to his jurisdiction, now find their money taken to support one whom his Metropolitan has excommunicated, and whom the Church can only regard as a heathen man and a publican.

Those, then, I am satisfied, act most wisely, who, in disposing of that wealth which the Good SPIRIT of GOD prompts them to bestow in charity or for pious uses, devote it principally to the forwarding present objects, and the relief of present distress. Why should not posterity be left to look after its own poor—to support its own religious services? "Bis dat qui cito dat" is a proverb which may well be taken to apply to him who makes his gift available for present needs, instead of striving to protract its operation over a long series of future ages, when he will have no certainty either of there being any one to enforce its due application, or of its even being desirable, under then existing circumstances, that it should be so enforced. The warning of old Sir Francis Moore is equally as applicable to our times as it was to his own:—"That the gifts intended to be employed upon purposes founded on Charity might, in change of times (contrary to the minds of the givers), be confiscated into the King's treasury. For, religion being variable, according to the pleasure of succeeding princes, that which at one time is held for orthodox, may at another be accounted superstitious; and then such lands are confiscated."

CHARLES BROWNE.

# The Supernatural.

THE present time may not inaptly be called the day of Revivals. Possibly that may be the special character which the historian of the future will attach to it. Nor are these Revivals only in external matters, such as in Music or Architecture. Studies which, while flourishing in other countries, had been long much neglected in England, are now gradually being restored to their proper position. Already there seems to be setting in a very perceptible reaction against the too exclusive devotion to physical science which in this country marked the earlier part of the present century. Mental science is now more cultivated, and its importance better appreciated. It is well that it is so. Metaphysic ought always to be the handmaid of Theology. *Ancilla Theologiæ* was the name the Schoolmen familiarly applied to Philosophy. A sound Philosophy and a clear and definite Theology must go hand-in-hand; and probably no little of that indistinctness and confusion which has been so sadly characteristic of Anglican Theology, is due to our past neglect of metaphysics. This neglect has made us careless, where we ought to be most exact, in our use of language, and has often made our theologians apparently incapable of understanding some of the statements of their foreign brethren on points nearly connected with philosophy, *e. g.*, on Transubstantiation.

Nearly synchronizing, however, with the revival of a more definite Theology, has been the revival of metaphysical study. Nor is this revival confined only to a few. Gradually, though surely, it is becoming general; and topics which, not so long since, would have failed to interest the general reader, now find a place in the better class of our periodical literature. Glance over the tables of contents of recent volumes of the *Quarterly*, the *Edinburgh*, or the *Westminster Reviews*, not to mention others of less note, and sufficient evidence of this fact will soon be perceived. Whether there is, to any considerable extent, even a fair amount of information—we do not say knowledge, but information—on these questions, is, of course, another point; all we mean to say is, that there is a growing tendency to read and inquire more about metaphysical subjects, not only amongst

professed students, but also among the general reading public. For this reason alone, it would seem that an Essay on the 'Supernatural,' might fairly be placed among a series of others bearing on Questions of the Day. Twenty, or even ten, years ago, it would hardly have been so proper. Indeed it is somewhat questionable whether, beyond philosophical and theological circles, the word would have been supposed to carry any specially deep or philosophical meaning. At best, it possibly would have been supposed to indicate some discussion on what our mediæval ancestors called 'occult' science. Now, however, it would generally be foreseen that, under the word Supernatural are included many, if not most, of the fundamental principles of those numerous theological questions which, in so singular a manner, arrest the attention of the public at the present time.

It is not Christianity as such, which, openly at least, is assailed now. It is rather the nature of Christianity which forms the subject of the many controversies of the day. Of course, the orthodox Churchman maintains that the attacks of the Neological School are virtually directed against Christianity, against the very vital principle of Christianity, however much his opponents may protest that their only intention is to clear the Christian creed from what they suppose to be later or popular accretions. The Neological party are doubtless very sincere when they state this as their object; but it will hardly, it is to be feared, suffice to clear them from the imputation of being really and implicitly anti-Christian. Strauss and Renan, no less than those amongst ourselves who, at present, only tread somewhat hesitatingly in their footsteps, do not profess to desire to abrogate the Christian system altogether. True, they would eliminate the Christology of the Gospels, and of the Creeds of the Church; but it would be in order to substitute a Christology of their own, a rational instead of a popular system, as they would say. This would indeed seem to be the aim, though possibly often the unconscious aim, of that class of theological thinkers who profess to see the great "advantage derivable to the cause of religious and moral truth, from a free handling, in a becoming spirit, of subjects peculiarly liable to suffer by the repetition of conventional language, and from traditional methods of treatment" (*Essays and Reviews*—Introductory Note). Probably, if we except Positivism, and some few specially eccentric sects, the struggle of the higher form of the 'free thought' of modern Europe, certainly of England, is not against Christianity *per se*, but against what we of course maintain to be the only real and vital Christianity, the Christianity of the Catholic

Church. This is a very different struggle to that of the eighteenth century. Then it was avowedly a pure Deism which 'free thought' was seeking to maintain. Intrinsically, we believe, it is the same now—the same, at least, in the last resort; only the Rationalist of our day either—and this is most frequently the case—shrinks from what is repulsive to his better self, to his conscience; or else is unconscious of the real logical outcome of his method and his principles; or, in a few cases, perhaps, would strive to conceal what he feels must be the ultimate result. His aim is to remodel Christianity, to rationalize it, to deprive it of all mystery: in one word, to naturalize it; to eliminate, that is, its supernatural element.

Now in doing this, we believe that the Rationalist is really destroying the very vital principle of Christianity, so that the system he would substitute for the Creeds of Christendom is a dead and not a living Christianity. That which really differentiates the system of CHRIST from the systems, *e.g.*, of Aristotle, or of the Vedâs, is its Supernaturalism. Not only in origin, not only in the evidences of its authenticity, and in the sanctions of its moral code, is it supernatural; but in its continual progress, in its method, and in its mechanism, does it presuppose and provide for the action of the Supernatural as related to the Natural. The life of the follower of CHRIST is to be, not the life of one who follows a revered preceptor and founder of a society, not a mere natural life. The attempt to describe such a life, and the motives on which it would be based, has been made in language, and with a reverential feeling, which none can fail to admire, by the author of *Ecce Homo*. The sense of unreality which that book leaves upon the mind of the reader, the sense of the complete impossibility of such a natural society as is idealized in its pages ever having existed, or having ever been founded, except in the mind of the writer, is no small testimony to the mental necessity, which it is the purpose of this Essay to maintain that we are under, of conceiving something beyond our present sphere, and distinct as an order of Being, not only from it, but also distinct, as far the creature, whether natural or supernatural, can be, from the Creator of all. But in opposition to that form of Naturalism now prevalent—which, speaking generally, asserts that the whole of Creation, as belonging exclusively to the sphere of the Natural, is known to us, or at least is capable of being known by the same methods of unassisted Reason, as is that portion which man has already succeeded in systematizing and appropriating as known—we desire to show that what we call the Natural is but one portion of a great and perfect whole. And further, we

maintain that that other portion not only has a real and perfect existence, but, in accordance with laws ordained by the Great CREATOR of all, does affect the Natural, and modify its operations, and can, as thus acting, become known to us, only not by Reason, but by Faith.

A further and more cogent reason will now, we think, be evident, why we may justly consider 'the Supernatural' to be a Question of the Day. It is not only the Rationalist School, technically so called—whether external to the Church, or nominally in communion with her—that denies the continual action and reaction which we maintain to be going on, in accordance with Law, between the Natural and the Supernatural. Almost all Non-Catholics refuse to admit the truth of this proposition. All refuse to admit it, in the sense in which it is maintained by the Catholic Church. Various sects of mystics, *e.g.*, the Swedenborgians, have, it is true, from time to time, advanced claims to supernatural powers or to fresh revelations; that is, to an extraordinary knowledge beyond the pale of the Natural. But none have done so on a distinct method, at all analogous to the Catholic system. Here then it is that the real intellectual divergence occurs, not only between the Catholic and the Rationalist; but also between the Catholic, and even the so-called 'orthodox Protestant.' Their fundamental divergence is sometimes stated as the antagonism between the principle of Authority and the right of Private Judgment. This is of course true, but the divergence is even deeper still. The point of view from which the question is thus stated—*viz.*, as one as between Authority and Private Judgment—is the point of view of the *Logic* of the question; that is, of the determination of the grounds of belief; the estimation of the evidence on which we believe. But the *Metaphysic* of the question, that is, the theory of the Being, and Knowing of the subject-matter of belief—the question, in fact, whether it is only a natural system, or whether, on the contrary, it is a supernatural one in which we have to believe—this shows more clearly still the antagonism. This is clearly the more fundamental question; namely, *what* it is that we have to believe, rather than *how* that same is to be known; it is a metaphysical, the latter only a logical, question.

It is from this consideration indeed, that the controversy between Authority and Private Judgment assumes its practical importance. Were Christianity only a natural system, and not a marvellous co-ordination of the two orders of Creation, under the headship of Him who is equally the Creator of both, it would not then be a matter of so vital importance as we now conceive it to

be, whether or not we take our religious belief, as the Catholic says, on authority, or, as the Protestant says, from one's own private interpretation of a written document; that is really, though many a devout Protestant who is better than his creed would shrink from admitting it, from unassisted Reason. A natural system would be rightly learnt, and rightly judged of by Reason. It is the province of Reason to judge of the Natural; with the Supernatural it has no right to interfere. There Faith is our guide, standing in the same relation to it that Reason does to the Natural. And so it is, that the controversy between Catholic and Protestant, no less than that between Catholic and Rationalist, is, from the metaphysical point of view, the Supernatural against the Natural; from the logical point of view, Faith against Reason[1].

But a word here in passing. It may seem harsh, if not mistaken, to class, as the statement above made does seem to class, the Protestant and the Rationalist together on one side, as opposed to the Catholic; especially as many eminent Protestant writers have been very forward in denying the conclusions of Rationalism. We readily acknowledge this; but at the same time we must say, that, in opposing the Rationalist, they merely show that their struggle to obey the dictates of conscience has resulted in preserving their faith on some very essential matters, though often at the expense of their Logic. But this does not free them from that rationalistic character which renders their struggle against the Neologian, only a struggle of one form of Rationalism against another, or of one form of Naturalism against another form. The struggle of the present times is not even a 'triangular duel' of Catholic, Protestant, and Rationalist. It is rather a pitched battle, where on one side is ranged a compact united body—the Catholic Army, maintaining the supremacy in matters of Religion, external as well as internal, of Authority over Intellect, of Faith beyond Reason; and that, because the Catholic Religion consists in a marvellous and mysterious union, and continual and continued action and reaction of the two orders, the Supernatural and the Natural, dating from the commencement of that fundamental mystery, when, at the Annunciation, "THE WORD WAS MADE FLESH[2]." On

[1] In saying this we by no means wish to insinuate that Faith and Reason are necessarily opposed. They are no more so than are the Supernatural and the Natural, of which they are the respective exponents. But when Reason intrudes into the province of Faith, the invasion must be resisted, *vi et armis*.

[2] This statement is not, of course, meant to imply that the Supernatural was not manifested, either ordinarily or extraordinarily, prior to the Annunciation. It is intended, however, to state, that on the mystery of the Incarna-

the other side, there is a large but heterogeneous body, embracing almost every shade of opinion,—from those who accept a large amount of Catholic doctrine, even on the subject of the Sacraments, but who hesitate on the question of the Authority of the Church, down to those who invent and would teach another Gospel, a new Christology,—but who, all alike, though in different degrees, deny the authoritative basis, and refuse in some way to accept the supernatural element in the Church's system.

It seems well to state the matter again in this definite manner,—not through any desire to widen the breach (GOD forbid!) which exists unhappily to so large a degree in faith and practice between Catholic and Protestant,—but in the hope of showing to the latter the evil society in which, logically and inevitably, they must find themselves, if they still continue to choose their religious belief, rather than accept the light and easy yoke of the Church. That evil society is the society of the *professed* Rationalist, of those who, starting from the same insecure position as that occupied by the 'orthodox Protestant'—*viz.*, that of holding to an historical CHRIST only, and a simply historical doctrine of the Incarnation—have, unlike him, followed out their first denial of Authority, their original rejection of an *abiding* Supernaturalism, to the horrible abyss of heresy, in "denying the only LORD GOD, and our LORD JESUS CHRIST" (S. Jude 4), and substituting an all-perfect Man for the Eternal, Incarnate SON OF GOD; who, beginning with interpreting the Sacred text according to their own authority, have gone on to criticise, and proceeded still further to reject, and, in connexion with our present subject, it is highly significant—to reject specially that particular Book which, more than any other, deals with the supernatural character of our Blessed LORD, of His Divine sayings and of His mighty works[1].

tion is based antecedently, as well as consequently, all supernatural communication and relationship. This idea, taken in conjunction with the Catholic doctrine on man's unfallen state, in opposition to the condemned propositions of Baius (see Note on p. 346), would seem to be an argument in favour of the Scotist view as to the Incarnation, which, as far as the writer is aware, has not been generally noticed.

[1] The Gospel according to S. John is, at the present time, the battle-field of Sacred Criticism. Baur and Hilgenfeld have directed their utmost efforts to discredit the "Fourth Gospel" as the production of S. John. In England, a work has lately appeared, by Mr. Tayler (London: Williams and Norgate, 1867), professing to investigate the relation of this Gospel to the other three, and fixing its date at not earlier than A.D. 135. On the other hand, Mr. Liddon, in his *Bampton Lectures*, has done good service; as has also Professor Lightfoot, at Cambridge, in the present course of his professorial lectures—having, during the past Michaelmas Term, thoroughly investigated every passage in the Patristic

It were, indeed, much to be wished that earnest and devout minds could be brought to see, that when they place themselves in opposition to the claims of the Catholic Church to be the possessor of supernatural powers, they are in reality using the same arguments, both logical and metaphysical, that others are using against the honour and Divine claims of Him whom they, as well as ourselves, adore and reverence. But so it is. A wide-spread dislike of supernatural claims is entertained by almost, if not quite, all who refuse to range themselves under the banner of the Church. Indeed, the most prevalent error of our day is a disbelief in the Supernatural. Thoughtful men, for instance, are now beginning to see, that in the present so-called Ritual Controversy it is not a mere question of externals that is at stake, but of certain doctrines which, if true, as we maintain them to be, are of vital importance. Those which are now chiefly attracting attention are the doctrines of the Priesthood and of the Altar. The metaphysic of both of these is the Supernatural. The latter doctrine is the assertion of the fact of the bringing together things earthly and things heavenly, *i.e.*, the Natural and the Supernatural—an operation "wherein things lowest and highest, earthly and Divine, are united,"—the effectuating a change in things Natural, by a method Supernatural—a change, too, which cannot be apprehended according to the order of the Natural, that is, by the senses and the intellect, but according to the order of the Supernatural, that is, by faith. That ritual which most distinctly testifies to, and seems to imply the Supernatural, *e.g.*, lighted candles on the Altar at mid-day, that is most specially obnoxious, most particularly disliked. The common objection made, that "lights in broad daylight are so *unnatural*," is an unconscious admission of the real grounds of the objection. Of course, they are un*natural;* of course it is a most *sense*less thing to light candles, when the mid-day sun is shining brightly, and flooding Altar and Sanctuary with a blaze of natural light. But this is just the point. The Altar candles are lighted, because a supernatural function is to be performed at the Altar, by a Priest endowed with supernatural powers. A *sense*less thing is done, because there are verities and there are operations which cannot be apprehended by sense.

So, also, with other Catholic doctrines. Protestants dislike

Writings which in any way could throw light on the question. And Professor Milligan, in a recent number of the *Contemporary Review*, has shown how the Paschal Controversy affords material assistance to the argument for the Apostolic origin of this Gospel.

to hear about the powers of the Priesthood in Absolution, because it is an un*natural* thing for a man to confess his sins, and lay bare the inmost recesses of his heart before a fellow-sinner; and a *sense*less thing that a man should have the office of the forgiveness of sins. Protestants dislike to hear about the Communion of Saints, about the Intercession of Saints before the throne of GOD, for us who are militant here on earth. They dislike to hear of prayers for the dead in CHRIST. They dislike to hear of the glorious privileges of our Lady, the holy Mother of GOD; they dislike to hear about Angelic Ministrations, about the kindly care of our Guardian Angels. They dislike to hear about asceticism, and the threefold vows, and voluntary mortification; they dislike to hear about a Celibate Priesthood; and they dislike to hear of an infallible Church, before whose decrees, in matters of faith and practice, they must bow themselves down; to whom they must yield an implicit obedience. They dislike all these things, because all alike imply a relation to the Supernatural and to the Unseen, a communion of things natural and things supernatural; and in this they believe not, or, at most, believe only partially; and, consequently, they stumble at the faith, are offended at the full doctrine of the Cross of CHRIST, in the same way, though, as it happens, on different points, as the Rationalist, who equally disbelieving in the Supernatural, stumbles at the doctrine of the "Word made Flesh," and is offended when required to acknowledge and adore, as GOD, Him Whom sense and natural Reason only see as JESUS of Nazareth "passing by" eighteen centuries ago.

Let us now, however, consider this question of the Supernatural a little more distinctly. There are some subjects which we can approach better by a negative than by a positive method, and this is one of them. In the first place, then, by the force of the term, the Supernatural must mean something that is above or beyond nature—or, in technical language, transcends the Natural. We must, therefore, in order to clear the ground for ourselves, inquire what we mean when we speak of Nature or the Natural. It is the more necessary to do this, because these words have been used at various times, and by various writers, in senses which, though not opposed, are yet not always conterminous. "The term Nature," says Sir William Hamilton, "is used, sometimes in a wider, sometimes in a narrower extension. When employed in its most extensive meaning, it embraces the two worlds of mind and matter. When employed in its more restricted signification, it is a synonyme for the latter only, and

is then used in contradistinction to the former. In the Greek Philosophy, the word φύσις was general in its meaning; and the great branch of Philosophy styled physical or physiological, included under it, not only the sciences of matter, but also those of mind. With us the term Nature is more vaguely extensive than the terms physics, physical, physiology, physiological, or even than the adjective *natural;* whereas, in the philosophy of Germany, *Natur*, and its correlatives, whether of Greek or Latin derivation, are, in general, expressive of the world of matter, in contrast to the world of intelligence" (Reid's *Works*, note, p. 216).

But there is another way in which we may analyze the meaning of the word. It may be either taken in an active or a passive sense. In the former case = *forma formans;* in the latter = *forma formata.* It is the former sense in which it is chiefly employed by the Schoolmen. The greatest of them, S. Thomas, uses it in this exclusive signification. This meaning may be further analyzed into Natura *Naturans*, and Natura *Naturata*[1]. By the former they understood the Divine energy, and any plastic agency which might be conceived as subordinate to Him in the work of generation; by the latter, the things so brought into existence, as regards their essence[2]. In the former sense, the word Nature would seldom now be employed by accurate writers; in the latter, the modern equivalent would be quality, or, at the least, property. We fall back, then, on the sense in which Nature = *forma formata:* in this, the "material sense of the word," says Coleridge (*The Friend*, ii. 185, ed. Moxon, 1863), "we mean by it the sum total of all things, as far as they are objects of our senses, and, consequently, of possible experience; the aggregate of phænomena, whether existing for our outward senses, or for our inner sense."

[1] Spinoza thus defines these expressions: "Par *Nature naturante* on doit entendre ce qui est en soi et est conçu par soi, ou bien les attributs de la substance qui exprime une essence éternelle et infinie, c'est à dire, Dieu en tant qu'on le considère comme cause libre. J'entends au contraire par *Nature naturée*, ce qui suit de la necéssité de la nature Divine, ou de chacun des attributs de Dieu; en d'autres termes tous les modes des attributs de Dieu, en tant qu'on les considère comme des choses qui sont en Dieu et ne peuvent être ni être conçues sans Dieu."—*Eth.* i. 29.

[2] "It must be understood that the term 'Nature' is derived from '*nascendo*' (being born). Hence this word is first applied to signify the generation of living things, which generation is called nativity, or birth; so that nature here implies possibility of birth. Then afterwards the term 'Nature' is transferred to denote the principle of this generation; and, because the generative principle is intrinsically inherent in living beings, the word 'Nature' is further applied to denote any intrinsic principle whatever of motion."—*Summa. Theol.* 3. ii., 1. 3c.

This, in general language, seems a tolerably fair representation of what is usually meant by the word Nature. We should prefer to state it, however, more accurately, thus:—By the term Nature, or the Natural, is to be understood the aggregate of phænomena; that is, the Phænomenal, meaning, by the Phænomenal, not only the proper objects of sensation, but also those states of consciousness which are essential portions of our identity, or arise from the presentation, in consciousness, of the object of sensation.

We may analyze Nature into the four following categories[1]:

I. Feelings or states of Consciousness.
II. The Minds which experience those feelings.
III. The Bodies or external objects which excite certain of those feelings.
IV. Successions and co-existencies, likenesses and unlikenesses, between feelings and states of Consciousness.

The Natural is thus co-extensive, objectively, with what, under our present mental constitution, is to us knowable[2], and so, of course, belongs to the Conditioned[3]. But, though the entire Natural is conditioned, it of course does not follow that the entire of the Conditioned is the Natural. Probably we may say that all that is conditioned under both space and time is of the Natural; and, conversely, that the Natural is co-extensive with this Conditioned. This seems, at least, a probable statement, so far that we can advance no greater improbability against it than against all that is included under the conditions of space and time belonging to the sphere of the knowable. But obviously, it would not be true to assert that the Conditioned, as such, must belong to

[1] This is the classification which Mr. Mill gives of all "nameable things;" and we have ventured to appropriate it as an analysis of Nature; cf. Mill's *Logic*, vol. i., p. 83.

[2] Knowable, that is, by Reason, in accordance with our present mental powers and faculties, without any such external help as is implied in a Revelation.

[3] As we shall have occasion to use this word 'conditioned' several times, it may be well for the sake of those readers who may be unacquainted with technical philosophical terms to explain what is meant. We are compelled, by the constitution of our minds, to think of every thing as existing in *space*, and as taking place in *time*. That is, we must think of any object about which we think as being somewhere, and as taking place at some one or more instants of time. Space and time, then, are the conditions under which we think of every thing; and, therefore, every thing which we can know is said to be conditioned. More properly it is our minds which are conditioned; but, for convenience sake, we speak of the things known as "the Conditioned." The Unconditioned, on the contrary, is that which exists absolutely and infinitely, and so cannot strictly be an object of knowledge to us.

the Natural, because we have no grounds for maintaining that Being may not be conditioned otherwise than the present world of the Phænomenal is, that is under space and time. Indeed, as we shall see presently, we have reason to believe the truth to be otherwise. In this view, the sphere of the Natural is defined as a limited portion of the Created; limited specially in relation to man and his capacities. In fact, we may adapt the famous dictum of Protagoras, *Homo mensura omnium;* and say that Man is the measure of the Natural. And by this we understand, not that the Natural is co-extensive with all that Man can be informed of, nor even with all that he can be influenced or affected by, *ab extra,* but that that portion of Being, whether or not it be a distinct order of Creation, which can be known under the conditions of the thinkable, that this, with all its uniformities, co-existences and sequences, together with Man himself, forms, and nothing else forms, what we call the Natural; and relatively to us (and we are only warranted in saying relatively to us) forms a separate sphere of existence, the centre of that sphere being Man; Man the measure of its radius; Man the definition of its surface; Man, according to his mental, not according to his physical capabilities; consciousness, not sensation, the measure he employs—

> "On earth there is nothing great but Man,
> In Man there is nothing great but mind."

Perhaps, however, it may be objected that what are called Laws of Nature seem to point to something more nearly approaching an organic unity, of which man himself is but a part, than the description just given does. Now, the use of the word Law, here, is a very unfortunate one, and has given rise to many misconceptions. "The expression *law of Nature* has generally been employed with a sort of tacit reference to the original sense of the word law, namely, the expression of the will of a superior" (Mill's *Logic,* vol. i., p. 353). But this is not at all the sense in which the word law can be here rightly applied. Whatever theory of causation we may adopt, we have no right to use the word law in any sense as implying obligation, or idea of positive necessity, when speaking of the observed uniformities in nature. Laws of Nature are nothing but the statements of these uniformities reduced to their simplest expression, when ascertained upon what is considered as a sufficient induction; they are only the expression of special observed uniformities which, on the hypothesis of the continued uniformity in the presentation of the phænomena of Nature—itself the

primary law of Nature, as resting on the widest possible induction—can be predicated as certain to occur again, the attendant circumstances being the same. As science advances, the laws of Nature are continually being reduced to simpler and therefore to more formal expressions, and so have a tendency to obscure, more or less, their real origin as nothing but generalizations from observation.

Much of scientific investigation consists in resolving two or more laws into one higher or more general one which includes them, and from which they may be deduced as results. For instance, observation or experiment may show us by a sufficient induction that a set of circumstances, A, are uniformly followed by another set of circumstances, in this case called results, B. The expression of this observed uniformity is called a law of nature, let us call it $\alpha$. Again, by induction we discover that a set of circumstances, C, is uniformly followed by another set of circumstances, results, D; this we express by the law $\beta$. Further investigation and a wider induction at length show that A and C have a common element, M; and also that B and D have a common element, N; and further, that M is uniformly followed by N; this law we represent by $\gamma$. Now, from knowing $\gamma$, we predict, not only the sequence (M, N), but also the sequences or uniformities (A, B) and (C, D). The law $\gamma$ is thus more general than either $\alpha$ or $\beta$; it will also be simpler and more technical; and, moreover, since (M, N) may be a uniformity only to be observed by minute care and patient labour, one not occurring obviously and in every-day life, as we may suppose (A, B) and (C, D) to do, the law $\gamma$ will be expressed in language less familiar than $\alpha$ or $\beta$, and will thus be invested with a degree of remoteness and formality which tends to disconnect it from the numerous facts which it colligates or binds together, and the numerous uniformities of common observation which in simplest form it expresses; and when we hear the law enunciated, we are apt to imagine that it existed prior to, or that it is something independent of, or superior to the phænomena whose sequences it represents, instead of being, notwithstanding its high-sounding title, merely a report of what has taken place, and will, we are justified in assuming, take place again. The word law, in fact, in the expression 'law of Nature,' has no higher meaning than when we speak of the law of progression of an arithmetical or geometrical series, or that of the expansion of an algebraical function. The danger of forgetting the real connexion between a very technically expressed law of nature and the phænomena which it registers, is one which besets, not only the unscientific thinker,

but to guard against which watchfulness is required even on the part of the scientific observer. It is a danger which is very similar to that which mathematical students have to be so often warned of in their use of analysis, and especially the higher forms of it, as applied to physics, the danger of forgetting, in technical expressions, symbols, and representations, the facts intended to be represented.

It has seemed necessary to say thus much on the subject of laws of Nature, because it is so frequently thought to be a sufficient answer to arguments on theological matters, *e.g.*, upon Miracles, or upon the power of Prayer, to assert that the position advanced is contrary to the laws of Nature; as if those laws were pre-ordained formulæ, of binding and efficient force, *ab extra*, upon the phænomena of Nature; instead of being simply convenient registers of past historical experience, and generalizations which at any time may require, as, as a matter of fact, various laws of Nature have from time to time required and received, modification.

We pass now out of the sphere of the Natural, and enter on the more disputed and more difficult ground of the Supernatural. Probably, at the outset we shall be met by the objection, "What can you possibly know about this subject? You have already admitted that, probably, the Natural is co-extensive with all that is conditioned under space and time; and as we are compelled to think every thing as thus conditioned, how can you know any thing beyond the Natural? You have also admitted that the Natural is co-extensive with the rationally knowable, how then will you deal with this Supernatural?" Well, we will for the present postpone the question of knowing, and discuss first that of being. Of course, this is not the proper chronological order, but it is the most convenient; as, otherwise, we should run the risk of dealing with terms, and of using language, whose value we had not settled.

Now, as has been before remarked, the Supernatural must, by the force of the term, mean something above, out of, and beyond the Natural. Hence, every thing that is miraculous is also supernatural; but it does not follow that all that is supernatural is miraculous (*cf.* Bergier, *Dic. de Theol.*, s. v.). This is a mistake which is frequently made, as if the two words were of equal extent. The order of Angelic beings, for instance, is supernatural, because clearly not belonging to that series of phænomena and of uniformities, which, as we have said, constitute with man the Natural. But it would be simply an abuse of terms to call the being of Angels a miraculous being. By

the Supernatural, then, we understand a part of GOD'S Creation, differing from the Natural, as not being under the same necessary conditions with it, and so not knowable by us after the same manner, and by the same method as the Natural; nor as possessing the same sequences or uniformities, that is, in ordinary but incorrect parlance, not governed by the same laws. But when we speak of the sphere or order of the Supernatural, this must be understood in a different manner to our expression, the order of Nature. In that, there is presupposed a certain kind of unity; not necessarily an organic unity, but still a unity. All belonging to the Natural must have the same metaphysic; that is, be thought of under the same conditions. Not so with the Supernatural; that may contain many unities similar, as far as the mere fact of their unity is concerned, to the unity of the Natural. We do not assert this, of course; but merely state its possibility, or even, perhaps, its probability, in order to guard against any notion of supposing the Supernatural an arbitrary order, governed by arbitrary laws. It is not even necessary for us to speculate upon what those laws are, or upon what may be the number or kind of the various unities, which, for aught we know, go to make up the sum total of the Supernatural.

At present we are only asserting its being, and stating generally what we mean by the term[1]. By asserting the Supernatural, we at once assert that the Natural is only one small part of the grand result of creative skill. This may seem, perhaps, to the general reader, not a very advanced point to be contending for. It is in reality, however, a most important one. It is precisely what the Materialist denies; and even the Idealist—the pure Idealist—cannot in any sense admit its objective reality. At most he, perhaps, would not feel himself justified in denying its subjective possibility. But grant this point, grant that, beyond or beside the Natural, there are orders of creation, with their laws, their uniformities,

[1] We may, perhaps, illustrate this conception of the order of Creation, by a reference to familiar symbols of mathematics. Thus let A = Creative Energy. The sum total of created Being is some function of this $= f(A)$. Suppose the natural $= \phi(A)$. The Supernatural $= \phi'(A)$. Then $f(A) = \phi(A) + \phi'(A)$. But $\phi(A)$ is a function of the form $A^n + m\ A^{n-1} + \&c. + m_{n-1}A$, $n$ being a definite, and, as far as the limit of human knowledge is concerned, a determinable number, the whole of scientific investigation consisting in the determination of the different members of the series. But $\phi'(A)$ is a series of the form $\phi_1'(A) + \phi_2'(A) + \&c.$; being, as far as we know, indeterminable; though, from being a created series, not infinite; each member of the series, as $\phi_n'(A)$, being in form similar to $\phi(A)$.

and at once it becomes by no means inconceivable, *à priori*, that we should, in some manner, be informed of their existence; and, further, that those uniformities should intersect, from time to time, those of our own order, and modify them; or even that special and particular uniformities should be established, in which there should be two factors, the one natural and the other supernatural. There is nothing, we say, of *à priori* improbability in this; nor, as we hope to show directly, of *à posteriori* impossibility. That the Natural should not be the sole order of Creation certainly seems, *à priori*, probable. Consider creative energy and volition, whether the idea by which we represent Him to ourselves be as Pure Being, after Hegel, or as a Polarity of the Absolute and the Infinite, after the Kantian and Hamiltonian schools; does it seem probable that He should only have exercised that energy and that volition in one direction, only have created one order of things, when Himself Infinite; only have modified being in one way, when Himself Pure Being, and therefore undirected; only have issued forth once from His own awful Isolation, when Himself Absolute, and the possible source of indefinite extensions and of numberless unities? It does certainly seem that such a limited Creation would have been (to speak reverently) unworthy of the exercise of Divine Volition. Infinite Being implies infinite series of, at least potential, Creation. We can admire, in the spirit of adoration, the self-contained and solemn grandeur of the Isolation of the Creator before Creation; but the same awe-inspired admiration compels the belief that when Creation was begun, it was designed to be upon a scale whose grandeur should in some degree seem commensurate to the Infinite power and Architectonic skill of the Creator. Isolation in the Creator is the ideal of grandeur and sublimity; in the creature, or in creation, it implies weakness, poverty, and littleness [1].

So far for the statement of the Dual Theory (as we may call it) of Creation. Whatever may be thought of its possibility or probability, this at least may be claimed for it; *viz.*, a decided superiority, both on the score of fitness and consistency, no less than of breadth and grandeur, above that scheme which represents God and Nature as the entire of the Universe, and as two

[1] The reader who is acquainted with the late Sir David Brewster's *More Worlds than One*, will observe here a somewhat similar line of thought. Indeed, Sir David's arguments would seem to possess more cogency, as applied to the speculative problem of the Supernatural, than to that singularly vain one of the habitation of the Planets.

independent organic unities; independent now, though the latter deriving its *origin* from the Divine will.

But now comes the question of knowing this Supernatural system of Being. This must be resolved into two subsidiary questions. First, how can the Supernatural be an object of knowledge? Secondly, granting the possibility of the Supernatural being, *ab extra*, by an act of donation, represented in consciousness, how can we be informed concerning it—how can we attain to a knowledge of it?

In the first place, we must say a few words upon what knowledge is. The question is a very old one, and has received answers varying with the particular views of the philosophers who have attempted to solve it. In fact, the most important problems of pure Philosophy are concerned in this answer. There are, however, certain principles upon which all are more or less agreed: The most important of these is what is called the principle of the "Relativity of human knowledge." By this it is meant to express that we can know nothing absolutely or in itself; but only relatively to ourselves, to our own mental powers, faculties, and constitution. Whatever the facts of the Universe may be, they are known to us, not as they are, but as our minds are capable of receiving them. *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis.* Neither mind nor matter can be known as they exist in themselves, but only as they are manifested to us. This is the real meaning of that proposition of Protagoras we before quoted, "Man is the measure of all things"—the measure, that is, to himself. And Aristotle says the same—"Matter is incognizable absolutely or in itself;" and "the intellect knows itself, only in knowing its objects[1]". For instance, in so far as matter is a name for something known, it is a common name for a certain series of phænomena which are exhibited or manifested to us as co-existent. But these phænomena must be conjoined *in* something; we cannot think of them as the phænomena of nothing. But this something, absolutely and in itself, is to us as zero; we can know nothing whatever about it, except as it appears to us.

Thus we say we know what platinum is; that it is heavy, white, moderately hard, solid, almost tasteless, &c. But this is only a description of the various phænomena which platinum exhibits to our different senses. When platinum is present, our

[1] *Metaphy.* vii. 10, and *De Anima*, iii. 5, quoted by Sir Wm. Hamilton, *Discussions*, p. 644, which also see on the Relativity of Knowledge and testimonies of Philosophers thereto; cf. also *Lectures on Metaphysics*, vol. i., lect. 8.

optic nerve, for instance, is affected by a sensation of whiteness; and so, *mutatis mutandis*, with the other senses; and, by combining together, by a mental act, the information which each of these senses gives us, we get a description which is sufficient *for us*; and will, in any subsequent case, generally enable us to recognize platinum. Generally, not universally, because the discoveries of modern chemistry have informed us that platinum is capable of a varied condition, in which it exhibits phænomena very different to what we usually perceive, its colour, for instance, then being black; this renders it clear that of the platinum itself we know nothing. We only know its phænomena, and those not absolutely unchangeable, but relative to our physical and mental constitution. Thus, the phænomena of its white colour depends upon an arbitrary affection of the optic nerve; which we know, from the peculiarity observed in some persons, called colour-blindness, may be modified; and so the object we are contemplating may appear different to different individuals, or even to the same individual at different times, and yet the object itself remains all the time unchanged. In fact, so far are we from knowing any thing about the object in itself, apart from or independent of the phænomena which we perceive, that we do not even see the object, even as it appears extended to our sense of touch. All that we see is an image formed on the retina, which more or less corresponds with the figure of the object as our touch perceives it. This image is a mere flat picture; and vision—which is nothing more than nervous sensation caused by the light reflected from the object in the particular manner on to the back of the eye, and then affecting the brain [1]—can in no way determine by itself whether the object be, *e. g.*, a sphere or a cube [2].

These principles, however well known to, and universally recognized by philosophers, are very little thought of by ordinary people. And, no doubt, the contrary belief has a great share in producing a hesitation in recognizing the possibility of our knowing any thing which cannot be an object of sensation. People who have not been accustomed to try to analyze their own mental operations, powers of thought, and capacities of knowledge, have generally a very firm persuasion that they perfectly know every thing whose properties and phænomena they are acquainted with; and they are, in consequence, very much asto-

[1] How, further, the brain sensation connects with Consciousness is, of course, an unsolved problem.

[2] This fact was abundantly proved by the celebrated and often quoted Cheselden case. (See *Philosophical Transactions*, 1728, vol. xxxv., p. 447.)

nished when they are informed that, not only do they know nothing whatever about those objects in themselves—that they know only the phænomena—but, further, that those phænomena, though a sufficient representation of the objects in themselves for us, as we are at present constituted, may, after all, be very imperfect modes of representation; and, to minds of a higher order than our own, may be very inadequate. Nor can we conclude that, though the knowledge of all being, all existence, must be relative, that this relative knowledge must be relative *to us*. That is, we have no right to conclude that the whole number of the possible or actual properties of Being are as our faculties, or are analogous to them.

Knowledge is thus at the best but imperfect even in respect to objects belonging to the Natural. We see now "but through a glass, darkly." Even the representations which we have of external objects, partial representations as they are, are not even as far as they go perfect. They are tinged, more or less, by the means through which they are made to us. In coming to us through the senses they are distorted, and are never known to us in their native purity. Whatever be the theory of Perception, to which we may adhere, we cannot get away from the fact that we can only know *something* about the object of knowledge; itself we cannot know. Even the phænomena are only known imperfectly; only known as representations. And when we have, as completely as possible, analyzed and systematized the operations which go to make up an act of knowledge, as far as that act is external to Consciousness, we are still very far from having explained all. There is a great hiatus between the last act of sensation, and the first purely mental act. How can the final pulsation of the brain—a modification of extended matter—act on the immaterial, the unextended substance of the mind? That there is a connexion between the two, is perfectly true and obvious; but no satisfactory explanation can be given of it. Any hypothesis which can be formed on the question will, on examination, be found to involve some one, if not numerous contradictions[1]. And yet, without this, how far must we necessarily be from having exhausted the problem of what knowledge is. It is, in fact, impossible for us, as at present

[1] The four celebrated hypotheses which have been advanced on this point are—

I. That of Assistance, or Occasional Causes, by the Cartesians.

II. Physical influence, by the Schoolmen and modern physiological psychologists, such as Mr. Bain.

III. Pre-established Harmony, by Wolf and Leibnitz.

IV. Plastic Medium, of which Cudworth was the modern exponent.

constituted, to get at the bottom of this question. Not the simplest, the most elementary object of the external world, can we really and thoroughly know. No, nor even can we know ourselves. We can analyze, to a certain depth, our mental constitution ourselves, the *Ego;* but even this can only be known as modified; only known by representation; only thought of under the conditions of thought itself. But as every act of knowledge involves both the external object of knowledge and the conscious subject, or, in other words, as "self is an integral and essential part of every object of cognition" (Ferrier, *Institutes of Metaphysic*, prop. 2) this shows the imperfection which attaches to every attempt at knowledge. When, then, we speak of knowing any thing, the statement must be understood in a modified sense, as only implying that we recognize certain representations of certain phænomena, which experience, or a wide induction, leads us to believe to be generally, if not universally—*for us*, as we ourselves are at present constituted—associated with and representative of certain objects or units, if the expression be permissible, of Being. Being, purely, we cannot know; because it must be modified in order that we may be able, even in the most remote degree, to apprehend it; and, directly it is so modified—that is, directly it is capable of rising into Consciousness—it, *ipso facto*, ceases to be pure Being. Hence, to us, as Hegel says, "pure Being is pure nothing," because we can only know it by representation through phænomena, and not in its native purity. Our present mental constitution, being relative, is not analogous to the unrelated. But still, in a certain sense, we do know Being; that is, if we understand *knowing* in the limited sense we have explained as belonging to that word.

At the risk of being tedious, we must repeat this statement about knowledge; as a due appreciation of its value is of great importance. Once more, then, all our knowledge, even of natural objects, is imperfect. We do not, and cannot, at present, know those objects in or by themselves; we only know certain properties of them, which, when manifested to our senses, are called phænomena. And, further, we only know these phænomena by representation; and that not a pure, but a mixed representation—a representation distorted by the agents which exhibit them to the brain, and, possibly, also by the brain itself; not to mention whatever may be the mode of connexion of the final brain pulsation with the mental act. Thus, all human knowledge is relative; relative to the thinking agent, because he is necessarily the standard of his own thinking capacities and powers.

And now we hope that the reader, if he has appreciated this position as to the relativity of human knowledge, will be able to perceive the importance of its bearing upon our present question, namely, "Can we know the Supernatural?" What we contend for is, that this principle, which, be it remembered, is one that is acquiesced in by every school of philosophers, with, perhaps, the exception of a few maintainers of Absolute Identity[1]—this principle, maintained equally by the Realist, the Idealist, and the Positivist, cuts at the root of the objection against our pretending to a knowledge of any thing out of, or beyond, our own proper sphere, the region of Nature. Were it true that our knowledge of the Natural was a real and proper, not an imperfect knowledge; did we really know the objects of natural knowledge in, and by, and for themselves; know them immediately, and as they really are, not in relation to ourselves or by representation—it would then be, we do not say positively impossible, but in the highest degree improbable, that we could have any knowledge of the Supernatural; because this supernatural knowledge would then be a new invention; a kind of knowledge of which our faculties had no experience, to which they were unsuited, and possibly incapable of adapting themselves, or of being adapted, without a thorough radical and constitutional change. For even those who have not hitherto grasped the idea that our natural knowledge is only representative, cannot fail to see that our knowledge of the Supernatural at least must be so. And this, as we have remarked, is the great stumbling-block in the way of many who have not studied the question of knowledge. They are unable to imagine how a natural mind can apprehend supernatural objects, because it seems impossible that those objects can be apprehended in themselves; that they can be known absolutely by themselves; and this seems a bar to all knowledge of them, because it is supposed that the knowledge of the Natural *is* an absolute knowledge—a knowledge of the things themselves, instead of being, as we have repeated, only a relative knowledge.

Our knowledge of the Supernatural, it is true, can only be a knowledge by representation, and only adequate to our present faculties; not adequate according to the mode of the things themselves, or even according to the standard of minds more largely endowed than our own. But then this is no objection to the possibility of a qualified knowledge of the Supernatural,

[1] The theory of Absolute Identity is, that mind and matter are similar and identical modifications of the same substance. An Absolutist, though probably a pure Idealist, may be a Materialist.

because precisely the same must be said, as we have already shown, about the things of Nature; so that the very same objection which would place a bar to our speaking of, or pretending to the possibility of any knowledge of the Supernatural, would equally shut the door against any discussion of the Natural, and would leave our minds to rust and sleep through the ages of Time, because they are incapable of that perfect and only true knowledge of things in themselves which the bright light of Eternity alone can give. In neither case is the knowledge we possess, or can possess, perfect as regards the object of knowledge—be that object natural or supernatural, it matters not—but it is sufficient for us, sufficient, *ad modum recipientis*. This principle we must be careful to bear in mind, and to carry out to its legitimate conclusions. One of the most important of these is the sense in which it is necessary to accept the language of Revelation about the Supernatural, whether contained in Holy Scripture or in the traditions and authoritative standards of the Catholic Church. This language is usually called figurative; so it is—but not in the sense of being unreal. It is figurative as regards the object figured, but not as regards the subject to which that object is figured. That is, the particular language in which the Supernatural Noumenon[1] is represented to us is an accurate description *for us*, and must not be explained away or interpreted by any arbitrary rule of our own invention. This language is figurative, but it is not allegorical. The idea which the particular word employed usually conveys is the truest idea which we are capable at present of receiving of the real supernatural object.

For instance, the description of the supernatural Worship of Heaven, as given to us in the Apocalypse, must be taken literally, if we wish to gain in any degree a true conception of what that worship is; or desire to learn what, in consequence, our worship must be. When S. John tells us he saw seven golden candlesticks and a golden censer, this is no allegorical language, but a perfectly true representation of what really form the *instrumenta* of Angelic Worship. The candlesticks and censer are to us the Phænomena of the Noumena which the Angels use, representatives, that is, of the true things in themselves, and which are represented to them even, for aught we know, under some Phænomena, though Phænomena totally different to what are given to us; Noumena, things in themselves, which He

[1] This term is the most convenient for use as the correlative of *Phænomenon*. Noumenon is the thing in itself; that whose Phænomenon (what appears) is alone known to us.

Who is the Object of Worship to all, alone knows in their native purity. But if, instead of accepting in its obvious sense this language, which, we must remember, the HOLY SPIRIT Himself has used for our instruction, we endeavour to find some other meaning for it, we shall inevitably miss the true idea which has been figured to us under these particular names. We shall miss it as certainly as if we refused to take the literal meaning of words in which a friend should describe to us some scene on earth, because we knew that language was inadequate to represent the truth of things in themselves. The language in which the Supernatural is described to us is figurative; but so too is the language in which the Natural is described, because it only represents a figured conception—that is, a conception by figure, or representation—of the reality, which we cannot apprehend.

Inadequate all finite, all natural language must be to describe the Supernatural; but sufficient, in some cases, *for us*. The idea which is conveyed to us by the words of the HOLY GHOST must be an idea truly analogous to the reality which He knows—knows in the full and proper sense of the word. It seems of the highest importance to dwell on this point, because at the present day there is the same unhappy tendency to explain away all language about the Supernatural as 'figurative' as there is to make the word 'spiritual,' almost equivalent to fanciful, unreal, or imaginary. The language is figurative, though only in the same way, though, perhaps, not in the same degree, in which all language about Being, whether natural or supernatural, must be figurative. Figurative, in this sense, is not equivalent either to symbolical, or typical, or allegorical. The worship of the Temple at Jerusalem was symbolical of the offering on Calvary; typical of the worship of the Catholic Church, which was the reality on earth—that is, the Natural reality—succeeding it, even as the worship of the Heavenly Choir is the antitype in heaven, the supernatural reality correlated to the natural; and intertwining with it, and forming one consistent, one marvellous, mysterious whole. No doubt the idea we receive is very far short of what the reality is; but suffice it for us that the HOLY GHOST has seen fit to convey that idea to us; that idea, *viz.*, which the words usually suggest. Any attempt to substitute another idea is to be wise above that which is written, it is to doubt the wisdom of Him Who speaks to His creatures that language which He sees to be most analogous to their constitution, and most capable of conveying to them the conception of that which to Him is infinitely more clear than the lowest

phænomenon is to us; and we must now be content to "see through a glass, darkly," content to accept such images as He gives; and not proudly reject them, because they seem dark, and are not the realities themselves. Rather, we must first, while here in this world of phænomena, become familiar with the images and figured conceptions, or otherwise we shall be unfitted hereafter to know the realities in the bright and unclouded world of Pure Being.

Thus, then, it appears that there is no ground for asserting the *à priori* impossibility of a knowledge of the Supernatural, if we limit the signification of the word 'knowledge' in the same manner as it is necessarily limited, even in the case of natural objects. We have seen that the same objection in kind which can be made against a supernatural, will equally lie against a natural knowledge. It remains now to consider how we can become possessed of this knowledge of the Supernatural, and how we can be assured of the truth of the knowledge offered us. The answer to these two questions is, that we became possessed by donation, by a Revelation; and the ground of our certitude is Faith, "the evidence of things not seen," *i. e.*, of the Supernatural, coinciding with the credential evidence of miraculous power on the part of the informant. We need say but little on the question of a Revelation. If we are to know any thing about the Supernatural, it is evident that that knowledge must come to us from without. By the very supposition itself, the things about which we are to know are not of that sphere in which Reason exercises the office of judge. All that Reason can have to say on the matter is, whether or not the credentials of the messenger are consistent. Either the Supernatural can be learnt of by Reason, or it cannot. If it can be, then, *cadit quæstio*, we need argue no further. If not, then Revelation is necessary. The first hypothesis is, of course, absurd.

Granted, then, the possibility of knowing the Supernatural, a Revelation is necessary to give us the knowledge; but on what grounds are we to believe the message so revealed? Now a common answer which has been made to this question is, that we believe on the evidence of Miracles. We are convinced, however, that, both logically and theologically, this position is erroneous. And strange as it may sound, we believe that Hume did good service to the cause of supernatural, that is real and vital, Christianity, by his attack on this, in his time, usual method of defending the truth of the Christian Religion; *viz.*, by an exclusive *à posteriori* appeal to Miracles. We are convinced that the real and only ground of certitude is Faith. As the object of

knowledge is beyond Nature, so is the basis of belief different from that which is concerned about natural things. Did our knowledge of the Supernatural rest for its validity upon the evidence of Miracles, it would be difficult to see why S. Paul should assert Faith to be the evidence of things not seen. Space of course precludes our going into the question of Hume's objection, nor is it necessary to our argument to do so. Suffice it to say that most, if not all, of the replies that have been made to him seem to be more or less unsatisfactory, chiefly because proceeding from what would appear to be an erroneous estimate of the purpose of a miracle, and also from a certain misapprehension of the real nature of his argument. His objection to Miracles was incidental to his argument as to the nature and validity of inductive proof; and we are certainly inclined to go with Mr. Mill to a considerable extent, when he says (*Logic*, vol. ii., p. 162), Hume "must be considered to have made out that no evidence can prove a miracle to any one who did not previously believe the existence of a Being or Beings with supernatural power." That is, in other words, Faith first, then Miracles. Hume's arguments were in no wise directed against the possibility of miracles, or the possibility of a manifestation of the Supernatural, but simply tended to invalidate the position that Miracles, *per se*, are to an unbeliever sufficient evidence on which to found belief. To a man destitute of the gift of Faith, a miracle has no more value than a syllogism has to a man destitute of the gift of Reason. Faith is to the supernatural life what Reason is to the natural. And it is no valid objection to this principle to say, that according to it there is for the wilful sceptic or the professed unbeliever no objective process of demonstrative argument; unless, indeed, it can be maintained that the Creator is under any obligation to vindicate Himself to His creatures—a proposition which can best be met by the indignant denunciation of the Apostle: "Shall the thing formed say to Him that formed it, Why hast Thou made me thus?"

Faith is a free gift from God, fitting us to receive supernatural verities. Without it, we are, indeed, imperfect; and, in view of what is our proper end, our being is but distorted. To the Supernatural, such a man stands in the same relation as the idiot does to the Natural. And as we often see a man lose the gift of reason by a misuse of his faculties, that is, by a disregard of the order of Nature; so is Faith destroyed in many a soul by the misuse of the gift of grace—by disregard of the order of the Supernatural.

But to the man in whose heart is implanted the germ of the

gift of Faith the evidence of Miracles is of the highest value, not, indeed, as teaching him the existence of the Supernatural, but as affording him proof of the authenticity of the message which the miracle-worker delivers to him, and of his authority to deliver it[1]. That this is the real proper office of Miracles, seems to be shown by the facts of our LORD's ministry. Probably the greater number of His mighty works were performed—though most are unrecorded by the Evangelists—in those cities where He specially says the greatest unbelief subsequently prevailed. "Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes." It is impossible to suppose that those mighty works were done as evidences to convince those unbelievers; but rather as confirmations of the faith of the Disciples. And it is noteworthy that Miracles succeeded the calls of the Apostles. For instance, S. Peter followed CHRIST long before he had seen any miracle; and afterwards, when the miracle on the Lake of Galilee was worked in his presence, it confirmed his faith, indeed; but that faith he had before exhibited, not only when he followed our LORD at Jordan, but when, in obedience to His command, he thrust out from the shore, "and let down the net for a draught."

But of course the fact of a miracle being wrought, brings with it a moral responsibility to all in whose presence it takes place. An unusual event occurs, and the person by whose agency it seems, at least, to have been effected, claims, at the same time, to have worked by supernatural means, and to be the deliverer of a supernatural message. None can safely refuse to investigate his claims. None who witness that miracle can be acquitted of the moral, ay, and of the intellectual obligation too, of at least weighing the message that is brought. And we may well rest

[1] This same position, arrived at independently some time since by the writer, is advanced by Archbishop Trench. "The miracles are to be the credentials for the bearer of [the] good word, signs that he has a special mission for the realization of the purposes of God in regard of humanity. When the truth has found a receptive heart, has awoke deep echoes in the innermost soul of man, he who brings it may thus show that he stands yet nearer to God than others, that he is to be heard, not merely as one that is true, but as himself the Truth, or, at least, as a messenger, standing in direct connexion with Him Who is the Truth, claiming unreserved submission, and the reception, upon his authority, of other statements which transcend the mind of man—mysteries which, though, of course, not *against* that measure and standard of truth which God has given unto every man, yet which cannot be weighed or measured by it."—*Miracles*, pp. 24, 25.

assured that from none who honestly act on that obligation will the gift of Faith be withheld.

A Miracle, then, is a manifestation of the Supernatural; and, in this sense, is not improperly said to be unnatural [1]; but not, therefore, impossible, nor, indeed, a violation of the usual uniformity, called a Law of Nature, with which it is brought in contact. There is no antagonism between the two. The Miracle is simply a new fact, a bringing in of an additional agency, the superadding of a further element in the series, by which the usual effect is of course, for that particular occasion, modified. It is this fact of the addition of a new element that clears the Miracle from the charge of being a violation of natural Law. That charge could only be rightly preferred if an unusual result followed the same sequence of identical elements which, at another time, produced the usual effect. But it is not so. The series, though containing the same natural elements, has become, by virtue of the supernatural addition, really, though supersensibly, a different series. The law of Causation is not violated because the supernatural—unnatural, if you will—effect has had an adequate, because partially supernatural, cause. The equilibrium of the equation which expresses the mental necessity has not been disturbed.

Miracles are not the only manifestation of the Supernatural. As we said before, all that is miraculous is supernatural; but not all that is supernatural is miraculous. The miraculous is the extraordinary way in which the Creator of all manifests the Supernatural to His creatures; but the Sacramental is the ordinary method. Here we may properly say that the Supernatural is brought into contact with us, according to law. That is, God has ordained that certain acts should be followed by certain results, not in the order of Nature, but in the order of Grace. He has established certain uniformities in a supernatural order. For instance, according to the Divine appointment, in the Holy Eucharist, there is established a definite uniformity, a supernatural law; *viz.*, that following the recitation of certain words, and the performance of certain actions, by a certain person—a Priest—what was naturally bread and wine becomes, supernaturally, the Body and Blood of Christ. A new

[1] We are compelled to differ from Archbishop Trench on this point; he says, "The miracle is not thus, *unnatural*, nor can it be; since the unnatural, the contrary to order" (*sc.* of Nature). Yes, but the Unnatural is not necessarily contrary to Nature, it may be above Nature; these are the two alternatives. But we are in accord with the Archbishop when he condemns the mistake of speaking of Miracles as *violation* of the natural Law. See *Miracles*, p. 15.

uniformity was established at the institution of this Sacrament. Whereas, before, it universally followed that a certain series of accidents always marked the presence of a certain substance, it now, under certain accurately determined circumstances, is true that this same series is associated with a different substance. The change which is thus wrought in the elements by Consecration, is a supernatural change, though occurring within the sphere of the Natural; because the substance of a natural object is itself natural, though supersensible. The cause and the effect are alike supernatural, and can neither be discerned by natural means. But this change is not contrary to Nature; that is, it is not a violation of natural law; because a new element is brought into the series by a higher agency, and the new effect is not without its adequate cause[1].

The same idea of law holds good in regard to the whole Sacramental system. That system is a Divinely constituted order, whereby, in accordance with law—that is, not fitfully, but by ascertained uniformity and sequence—the natural man is brought into contact with, and affected by supernatural means and causes, and by them supernatural effects are wrought in him. In all except the Holy Eucharist, man is the only natural object which is affected by the Supernatural. In that most august Sacrament, even in the natural inanimate creature a change is wrought by the supernatural cause; thus giving, as the Council of Trent pointed out, a special character of its own to the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

Space forbids our discussing more particularly the supernatural character of the Sacraments, or that which it is their purpose to originate and sustain—the supernatural life of Man. The Christian has, indeed, a twofold life to lead, the life of Nature and the life of Grace; that supernatural life which began in the supernatural law of Regeneration at the Font[2], and whose vitality is sustained by like supernatural means.

[1] It would be beside our present purpose to enter on the question here; but we trust the reader will perceive how the principle of the Relativity of Knowledge is a complete answer to the objection against a certain set of accidents being associated with any but their usual substance. See p. 335.

[2] In order to guard against any possible misconceptions on the subject of the Supernatural life, we may remind the reader that Theology distinguishes five possible states:—

1. The state of Nature.
2. That of Integrity.
3. That of superadded supernatural Grace.
4. That of the Fall.
5. That of the Grace of Redemption.

To sum up—we have endeavoured to set forth the twofold order of God's creation as that most consonant with His Immensity and His Absolute Being; this twofold order being the Natural and the Supernatural. We have shown the former to consist in certain defined uniformities analogous to man's mental constitution, and so forming a certain unity; the latter we have seen reason for supposing to consist in a multiplicity of such unities. We have seen that so far is our knowledge of the Natural from being an absolute knowledge, a knowledge of things in themselves, that we have no grounds for rejecting the possibility of knowing the Supernatural, because such knowledge would have to be utterly unlike our natural knowledge; but rather that both are only representative. We have, then, seen that the ground of our certitude is Faith, which is in its turn confirmed by Miracles, themselves but the extraordinary manifestations of the Supernatural, of which the Sacraments are the ordinary means of communication.

And not only do we maintain that this idea of Supernatural intercommunication, both extraordinary, as in the case of Miracles, and according to Law, as in Sacraments, is the only idea which can save Christianity from becoming, under the manipulation of a ruthless criticism, a mere human system, in no way superior to the ideal societies of the great heathen moralists; but that, further, those who reject this idea in the case of Sacraments, have really already in theory, though we gladly believe their faith has often preserved them from doing so in practice, reduced the Religion of Christ to a body of formalism. If a supernatural life be not given in Baptism, what an empty form is gone through at the font! If a supernatural change be not made in the Elements in the Holy Eucharist, by the Consecration, what a deed of formalism that Consecration must be! But not only is the Christian who denies the constant effects of the Supernatural, who imagines God and Nature to fill up the Universe, who thinks that Man and his little order are the sole creation of an Omnipotent Creator—not only is he cutting the ground from under his feet, as a Christian; but as a man he lowers himself; he eliminates the true idea of beauty and perfection from the Universe, the

Adam, before the fall, existed in the first three states; having been either in the first instant of his creation, or immediately afterwards, endowed with supernatural Grace. This the Church has defined, in opposition to the heresy of Baius (Props. 14 and 21). See Bergier, s. v. Baius; and, for a plain explanation of the whole subject, Faber's *The Creature and the Creator*, p. 48 *et seq.*

idea of duality in unity, the idea of progress towards perfection, not only the utmost conceivable in our own order, but upwards towards a higher—he denies those aspirations which are not answered by a natural progress, which is not a progress, but only a repetition of a ceaseless cycle; he quenches the light of truth within his consciousness—that truth, as has been well said (Mrs. Browning, *Aurora Leigh*, p. 302), which points man out of self:—

"The truth which draws
Through all things upwards; that a twofold world
Must go to a perfect cosmos. Natural things
And spiritual,—who separates those two
In art, in morals, or the social drift,
Tears up the bond of nature and brings death,
Paints futile pictures, writes unreal verse,
Leads vulgar days, deals ignorantly with men,
Is wrong, in short, at all points.
Without the spiritual, observe,
The natural's impossible;—no form
No motion!
And in this twofold sphere the twofold man
Holds firmly by the natural, to reach
The spiritual beyond it,—fixes still
The type with mortal vision, to pierce through,
With eyes immortal, to the antitype
Some call the ideal,—better called the real,
And certain to be called so presently,
When things shall have their names."

EDMUND G. WOOD.

# On the Composition and Choice of Ecclesiastical Music.

In the Second Series of *The Church and the World* was pointed out the gradual deterioration of Church Music, and the difficulty of reviving a healthy and correct taste and style. The remarks which were therein made seem to invite the expression of several thoughts on matters of detail in that interesting and important subject; interesting by reason of its capacity to edify the faithful and excite devotional feelings, and important by reason of its enhancing the intrinsic value of that service, which it is man's bounden duty to offer to Almighty God, and to offer in the best possible way.

It would appear that the whole of Church Music has been in a continual state of flux, and is even now scarcely settled. This is not surprising when we remember what enormous developments that art has received, and how it has been, so to speak, all but revolutionized. In the early ages Music was a mere art, the art of putting together sounds so as to form a melody; the only scientific treatment being the proper divisions of the strings of musical instruments, so as to produce the several notes of the scale with correct intonation, and other such like matters. But in what are usually, but wrongly, called the "Dark Ages," the important discovery of Harmony was made; and then Music acquired the dignity of a science of itself, and the words "Music" and "Harmony," used scientifically, have become all but synonymous and convertible terms. The magnitude of the change thus introduced it is impossible to avoid seeing at once. It has always been the characteristic of the Church, arising from her plurality in unity, her being multiform n different times and places, and yet preserving her intrinsic identity, to accommodate herself to all circumstances, and to adopt all things that are not wrong in themselves and are available, and utilize them for the service of God. Hence it is no wonder that the newly-discovered science should have been cherished by the Church, and the character of the musical rendering of her offices considerably modified. But, as in the case of other sciences, so in this also, long time had to elapse before Music could be said to have been reduced into

order and rule. Numerous experiments had to be made by the bolder geniuses of their time, some successful, others the reverse. We can imagine the delight which the discovery caused; and although we may smile at the idea, and feel our ears tortured at the bare imagination of the intolerable noise that constituted a Mass written by some author in seconds throughout, we should remember that it was as much by such failures as this, as by the more successful experiments, that the science assumed a manageable form.

Hence, then, a considerable part, probably the greater part of the Middle Ages was taken up with the infancy of the science; and we may, I think, assume the fifteenth century as the age from which to date the use of Music in something like a settled way, with the accessories of descant and counterpoint, and with some degree of canon and fugue. But since that time theorists have advanced, principles more fundamental have been discovered, new combinations have been invented, and it is even now a matter of doubt whether still more remains to be brought to light. Besides this, the art of melopœia was naturally stimulated. Then, again, the revival of learning in the sixteenth century, and the rendering of sciences and arts more accessible to the mass of the people could not but have had a great effect on the science and art of Music; and from that time we can see clearly the separation of Music into two classes, sacred and secular, although that separation was then but very partially effected. To instance three authors of the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, will explain this in the most satisfactory manner. So far as I can judge, Orlando Gibbons may be described as a writer of Ecclesiastical and Sacred Music. His madrigal, "The Silver Swan," might very fairly pass muster as an anthem; and "Oh that the learned poets" is of sacred character, not only in music, but in words also. On the other hand, John Wilbye may be described as a secular writer; the only two extant compositions of his that may in any wise be considered as sacred, *viz.*, the motetts, *I am quite tired with my groans*, and *O God, the Rock of my whole strength*, differ scarcely at all in style from his madrigals; and as to what they are, no comment is needed from me. Thomas Weelkes seems most fully to have appreciated the difference between sacred and secular Music at that time. The two anthems of his, published some years since by the Musical Antiquarian Society, are as different in style from his madrigals, as Gibbons is from Wilbye; and therefore I may remark, in passing, that it is a great desideratum that a complete collection of Weelkes's works

should be published, before the rare or unique copies of them, now known to exist, should disappear.

It is well known how debased the taste became in the subsequent centuries; how musicians had to write to order, and please the corrupt taste of patrons or the public. We know how, in England, it was considered unfit for a gentleman to be suspected of being able to perform on a musical instrument, and that music was considered the only sensual pleasure without vice; and that on the Continent much the same state of things prevailed; and that men of the calibre of Haydn and Mozart were looked upon as being in the social status of the Archbishop's footman or cook. This secularized the usual Church Music of that day, and hence both English and foreign writers are to be cited for such purposes, more from the exceptional than from the usual works they produced; from the works which they wrote spontaneously and for their own edification, and without any external pressure: such works, for example, as Bach's *Mass in B minor*, Handel's *Israel in Egypt*, and Mozart's *Requiem*; and amongst our own composers by their "Full," rather than their "Verse" anthems. But all this shows that there is no one time which we can, without any qualification, assign as that in which Church Music was so absolutely perfect as to be a standard to which we ought to conform. The Elizabethan era, the epoch of Palestrina, Tallis, and Gibbons, is the only one which has with any plausibility been assigned for that purpose; and the remarks already made will show that in some respects that is deficient, and anyhow we are thus precluded from profiting by the discoveries of later times. Had the science of Music been perfected at that time, it might have been assigned for an absolute standard; but as this is not the case, the question must be considered as still *sub judice*, and be dealt with on its own merits.

In Robert Schumann's *Advice to Young Musicians*[1] occur the following important maxims: "Highly esteem the Old, but take also a warm interest in the New. Be not prejudiced against names unknown to you." This is a fair exposition of the principle which actuated the Revisers of the English Church Offices before the pernicious influence of the Continental Protestants was brought to bear on them. It was the principle on which the Musical Revision was carried on by Marbeck here, and Palestrina

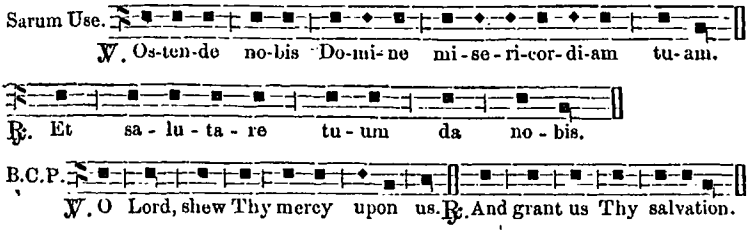
[1] This work deserves a special notice, as inculcating the study of Music on something analogous to religious principles. A friend once observed of it, that with very little accommodation of phraseology it would make an admirable theological manual.

at Rome; and it is the principle which must be adopted if any satisfactory result is expected to be attained. The subject must be dealt with on a broad basis—the canons of acceptance of Music for the Church being intrinsic excellence and practicability; the canons of refusal being secularity of style, flimsiness of construction, or association with words of a distinctively non-religious or vicious character, or with ideas and accessories that are calculated to turn the mind from a frame of devotion to thoughts that savour of any place rather than of the Sanctuary.

No man who is disposed to speak slightingly of the musical worthies of old, of such men as Marbeck and Tallis, has a right to expect much weight to be attached to his opinion. In what has now to be advanced, I hope that I shall not be thought to be erring in this respect, as I am not conscious of any want of reverence towards their names. Still this is perfectly compatible with an intelligent and independent investigation of the question, and a perception of faults in them, especially when we remember that from the faults of great men we may learn almost as much as from their excellences.

The only English music-book of the Church that possesses any authority is that of John Marbeck, put forth under the auspices of Archbishop Cranmer, and which provided the Plain Song for the Church Service, and Gregorian tones for the Psalms and Canticles. The principle on which Marbeck was directed to proceed was to provide that, "as near as might conveniently be," the music and the words should fit note for syllable. It may be doubted whether in a few instances of his adaptations of the Gregorian tones he did not restrict himself too closely, and whether he might not well have sheltered himself under the limitation above spoken of. But in the Versicles and Responses, I cannot avoid thinking that he fell into an error: although I would not have his work appear to be other than it is; as, in the case I have to adduce, the error is more than counterbalanced by the evidence which it affords of the principles on which his adaptation of the Plain Song to English words was conducted.

The Latin rules of the cadence of the Plain Song were these: (1). When the Versicle ended with a polysyllabic word, a descent of a minor third was made from the reciting note. (2). When it ended with a monosyllabic word, after such descent, an ascent of a whole tone was made. These rules were literally adopted by Marbeck, as the following deviation of his from the old Plain Song distinctly proves:—




But about that time the revival of classical literature produced the effect of an attempt to Latinize the English language in form; hexameters and elegiacs were in great vogue for versifying, the character of which, and their suitableness to the English tongue, may be judged of by the parody with which Shakespeare satirizes them:—

"Sir—I do invite you too; you shall not say me nay: *pauca verba.* Away! The gentles are at their game, and we will to our recreation."

It is not a matter of surprise, then, that an important consideration respecting our language should have been lost sight of in a servile and too literal obedience to the Latin rules. In Latin every word carries an accent, which is always on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable, excepting only in monosyllabic words and Hebrew proper names, which bear the accent on the ultimate. But there are a few monosyllabic words, the enclitics, such as *que* and *ve,* which have no accent at all, and are written as part of the previous word, and, therefore, come under the polysyllabic law. In English the number of such unaccented monosyllables is much greater; but they, not being attached to the previous word, render necessary an accommodation of the Latin rule of inflection. In English the use of the pronoun, emphatically or unemphatically, is analogous to the Greek. When unemphatic they become enclitic words, although not so written: hence, therefore, they become subject to the polysyllabic law; and, in the instance given above, the inflection of the Sarum use suits the versicle "O Lord, show Thy mercy upon us," far better than that which the literal rule gave to it in Marbeck. Any one may test this for himself, by comparing this same inflection used for "O Lord, save the Queen" with the one under consideration.

As in all other departments, so also in that of Music, there are endless evidences of undue haste in the work of revision that took place in the sixteenth century. It was probably necessary to put forth something, at once, as a material

to work upon, and (it may perhaps be said) to develope from. The adaptation of the Plain Song was put in hand at once. Not only Marbeck, but the Archbishop himself undertook that task. But the Hymnology of the Mediæval Church was passed over, confessedly on the ground of inability to translate in a satisfactory manner; and therefore, by implication, was handed over to successors who might be more fortunate in that respect. The musical results thus attained were the provision of what was considered *absolutely necessary* for the due celebration of the Divine Services, in analogy with the Ritual form of that revision. The Sarum Use, which was, by ordinance of the Canterbury Convocation, compulsory over the whole of that province, was arranged on the scale of what might be done at the celebrated and illustrious Church from which it received its name; not from the available force at any country church or chapel. Such a Rubric as this: "Accedat Sacerdos *cum suis Ministris* ad gradum Altaris, et dicat ipse confessionem, *Diacono assistente a dextris, et Subdiacono a sinistris,*" might be very practicable and usual in Salisbury Cathedral; but it is impossible to imagine this obeyed literally, in the Middle Ages, in every Parish Church. So again, "Septem pueri eminentiores simul cantent hymnum," *viz., Gloria, laus et honor.* "Chorus idem repetat post unumquemque versum." And, "Tres clerici de superiori gradu incipiant prosam sequentem," *viz., Salve festa dies;* are Rubrics manifestly referring to Conventual, Collegiate, and Cathedral Churches, and not to Parish Churches served by a single-handed Priest, with but a scanty number of parishioners, and next to no material to form a choir. The Sarum Use, then, was drawn up on a *maximum* standard. But at the Reformation, as the country Clergy were those who most needed information and direction, naturally enough the English Prayer-Book was drawn up on a *minimum* standard, and applied to the case of the country Priest, single-handed, performing the Service without assistants, without choir, and, at most, with one 'acolyte' or 'clerk.' Such cases must have existed, and in no small numbers, and they needed the most plain legislation. But for others more fortunately situated, the *minimum* directions of the Prayer-Book were naturally supplemented by the traditional use already known, and from which it was professed that no departure was intended to be made.

Thus we find the practice of metrical psalm and anthem-singing to have been a fact in the Elizabethan age; the former used as analogous to the old Hymns, as yet untranslated; and again we find the Plain Song of the Church enveloped with

harmonies by Thomas Tallis. The intrinsic excellence of this production of Tallis is by all acknowledged. But it is, perhaps, unnoticed that there is internal evidence of its having been tampered with by successive editors. It has been forgotten by them, apparently, that these harmonizations were not to supersede but merely to embellish the Plain Song. And so we see in the Tenor, where the Plain Song is made by Tallis to reside, jumps backwards and forwards from G (the usual reciting note) to B and C, which bear upon them at once marks of spuriousness. Again, in the version of Tallis's *Preces, &c.*, as we possess them, the Plain Song is not uniformly made to reside in the Tenor. This was the usual custom in Tallis's own time, as we know from Este's Psalter. But in the revised edition of the *Preces*, by Dr. Boyce, we find not only the mangling of the Plain Song, just described, but transpositions of it. In the Versicles and Responses it is in the Tenor. At the beginning of the Litany it is put into the Soprano. At "We beseech Thee to hear us, Good LORD," it returns to the Tenor. At "O LAMB of GOD" it is again in the Soprano. At the following KYRIE Eleison, it returns again to the Tenor. Does not all this point to a great paucity of material, from which the subsequent editors of Tallis had to draw? And when we consider the wholesale destruction of Choir-books that took place at the Great Rebellion, must it not be admitted that, at best, Tallis's *Preces, &c.*, come before us in a fragmentary and mutilated form, collected probably, in part from one Cathedral, and in part from another? and by consequence, that although we must respect the name of Tallis as one of the greatest of English Church musicians, yet we are not necessarily bound to accept implicitly whatever his subsequent editors have given to us under his name? I fear that it is hopeless to expect to obtain a genuine edition of Tallis's *Preces;* the necessary materials being probably destroyed. In default of this, the Church Musicians ought, I apprehend, to undertake the business now of settling the Plain Song, under the principles which we know Marbeck adopted, and supplementing those parts of Tallis which are wanting (for, in my judgment, that is the easiest theory of accounting for the present form of Tallis's *Preces*) using the greater information which has been attained to, and carrying out that task in a conservative spirit.

There are three classes of compositions which S. Paul recognizes as available for devotional use in the Church. They are Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs. That by the first is meant the adoption of the Psalms of David, for use in Christian worship, there can be, I imagine, no doubt; and by the other is meant

original Christian compositions: and these terms, being of Greek origin, would seem to indicate that they were written in metre, and treated in an analogous way to all previous compositions of such structure when publicly performed. It would be impossible to say for certain what the distinction was between Hymns and Spiritual Songs; but it will not be unreasonable to assume that it consisted in this—that the Hymn was a composition written in such metre as Elegiac, Iambic, Sapphic, or the like; and which therefore could be arranged into invariable periods of moderate length: such, for example, as the two hymns which Dr. Neale cites in his *Essay on Liturgical Quotations, viz., Awake, thou that sleepest, &c.*, and *Death is swallowed up in victory, &c.*; and that the Spiritual Song was of a more extended character, perhaps of Strophe and Antistrophe, like the Greek Choral Odes, of a metre that at first sight would appear altogether irregular, or, at least, of complicated law; such, for example, as the Creed[1], the Gloria in Excelsis, or the φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης.

All these terms imply the presence of Music. That the Psalms were intended to be used with musical accompaniment is unquestionable. They bear their own evidence of it; and indeed the primary meaning of the word ψάλλω is such as to render it a contradiction in terms that a Psalm should not be associated with Music. And the public performance of Hymns and Odes amongst the Greeks is equally unquestionable; and, consequently, unless the same practice were accepted by the first Christians, the use of such terms as these cannot well be accounted for. Now, while Latin and Greek poetry consisted of a metrical and rhythmic arrangement of syllables, Hebrew poetry consisted in the parallelism of ideas. Hence the translation of the Psalms became prose, not verse; and it is almost impossible to conceive the Psalms correctly and adequately rendered in any metrical version whatever.

Three distinct classes of Ecclesiastical Music will therefore be necessarily found to exist.

The first, which must be obviously the simplest, to suit prose: owing to the utter absence of any equality of time in the periods of this, it will be necessary for it to consist of a recitation note, followed by a cadence; an intensifying of what would always be observed in good and intelligent reading. Such is the Chant, which is essentially a recitative; and it is important to observe that the recitation note is not an introduction to the cadence, but the cadence is the finishing off of the recitation note.

[1] See Pliny's celebrated Letter.

The second kind will be that to suit a metrical composition arranged in invariable periods or stanzas: here the element of equable duration of time comes in to the fullest extent, and this will constitute the hymn tune, or Chorale.

The third kind will be for the more elaborate Ode or Spiritual Song, and therefore must be of a more ornate kind than the preceding, and more irregular in the respect of periods: under this head will come Anthems, Motetts, Sacred Songs, and indeed all Ecclesiastical Music, including purely instrumental Music.

Of the Chant, two varieties are known to exist, the Gregorian and the Anglican; and in the last century the Anglican Chant received the development of being doubled. But as the several verses of the Psalms do not run in pairs, it is plain that the use of Double Anglican Chants is a corruption, and indeed it is now generally acknowledged so to be by those whose opinions are entitled to respect. But respecting the Single Anglican and the Gregorian Chant, opinions have been divided, and the question has been discussed with more or less of acrimony. A great deal of worthless matter has been said and written on both sides of the question: on the one hand, from those who claim Divine Inspiration for the Gregorian Chants, and conclude that to invent any other is an act of presumption and profanation; and, on the other hand, that they are essentially "Popish," and that to use them is as great a sin as several other things practised in the Roman obedience are alleged to be [1].

Now, to the first position, it may be answered that all good Music is an inspiration. The composition of it is the greatest act of creation which a man can perform, the bringing into existence that which was not before. It is one of the most obvious marks of the Divine image in which man was made. Hence, in the Book of Ecclesiasticus (chap. xliv.), amongst those persons who are to be specially honoured with praise are "those who found out musical tunes." If, then, improvements can be made on the antique Music according to the development of the science and art, there is no reason why the Church should not adopt them. The other opinion above mentioned is almost transparently absurd. Yet, as far as the mind of the English Church can be ascertained, she has distinctly ruled to the contrary. The publication of Marbeck's Prayer-book, under Archbishop Cranmer's auspices, assigning no other Chants but Gregorian, is, of course, a sufficient answer of itself.

[1] If I remember rightly, this was gravely asserted in a Court of Law at Shrewsbury a few years ago.

It is alleged that Anglican Chants are an improvement on Gregorians, and that therefore they should take the place of the latter. Now what constitutes an improvement? The first necessary condition is that the new form should suit equally well with the old for the purpose for which it is wanted; which, in this instance, is the fitting to English prose. If this be satisfied, then any increase of musical excellence is an improvement; but, if not, no musical advance can supply its place. I venture to assert that this primary condition is not satisfied in the case of Anglican Chants, *i. e.* they do not suit English prose; and the reason for this shall presently appear.

This subject has, within the last year, assumed a somewhat different aspect by the publication of *Six Lectures on Harmony*, by Mr. G. A. Macfarren. This gentleman is well known to be a most learned musician, a genuine artist, and a profound thinker. His work deserves to be, and doubtless by this time is, acknowledged as a standard work, and one of the best on the subject that has ever been produced[1]. Any opinions, therefore, that come from his pen must be received with becoming respect. The following passage occurs in the first Lecture, on the subject of Gregorian Chants:—

"In the diatonic genus, the Greeks had several modes—or, as we should now call them, scales—differing from each other by the different distribution of tones and semitones in each. You will remember that the Greeks admitted no sharps nor flats in their diatonic genus, and will hence understand that the distinctions of the various modes or scales result from their beginning

[1] I may perhaps be allowed to digress so far as to say, that although I have read this work with great pleasure and profit, and cordially accept most of the new theories which it contains, I cannot for an instant accept Mr. Macfarren's views on the Chord of the Minor 13th *in a major key*. I believe them to be a thorough musical heresy. Tested by the canon which he has put forth (and which is a true one) of the human ear re-correcting the temperament, it will not answer. His arguments are skilfully put; but the example he so adroitly invented to prove his theory simply appears to disprove the premiss from which he started, *viz.*, that the natural and sharp forms of a note cannot co-exist in the same chord; an example of this occurs in the nineteenth and twentieth bars of the first movement of Schumann's Second Trio, op. 80. The passage by a living composer, adduced by Mr. Macfarren as an authority, is (I know) disowned by its own author, who states the notation thereof to be purely expedient, and theoretically indefensible. This, of course, is an accident. It is also amusing to notice that the place in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, which he cites as an authority for the use of the Chord of the Minor 13th, in its entirety (probably the only existing instance), introduces a recitative beginning "Come, my friends, do not let us have any more such noises as that!"

each on a different note of our modern scale of C. At the end of the fourth century of the Christian era, S. Ambrose adopted four of these modes for the antiphonal singing which he introduced into the service of the Western Church. This he did, because the Greek musical system, which had occupied the attention of the greatest philosophers, was the most perfect, if not the only system then known in the south of Europe; and because the diatonic genus was the most simple portion of the Greek system, and the most available therefore for congregational use. The people, moreover, whom S. Ambrose induced to sing in their Christian worship, were already familiar with the musical system he adopted, as I must suppose they were with the very melodies he set them to sing; and we thus find that, nearly fifteen hundred years since, this renowned Bishop of Milan did, what any one should now do, who had a true sense of the great expressive and impressive purposes of Church Music. He employed what was, in his time, the most modern and the most perfect system of music, being that which was the most familiar and the most congenial to the people. Two centuries later than the time of S. Ambrose, S. Gregory the Great reformed the corruptions that had crept into the music which his predecessor had appropriated to Ecclesiastical use; having, as his authority, the summary of the works on the subject of all the Greek philosophers, which had been written by Boethius in the interim. Gregory perpetuated his principles, and the music which illustrates them, through the invention of a crude method of notation, and by a code of rules, which, being chained to S. Peter's Altar, he required that the Clergy throughout Europe should study and practise. The Greek music, as transmitted by S. Gregory, is now known by his name, and still remains in use in the Roman Church. Its permanence, however, was not without exception, very long prior to the Reformation, when the enfranchisement of learning opened the study of music to the world, and by degrees revolutionized both sacred and secular art. I say that its permanence was not without exception, and may instance the chant peculiar to the Gallican Church, which is ascribed to Guillaume of Féchamp, and which our Norman conquerors vainly sought by cord and steel to enforce upon the English Clergy. It must be obvious, from what has now been shown, firstly, that the Gregorian chant is of purely Pagan origin; secondly, that its appropriation to Christian worship was entirely upon artistic and popular grounds, not on account either of its antiquity or its sacredness; thirdly, that it was not held as essential to the service throughout Christendom—nay, throughout Western Europe—when the ad-

vance of music enabled the clergy of France to improve upon it; and lastly, that those well-meaning men, who would resuscitate its use in the Church of England, evince mistaken zeal, false antiquarianism, illogical deductiveness, artistic blindness, and ecclesiastical error" (pp. 8—10).

In his Preface, Mr. Macfarren makes this correction to the above:—"The form of Chant which Abbot Thurstan, with truly unclerical violence, forced upon the use of the monks of Glastonbury in 1083, was not the Gallican Chant, but a then modern form organized by a Norman monk, Guillaume of Féchamp. The Gallican Chant, which had been in general use throughout the land after which it is named, was set aside by Charlemagne in his policy of upholding Roman Supremacy. Thus there has been a twofold exception from the permanence of the Gregorian Chant in the Western Church: (1) That in Frankish Gaul, (2) Two centuries after the suppression of the former, in Normandy, the attempt to extend which to England was abortive."

If these remarks had come from the pen of an ordinary writer, they might have been passed over. But in such a work they carry weight, and, indeed, have been actually extracted as a triumphant 'determination' against the use of Gregorian Chants. If they are unanswerable, then, *actum est*, and the Gregorianists have nothing left but to cry *peccavimus*, and surrender at discretion. The argument, however, does not appear to me to be unanswerable, and it is found wanting at the outset, inasmuch as it does not recognize the question of 'practicability' at all. I advocate the use of Gregorian Chants for the Psalms and Canticles, not because they are Gregorian—and assert that Anglican Chants are unsuitable for that purpose, not because they are Anglican—but because the fundamental and primary condition of good and intelligent chanting is satisfied in the Gregorian Chants, and is not satisfied in the Anglican. And before examining Mr. Macfarren's allegations, I will call attention to the difference in form, which has now become such as to separate these two classes of Chants as widely asunder as possible, and consequently to have assumed the dignity of a musical or rhythmical principle.

The Anglican Chant now is not what the Anglican Chant was a century ago. Compare the well-known *Chant in F*, attributed to Thomas Tallis, as it is in *The Anglican Chant Book*, edited by Dr. Monk, with the same chant as it stands in Boyce's *Cathedral Music*. There the chant has a cadence of four notes, the duration of which is reasonably accounted for by the natural *rallentando* at the close. But in the modern book, the last note but

one—a semibreve—is split into two minims. The other Chants in Boyce have cadences of four notes; in the exceptional cases of five notes appearing, the third and fourth are slurred together, so that the exception is only apparent, and not real. But now it is universally acknowledged that the form of the Anglican Chant requires a cadence of five notes. Now in the Gregorian Chants the cadences are generally of an even number of notes; and if there be odd, a slurring, similar to what has just been alluded to, takes place. In the Mediation, the Gregorian Chant has usually an even number of notes also; but, in several cases, provision is made for an odd number, to suit the case of a Latin monosyllable occurring immediately before the colon; but the Anglican Chant has adopted the monosyllabic mediation of the Gregorian, and gives us now a mediation of three notes. The result of this is, that while the Gregorian Chant is constructed to end without an accent, or with a very moderate one; in the Anglican Chant, both in mediation and cadence, the last note bears a decidedly strong accent, which it seems impossible to avoid. It is between these two classes, separated by such a marked and radical distinction, that the choice has to be made.

Mr. Macfarren instances the 'improvement' made by the Clergy of the Gallican Church, and the Chant of Guillaume of Féchamp; and concludes that, therefore, an alleged improvement made by certain authors, under the Anglican obedience, must necessarily supersede the older form of Chant. But, before this conclusion can be accepted, it may fairly be demanded that some evidence should be forthcoming of the nature and form of these Gallican Chants, and those of Guillaume of Féchamp. If, on investigation, they turn out to be a mere modification of the Gregorian tones, differing in no serious respect in musical and rhythmical principle, there would be no objection to adopting them, or any other such; but the evidence which they would then afford would not be sufficient authority to justify us in adopting a form of chant now that differs, almost *toto cœlo*, from the antique form, musically and accentually. But even if these Chants should be found to differ from the Gregorian ones in form so fundamentally, it can be answered that neither the Clergy of the Gallican Church, nor Guillaume of Féchamp, were musically infallible; and we can still fall back upon the previous question of the 'intrinsic merits' of the respective Chants, treated with reference to their suitability to Latin, or English, or any other prose. And we can reply, that because the Gallican clergy made a musical error eight centuries ago, we are not, therefore, bound to support another musical mistake

now; and that, as the Monks of Glastonbury were right in resisting the innovations of Guillaume of Féchamp (not because they were innovations, but because they violated primary canons of form), so we are perfectly justified in resisting the linking of free English prose to the stern, hard, and angular form of Anglican Chants, on similar grounds.

From the practice of S. Ambrose, adopting the most available and best means that were at his disposal in his musical reforms, Mr. Macfarren concludes that 'it is obvious that the Gregorian Chant is of purely Pagan origin.' This appears to be the very reverse of obvious. For the Gregorian Chant was wanted to be sung to Latin prose, the words in question being translations from the Hebrew Psalms. The case of the metrical hymns and their tunes is different; and it is, I believe, established that the tune of S. Ambrose's hymn, *Conditor alme Siderum* (*Hymnal Noted*, No. 28, 1st Version[1]), was an adaptation which that eminent Bishop made from a Pagan tune. Now the Psalms, being adopted by the Christian Church from the Jewish Ritual, and being of necessity in prose, the same source is the most likely one for them to have also adopted the music from. There is, at least, no inconsiderable antecedent probability; and this is enhanced when we remember that the Pagan hymns and odes were in verse; and (as far as I know) there is no evidence that any of the Pagan religious compositions, in Latin or Greek, intended for choral or congregational use, were in prose. Hence, therefore, although the Pagan rites might supply available musical materials for metrical "Hymns," and for the more ornate "Spiritual Songs," there would appear to be no such available materials for the Chants to which the prose Psalms were to be sung. At least, it may be demanded with reason that, before it can be admitted to be 'obvious that the Gregorian Chant is of purely Pagan origin,' rather than of Jewish, something like positive evidence must be adduced that the congregational or choral use of compositions in prose, with musical accompaniments, was an acknowledged fact in the Pagan worship.

Again, the allegation that the Gregorian Chant was adopted entirely on artistic and popular grounds, may be frankly admitted, and it may be urged that on those grounds it ought still to be maintained: the "artistic" argument must stand over for the present; but for the "popular" argument it may be said that congregational singing, in a plain and intelligent way, has not been attained to by the use of Anglican Chants, and has

[1] This is a far better form than that in *Hymns A. and M.* No. 31.

been attained to by the use of Gregorian Chants. The only Church, that I am aware of, that is an exception to this statement of mine is the Parish Church of Leeds. Making all the necessary allowances for the people having been unaccustomed to the chanting of Psalms in Churches, neither Cathedral nor Collegiate, and eliminating the objectors who oppose such practices from mere obstinacy or other such motives, there still remains an amount of truth in the objection so often urged some time since, that Chanted Psalms cannot be followed by the people, and that the distinct utterance of them is reduced to little else than a gabbling. If Anglican Chants be used, although it is not impossible, it is extremely difficult to avoid such a result as gabbling. Whereas, in the use of Gregorian Chants, this evil effect is equally absent. Hence, therefore, on "popular" grounds the Gregorian Chant is still to be preferred to the Anglican; for it can fairly be said that the Anglican Chant has been tried, and has been found wanting. For a century or more it has had the whole field to itself, and all the advantages from the most skilled choirs that the country could produce; and yet it has not produced "popular," that is, "congregational" singing. The reason of this must be that the Anglican Chant does not suit English Prose; and that, while its musical excellence, in many respects, must be acknowledged, it has not been assigned to some branch of Church Song to which it *is* suited, and has been attached to prose, to which it *is not* suited.

Hence Mr. Macfarren's further statement, that "The law of the Reformation, that the Service should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, in order that it might be 'understanded of the people,' applies as forcibly to the exclusion of the Gregorian Chant, as of the Latin words that were originally sung to it in this and all other Western countries" (p. 18), proves either nothing or too much. If it proves any thing, as the experiment has been tried (and certainly with a "clear stage" for Anglican Chants, if not even also with "favour"), it proves that Anglican Chants, as well as Gregorians, must be discarded, seeing that they have produced the effect of rendering the Service not understanded of a very considerable portion of the people. But this provokes the rejoinder, that if Gregorian Chants are to be thus excluded, how comes it that in many collections we find *mutilated* Gregorians put forth, in such form as to make their accented notes become unaccented, and *vice versâ;* on the plan of stretching them out or squeezing them in to the Procrustean bed of the Anglican-Chant form? Instances of this can be found in *The Anglican Chant-Book* (6th edition): such as No. 106, the 6th tone;

No. 175, the 1st tone; No. 177, the 3rd tone; No. 179, the 8th tone. These are described as "On an Ancient Theme;" and of them I must say that the non-confession that they are Gregorian does not look well; that they put Gregorian Chants into a false position in the judgment of thoughtful people; and that, consequently, they should have been altogether omitted.

I. It is satisfactory to have ascribed to us the credit of good intentions, and being "well-meaning;" but we are accused of mistaken zeal. This, of course, must mean zeal not according to knowledge, or unreasoning and prejudiced support of the use of Gregorian Chants, without referring the question to its own merits, and subjecting it to the primary principles which I have enunciated. Hence, therefore, if these principles be accepted, and it seems impossible to deny their truth, then it will only be sufficient to point out the reasons upon which the Gregorian Chant is preferable to the Anglican, to free ourselves from this first charge. Indeed, if the subsequent charges of Mr. Macfarren can be answered, it will follow, as a necessary consequence, that however great our zeal may be, it is certainly not mistaken: and indeed it may even be thought, perhaps, that in such a case the charge of mistaken zeal will recoil upon those who bring it.

II. The Gregorianists are accused of false antiquarianism. This means, assuming that, because the Gregorian Chants are old, therefore they must be good; and because the Anglican Chants are modern, therefore they must be inferior. The whole of the train of thought in this Essay will be of itself a sufficient vindication from this charge. But, on the other hand, is it not tacitly assumed that because an alteration from the Gregorian Chants has been made to produce Anglicans, therefore that alteration is an improvement? And is it not a similar tone of mind to reject absolutely the old, and to accept implicitly whatever comes to us under the name of Thomas Tallis as infallibly correct? When I bear in mind the maxim of Robert Schumann's, which has already been quoted above, I cannot think that he would have been likely to accuse us of false antiquarianism, had he been mixed up with the question:—when I observe that the Peregrine tone forms the staple of the tenth of Sebastian Bach's *Kirchen-Cantaten, Meine Seel' erhebt den Herren* (*Festo Visitationis Mariæ*), and is variously treated therein; and so appears three times in the "371 Chorales," *viz.*, Nos. 130, 320, 358; and that this is obviously intended for German prose; nor must we forget that Bach was a Lutheran:—when I also see the Ambrosian *Te Deum* in the same collection, No. 205, and the same arranged, with florid and obligato organ part, in his

organ works: *A solis ortus Cardine* (No. 56), *Omnes una celebremus* (30), *Veni Creator Spiritus* (187), the *Sanctus*, from the *Missa de Angelis* (235 and 319); and the following unquestionably ancient tunes, Nos. 28, 68, 132, 143, 197, 326, 371; and the following, probably traceable up to Gregorian sources, Nos. 3, 10, 12, 16, 34, 36, 49, 70, 81, 100, 119, 133, 160, 208, 214, 229, 231:—when I observe that in his greatest work, about the only Church work too that he wrote perfectly free from external pressure, *viz.*, the *Requiem*, Mozart adopts the Peregrine tone for the "Psalm" of the Introit, *Te decet hymnus*, to all appearance purposely and on principle, for it would be absurd to think that he could not have invented a melody himself for it—I think it must be admitted that if the Gregorianists are wrong, they err in very good company. It may be added that there is some reason why the antique Chants should be retained, as symbolical of the oneness and invariability of the Church, as contrasted with the fluctuating tastes of the world.

In one respect, however, an unreasonable antiquarianism is clung to, I mean in the use of the four-line stave. There is no principle whatever involved in the retention of this, and it is much less easy to read from than the modern five-line stave; the adoption of this latter would obviate the inconvenience of changing the clef in the middle of a hymn, an instance of which occurs in the *Dies Iræ*, in the *Hymnal Noted*. And indeed it is worth notice that in a Mediæval Service-Book, preserved in S. John's College, Cambridge, the music is throughout written on a five-line stave. The square note it would be advisable to retain, to indicate the absence of strict time. I do not see, moreover, why we should be restricted to the use of those particular Gregorian tones which were chosen by Giudetti and Palestrina. Mr. Dyce, in his edition of the Prayer Book, has printed an irregular form of the 3rd tone, from the Sarum Processional, which it would be well to use. The old Service-Books would, doubtless, render us many more.

III. I pass on to Mr. Macfarren's third charge, that of illogical deductiveness, and will proceed *secundum artem*:—

1. No form of music unsuitable to English prose ought to be used for Psalms and Canticles.

Anglican Chants are unsuitable to English prose.

Therefore Anglican Chants ought not to be used for Psalms and Canticles.

The major premiss here is self-evident; the minor will require to be established.

The great distinction between Anglican and Gregorian Chants

is an accentual one. Anglican Chants, as has already been observed, carry a strong accent on the last note of their mediation and cadence; moreover, they have now assumed an all but rhythmical form. Now rhythmical form points to words in verse, rather than to prose. Again, English prose usually ends with an unaccented syllable; the genius of the language is to throw the accents back; and the enclitic monosyllables, such as unemphatic pronouns, are numerous. Then, as rhythmical form points to poetical words, so the invariable final accent points to such words arranged in Iambic verse. This is the form of words which Anglican Chants suit well; and any one may try it by taking an Iambic stanza, and singing it to such a Chant. An admirable example will be found in using Robinson's Double Anglican Chant, in E flat, for the translation of the Eucharistic Hymn *Sancti venite, Corpus Christi sumite* (*People's Hymnal*, No. 180).

In a thoughtful essay, called *The People in Church*, published ten years ago, by Josiah Pitman, occur the following remarks on Chants, Chanting, and Psalm-singing (pp. 42—49) :—

"The practice of reading the Psalms arose from the determination of right-meaning people not to continue the use of any one thing that their reason and feeling assured them to be wrong; and the *mode* in which the Psalms were sung for some time previous, and at the time of the Reformation, was one which had met with much remark, and, in some instances, with the most bitter satire. In truth they were gabbled, not sung. When it is remarked that the whole Psalter came round weekly in the course of the services, and that some of the Offices contained a mass of Psalmody with which we are now-a-days quite unfamiliarized, and that at these celebrations, for the most part, none but the members themselves of the monasteries were present, to whom every Psalm, and the verse of every Psalm, was, as it were, a part of his existence, it cannot be any matter of wonder that these songs were sung with a spirit and in a time not altogether intelligible to, or appreciable by, the national mind. Nor did this manner meet with the approval of many wise and learned men, nor was it in accordance with the written music of that or any other period. The new feeling was a restoration of the rights of the people in the celebration of Divine Service; but to determine how an order of people's Psalmody for the prose Psalms was to be settled, and at once acted upon, was by no means an easy task. There was also a great difficulty, *viz.*, the necessity of a new adaptation of the ancient Oriental tunes, or, as some people like to call them, Gregorian Chants. The terminations of the old forms of these Chants are, with hardly an ex-

ception, acatalectic, *i. e.*, the last measure is perfect, and always contains two sounds if not more. For in the Latin language the vocal pulse is rarely found with the closing syllable. But in our ballad poetry, and all the metrical Psalms in the book of Sternhold and Hopkins, the terminations are pulsated, and the closing syllable bears the last stress or accent, as it is with our heroic line[1]. But this is not the Iambic line of the Latin, for that has no stress on its last syllable, the last stress being on the antepenultimate. And although it is said to be not proper in general writing to close our sentences with a monosyllable, still in this respect we find the rule so often broken in our English Psalter, that it might reasonably be thought there was no such rule[1]. Hence it may be naturally conceived, if these Oriental tunes were to travel in concord and comfort, in company with the English language, not a little ingenuity would be required to fit them together in harness. Such, then, of these Oriental tunes as would bear a transformation of shape, it is easy to suppose could be adapted to the new Psalter, and would keep their place in the quires; and that such of these tunes which could not be so transformed would ultimately fall into desuetude; and this result actually transpired. That tune which is now called Tallis's Chant, and put forward in all books and by all writers in the vanguard of all Chants, and as the one holding the highest place of honour, although as to its actual notes it is truly Oriental or Gregorian, yet in respect to its rhythm and the number of its measures is no way Oriental or Gregorian. The nation, therefore, was in this situation—here was a new Psalter, composed in rhythms, repugnant to the only Psalter tunes then known, or, indeed, then in existence. Further, the Church was in this situation—those of the old Priests that remained were familiar enough with the tunes, but then the tunes had not been adapted to the songs, and in this respect each Priest was left to do as well as he could. Of course, if a man possessed no great delicacy of ear for the rhythms of his language, or became desperate, from the very emergency of the case, and would therefore invent and rely upon such final accents as '*ti*' in the word *salvation*, or '*with*' in the phrase 'Glad in Him *with* Psalms;' or '*My*' in 'saw *My* works,' many of the difficulties would vanish. But such a law of uniting the old Music to the new Psalms could never last; nor did it; for not only the scholastic mind, but the national mind was on all sides opposed to it. It took generations to create the system which now governs our prose Psalmody in the Church; and it was not made a certainty

[1] Mr. Pitman appears to have overlooked the enclitics.

until it was decided to adopt one form, the form of our heroic line of poetry, as the unalterable framework of our English Chant. But the people were in no temper to wait; the more especially so as a new and hitherto unknown thing had just arisen, and afforded them to do what they wanted, *i. e.*, sing the Psalms; for the very same year that produced the new Book also produced a metrical version of nearly one-third of the Psalms in the rhymes and measures of our ballad poetry, and by the time the new Book was revised and getting into general use, the metrical Psalter appeared. The metrical Psalter at once met the feelings of those who objected to the 'chatter and gabble,' as it was called, of the song of the prose Psalm; it met also the feelings of those to whom responsorial singing was an act of Judaizing, and who considered it a 'tossing and trolling,' not to be borne under the new Dispensation. And, again, it met the feelings of those who desired little or no trouble in the matter; for it was no trouble to perceive, when there was presented a ballad Psalm, with the notes of the tune at the head of it, that the composer of the tune had been so careful as to put only one note to a syllable, and that there was the same time to all the notes. And, lastly, the mental act required for perceiving the law of poetry lying in the Hebrew Psalm in our Prayer Book—a law only traceable in the ideas, not the outward framework—is a very different thing from the impulse or emotion which a man feels in possessing the Hebrew song in some familiar measure of the vernacular. Therefore, there was not only an indisposition towards receiving the prose Psalter in song; but an attempt, nay, an actual struggle, to supersede it altogether for the metrical Psalter. We find, year after year, the Archbishops and Bishops diligently and pertinaciously inquiring 'If the *Te Deum*, the *Canticles*, and the *Psalms* were duly said or sung?' And it is notorious, that whilst the singers in the quire were singing the prose Psalm or Canticle, the people were no less active in singing the same Canticle or Psalm, in its ballad form, to some isochronous tune in the nave. Indeed, so strong was the feeling, that the same thing happened in the Chapel Royal; for Dr. Richard Watson, a friend and contemporary of Dr. Cosin, tells us that, when celebrating service in the Chapel Royal, just as he commenced the *Te Deum*, to his utter astonishment some one started with the metrical *Te Deum*, which the congregation took up with great spirit and determination. All these circumstances, taken together, are amply sufficient to account for a Psalter without song in all places where there were no appliances for such song. It must never be forgotten, no Priest could ever get

any thing in spending his time and talents in learning to sing; nor was there any Psalter with the Chants appended thereto which he could purchase were he so inclined. The choirs in most parish churches had been destroyed, and the voluntary principle in that day was by no means the general principle; nor will it be in any day if the givers and labourers are to have small conduct in the matter and no control over it. Hence the people were helpless, and resigned the Psalter to its fate."

The admission that English heroic poetry settled the form of the English Chant, seems an insuperable obstacle to the adaptability of such Chants to English prose. Had the framework of heroic verse been Trochaic, there might have been some chance. But prose and Iambic verse seem to differ (accentually) as much as light from darkness. Now it is much more easy to sing one final accented syllable to two notes, the first of which bears an accent, than to sing two or more syllables, the first of which is accented, to one single accented note, and at the same time to preserve the dignity and reverence that should be maintained in such matters. Hence, then, if the exceptions to the rule of final accent in the mediation and cadence of the words were *rare*, the accented ultimate might possibly stand. But it is far otherwise. In order to form some approximate idea, I chose at random the 78th Psalm, and then the 73rd, because the total number of verses in both were exactly one hundred. An accentual analysis produced the following results:—In the mediations, forty-six verses had accented ultimates; in forty-seven the accent was thrown back; in five the ultimate was doubtful, but probably would be considered accented; and in two it was doubtful, but probably would be considered unaccented. In the cadences, thirty-four verses had accented ultimates, fifty-four unaccented, nine doubtful, but probably accented; three doubtful, but probably unaccented [1].

[1] The accentual canons necessary to secure good, intelligent, dignified, and distinctly enunciated chanting, would appear to be the following: (1) A syllable should be usually assigned to every note; (2) When the literal obedience to this involves a disagreement between the verbal and the musical accents, then two notes (and perhaps more in some cases) should be assigned to one syllable, rather than two or more syllables to one note; (3) In cases where neither of the two previous canons can be obeyed without accentual contradiction, so that more syllables than one should have to go to one note, then of these syllables the last must carry the accent relatively to the others; (4) That even if this last course cannot be obeyed on the other notes (which will be an extremely rare exception), at any rate the assignment to the final note of mediation and cadence of more than one syllable, wherein the relative accent does not occur on the last of them, is positively to be prohibited without any limitation whatever.

Taking all these things into consideration, we shall, I think, logically infer as follows :—

Whatever form of music is suitable to Iambic verse is unsuitable to English prose.

Anglican Chants are admirably suitable to Iambic verse.

Therefore Anglican Chants are not suitable to English prose.

This establishes the minor premiss of the former syllogism. The choice, therefore, is now reduced to the use of Gregorian Chants, or to the invention of entirely new forms.

2. Whatever form of music is suitable to English prose ought to be used for Psalms and Canticles.

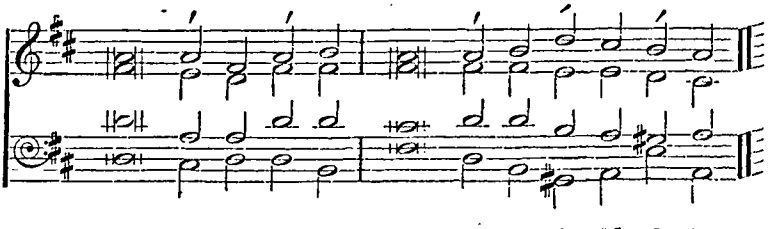
Gregorian Chants are suitable to English prose.

Therefore Gregorian Chants ought to be used for Psalms and Canticles.

As before, the minor premiss requires to be established.

If we make the necessary accommodation demanded by the English Enclitics, in prose we shall usually find the accent on the penultimate or antepenultimate, as in Latin. The Gregorian Chant has a penultimate accent, which suits the antepenultimate by 'anticipating' the last note. Rarely does the accent fall further back, and this modification may easily be extended to that case. The case of an ultimate accent has already been spoken of. Hence, then, the Gregorian Chants are applicable both to Latin and English prose, or to neither: but they are generally confessed to be applicable to Latin prose; therefore they are also applicable to English prose, which proves the premiss required.

These considerations will show that, if we want to invent new Chants, we must go on the same principles; and if they are at all to approximate to the Anglican form, they must have a mediation of four notes, and a cadence of six. The following will show what I mean. It is the first half of a Double Chant by Dr. Gauntlett, which I am obliged to quote from memory, as I cannot call to mind the collection in which it was printed.



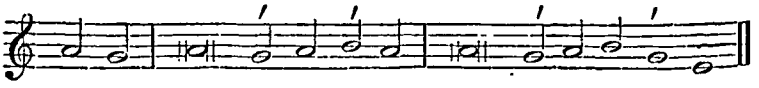
A Chant like this is admissible, and I should gladly see some more of such. It satisfies one of the primary conditions,

which Anglican Chants generally do not—of the mediation and cadence being the intelligent finish of the recitation note, instead of the recitation note being a mere introduction to them. The above would, of course, be classified under the 5th tone.

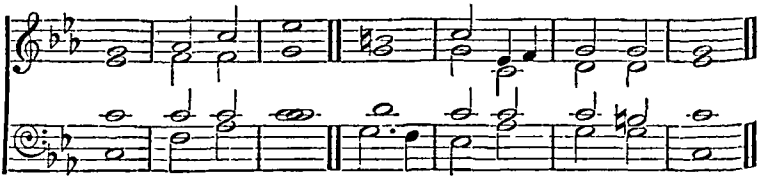
IV. Artistic blindness is the next charge brought against Gregorianists. This implies that Gregorian Chants possess no melodic beauty, while Anglican Chants do. I say advisedly, melodic beauty, because, as the Prayer Book had to contemplate the minimum force to perform Divine Service, *i.e.*, the single-handed Priest, so we have to contemplate the minimum choral force, *i.e.*, the country choir, which, from paucity of numbers, lack of education, disinclination, or other causes, is incapable of doing more than singing *in unison, without accompaniment.*

Every Chant must be first tested on that ground—that it shall be capable of being so performed, and thereby producing a tolerably satisfactory effect: the addition of harmony, then, is an enhancement which may very properly be added to it, almost without limit. Now, tested by this, it is not at all clear that the Anglican Chants are in any wise superior in effect, under such circumstances, to the Gregorians, or even that they are equal to them. Imagine Humphreys' *Grand Chant* sung in the soprano only, with tenor and bass in unison, and no other parts, and no organ! And such cases are not so uncommon as it would at first sight appear. Allowances must doubtless be made for differences of taste. It would be manifestly unjust to expect that any Anglican Chant which any scribbler might write, should be artistically superior to any Gregorian. But it is not too much to expect that, in the best collection yet published, *viz.*, *The Anglican Chant Book and Psalter*, edited by the Rev. Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley, and Dr. Monk, which, by its title, claims to be the correct book for use in the English Church, and (if I remember rightly)[1], in its preface, claims to be the *only* correct book—in this it is not too much to expect that no Chant should appear which is not artistically superior, I will not say to the most melodious of the Gregorian tones, but at any rate to the most unmelodious of them. This is putting the comparison at the greatest disadvantage to the Gregorian side, and at the greatest advantage to the other. The tone which would generally be considered as the harshest to ordinary ears is, I believe, the 4th, which I will now give, in modern notation, for convenience, although I prefer the square note:—

[1] Having been unable to procure a copy of this Preface, which is not in the later editions, I am obliged to quote from memory.



In the *Anglican Chant Book* appears the following (No. 37) :—



To make the comparison fairly, let the soprano part of this Chant be sung by itself, without accompaniment or harmony. Most people will, I think, then perceive less melody in it than even in the 4th tone. This Chant, curiously enough, bears the name of G. A. Macfarren; and how an artist as he is could have written such a Chant as this, is a phænomenon for which I am unable to account. The charge of artistic blindness, then, can scarcely be said to be substantiated.

V. Lastly, Mr. Macfarren states that the Gregorianists are guilty of ecclesiastical error; and, by implication therefore, that the Anglicanists are not. There appear to be only two ways in which one may be guilty of Ecclesiastical error; (1) by going contrary to Revelation or Divine Inspiration; (2) by going contrary to the mind of the Church, directly expressed or implied, and so fairly to be deduced from her formularies and practice. I cannot imagine that the charge is intended to rest on the first of these phases of error, for that would be equivalent to holding the preference of Gregorian Chants over Anglicans to be a *sin*, in the same category as denying an article of the Creed or the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and by consequence arrogating a Divine Inspiration for Anglican Chants, which others lack.

The second phase, therefore, is the only one requiring examination. Has the Church of England expressed any mind on the matter of Chants, or can we infer any thing from her practice? Canons and Rubrics are wholly silent. It is alleged that the Anglican Chant grew up gradually with the Prayer Book; and the Chant in F, attributed to Tallis, is considered the pattern to which we ought to conform. This Chant is a form of the 1st tone, *with the accents in the mediation displaced.* I have mentioned that Tallis's *Preces* have been tampered with. It is to me the more grateful supposition of the two to think that this same has happened to that Chant, and to doubt its genuineness; rather

than from what I have already said, to be obliged to conclude that Tallis had made a radical mistake in putting it forth. The fact that the anthem, *Lord, for Thy tender mercy's sake,* usually attributed to Farrant, has been well nigh proved to have been written by John Hylton some half-century later, suggests that it may be doubtful whether Farrant's *Chant in F* is genuine; and, indeed, that the whole question of Chants alleged to have been written before the Restoration of Charles II. ought to be thoroughly investigated. It is to be hoped that some man, possessing the requisite learning and research, will be found to undertake this task. But it appears extremely doubtful whether Chants of the Anglican form were generally used in the English Church until the eighteenth century. The book of Marbeck (the only one possessing any thing like authority), containing no chants but Gregorians, has already been mentioned. Tallis and Farrant died in 1585. In 1597 appeared *The Plain and Easy Introduction to Music,* by Thomas Morley, a musician well acquainted with the most approved authors of his time, from most of whom he obtained contributions to the collection of Madrigals, called *The Triumphs of Oriana;* and Byrd, a pupil of Tallis, was his master. In this treatise he gives "The Eight Tunes," *i. e.* the Gregorian Tones, without the slightest hint of any other. Even as late as 1707, similar evidence is forthcoming. In a Prayer Book of that date, with a Paraphrase by William Nicholls, D.D., occurs the following in a Preface to the Psalter:—"The common tunes, *which are at this day in use,* are said to be composed, or at least settled, by Gregory the Great." This will show that Anglican Chants cannot claim exclusive use and continuous tradition from the Reformation; that the only *certain* antiquity of them is of the Restoration, or at best the Pre-Rebellion date; and that any expression of the mind of the English Church (so far as it can be ascertained), and her continuous and general practice till the ecclesiastically dark age of the eighteenth century, has been in favour of the Gregorian tones rather than against them. Thus the charge of Ecclesiastical error is seen to fall to the ground. And when I add that the harmony seems to be an absolute essential, a *sine quâ non,* to the due rendering of Anglican Chants, while it is but an enrichment, a great one indeed, of the antique tones, it needs few words to prove that in this respect indeed "the old is better."

On the subject of Hymn-tunes or Chorales, suited for metrical stanzas, it may be observed that there are two great varieties, which, for convenience sake, may be described as the Lutheran and the Calvinistic. Of course, the flimsy and vulgar productions

in vogue at the close of the last century and the beginning of the present, which called forth the censure of John Wesley, but were justified by Rowland Hill, on the principle that the devil should not have all the pretty tunes, are deservedly now exploded by most persons. But it may not be amiss to remark that a tendency appears to be returning, justifying itself by the laudable pretence of impressing Catholic verities and feelings, to use tunes of questionable taste, solely because of their popularity. This reason I imagine would not be admitted as valid in any other case, such as in doctrine and in ritual. And when we remember that the public taste in Music has been for ages so degraded, we ought to endeavour to elevate it, and, in the course of time, to educate the people in this respect. Great advances have already been made, which ought to stimulate us to take courage and go on towards perfection. As has been seen, under this head of Chorales is to be included all the Anglican Chants of intrinsic musical worth, of which there are many.

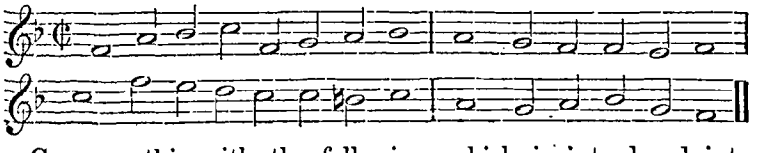
There is no fundamental distinction between the Lutheran and the Gregorian hymnody, excepting so far as the modifications naturally arising from the lapse of ages. The citations from Bach's 371 Chorales prove this; and we see, then, that the Lutheran hymnody was essentially Catholic. It is warm, hearty, rich in colour, and dignified in "go." The Calvinistic Chorale, on the contrary, is hard, cold, dry, and mechanical. A Nonconformist preacher [1], in an able Lecture, delivered at Exeter Hall, says thus: "Had he (Luther) been as unmusical as Calvin, the Church Song of Protestantism, in its entireness, would have been as harsh and repulsive as is that of the Churches which call Calvin their founder." And again: "Calvin was utterly destitute of musical sensibility, as every page of his works and every element of his character indicate; he was too much of a theological formula to have much of the genius of song. And this unhappy defect has deprived his writings of the broad human sympathy which so characterizes Luther's, and has entailed upon all the Churches that bear his name such musical asceticism and poverty. In no Calvinistic country—American, Scotch, Dutch, and so far as it is Calvinistic, English—is there a Church Song. The musical Luther has filled Germany with rich Church hymnody. The unmusical Calvin has so impoverished Puritan and Presbyterian worship, that its rugged, inartistic, slovenly psalmody has become a by-word and a needless repulsion; for, surely, there is no piety in discords, nor any especial devoutness in slovenliness. Our

[1] *Church Song and its Relations to Church Life*, by Henry Allon.

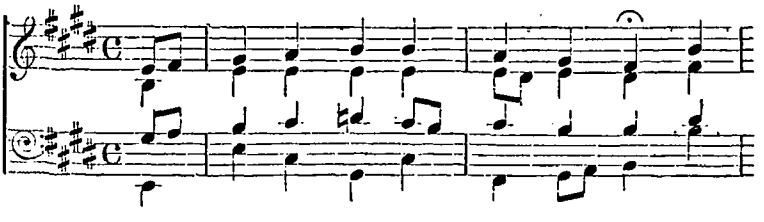
nature craves something better than the traditional psalm-singing of the inharmonious 'meeting-house.' Our affinities are with whatever is best, whether in eloquence, poetry, or music."

It has been the misfortune of the English Church that, with few exceptions, her Chorales have been Calvinistic, and the Lutheran ones have been recast in the Calvinistic mould; and naturally so, by reason of the use of Metrical Psalms, and the non-provision of Metrical Hymns. One grand distinction between these two kinds of Chorales, in respect of form, ought to be noticed. It is the invariable use of a full semibreve to begin each phrase of the tune, in the Calvinistic style; and this most thoroughly destroys all intelligence, life, and "go," and converts the performance of it into something like the action of clock-work. But, independently of this, there is a jejuneness of style, an angularity of form in the melody, which is chilling of itself. Let any one compare No. 30 in the *Hymns Ancient and Modern,* (taking care to make the first and last notes of each phrase semibreves,) which is a Post-Reformation Anglican tune, with No. 23[1] in the same book, which is a Lutheran tune; and the difference will become obvious. It perhaps would be well to give an example of the form in question, which I will extract from the Prayer Book of 1707, already referred to[2].

PSALM XXVII. Norwich Tune.



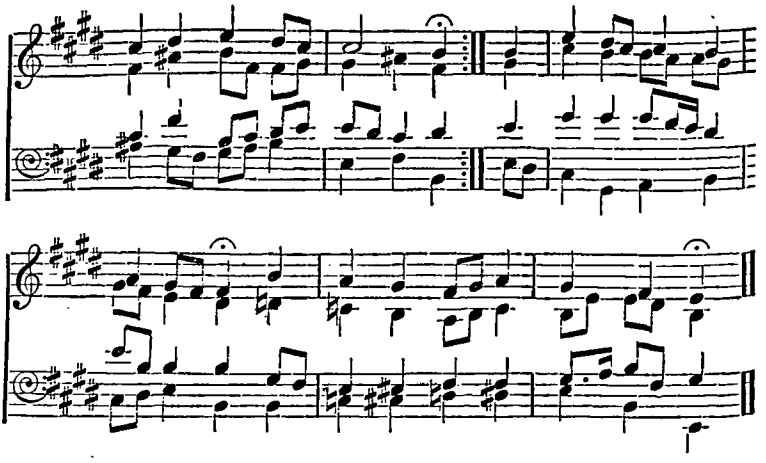
Compare this with the following, which is introduced into Bach's *Johannes-Passion,* and is No. 310 of *The Chorales*[3].



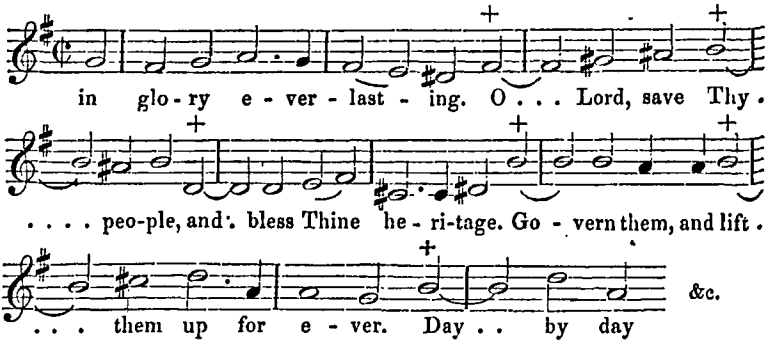
[1] The few alterations from Bach's harmonies made there, are not improvements, in my judgment.

[2] The final phrase of this tune is far better than the one found in most books, which is a bare repetition of the second phrase: v. *Hymns A. and M.*, No. 27.

[3] I have purposely repeated this tune, that the reader may compare the different harmonizations.



It will at once be seen how detrimental the full semibreve is, and how it deprives an otherwise good tune of its proper rhythmical swing. But I am inclined to think that these semibreves at the beginning of the phrases of tunes are an indication of the practice of imperfect starting, and are analogous to a similar practice in the "Services" of composers of that period, where we find a full semibreve on very unaccented and unimportant words; no better example can I find than the following from Dr. Child's *Te Deum* in E minor; the instances I mark thus, +.




May this have been an expedient adopted to get the Choir to be fairly started together in the several verses? At any rate the practice culminates in the Caroline authors. It is scarcely to be found in Tallis and Farrant; nor, again, in Blow, Aldrich, and Purcell; but most in Bevin, Child, and Rogers—just the time when the Puritan practices harassed the Church most, and Choirs were therefore, in the most depressed state. If this be so, the practice of initial semibreves would be more honoured by the

breach than the observance; and instances such as the above must be regarded as blemishes in otherwise excellent works.

The example given from Bach shows that, in a Chorale, passing notes are perfectly admissible, so long as they do not interfere with the regular rhythmical and dignified flow of the tune. And the same example will show how advantageous it will be to avail ourselves of varying the harmonization (not only in tunes, but in Chants also) for the better rendering the sense of the words enunciated, and obtaining the more "certain sound" from the executants. Another thing with regard to Hymn-singing should be noticed, that the strict clock-work kind of time ought to be avoided. Dr. Crotch, no mean authority, is reported to have said that there are two primary musical duties, the one to know how to keep time, the other to know how *not* to keep time. The latter is by far the harder task. But our Choirs now ought to have obtained the requisite learning and skill to enable them to make the slight and almost insensible variations in time; elongating one note and curtailing its neighbour, and the like, so as to "render" a hymn in a more intelligent and edifying way. Not only variations in time, such as have just been mentioned, may be with advantage adopted, but also variations of the general "*tempo*" for different stanzas, or even for different phrases in the same stanza, are also admissible. This will avoid such difficulties as that of using the same musical rhythm for corresponding metrical phrases which subdivide somewhat differently. I cannot do better than give the example cited by Mr. Macfarren, in a paper that has come into my hands:—

"Help of the helpless, | O abide with me,"

corresponds to

"O Thou that changest not, | Abide with me,"

in another stanza. Care should be taken that a Chorale should be applicable to such cases as these. Indeed it would seem almost advisable that the respective Hymns and Chorales should be attached inseparably together, as is usually the case with the Lutheran ones; so that any given Hymn should always be sung to the same tune, and any given tune should never be sung to any other words. Perhaps, however, this can scarcely be attained to as yet. Another example may well be adduced from the Hymn *Disposer Supreme* (*Hymns Ancient and Modern*, No. 258). In the fourth stanza,

"Their sound goeth forth,
CHRIST JESUS the LORD;"

the *tempo* of the second line may well be taken slower, and a pause made at the end of it, before the time is resumed in its original *tempo* at the third line.

It only remains on this point to add, that the plainer and more antique tunes appear the most suitable for dogmatic and doctrinal hymns, while the more florid, flowing, and modern tunes suit the æsthetic and devotional hymns best; and naturally so, because dogma is unchangeable and objective, while devotion is subjective and in some degree variable in form. Chorales in triple time, unless the metre of the hymn absolutely requires such, should be but very sparingly used, if at all; as they can scarcely be used without "lagging" and "lameness" in execution: and if, to avoid this, the pace be unduly accelerated, it is extremely difficult to prevent them from becoming light and secular.

All other Ecclesiastical Music may be comprised under the title of Spiritual Songs. In the first acceptation of this term we naturally referred it to those metrical compositions whose rhythm was less marked and obvious, and the law of whose form was more complicated. These, of course, would require a distinct musical treatment of their own, which would necessarily be of a more complicated form also; and then the use of such music would naturally be confined to those places where the choirs were more advanced, and competent to 'render' such compositions effectively and intelligently. But as the more irregular kind of verse, like the strophe and antistrophe of Greek Church odes, approximates accentually much more nearly to prose than to the regular metrical stanza, it follows that, in cases where the more complicated music would be impracticable, an accommodation of something like the Chant would be the only available form for the less advanced Choirs. And, conversely, from the above consideration will follow the possibility of compositions in prose assuming the position of Spiritual Songs, I mean in reference to form. Such is the case, as there appears to be no question, of the Canticles treated musically, in the form of 'Services;' such is the case of Anthems, and also of such productions as the Alleluiatic Sequence, *Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc, Alleluia.* It is obvious that the general practicability of music in such form by a congregation is far less than that of the two preceding forms; but a little consideration will show that it cannot be avoided. Yet the faithful may be edified by this; and although they may not be using their tongues, they may all the while be "making melody in their hearts unto the LORD." This, of course, demands the highest artistic culture, and, by consequence, is only very partially applicable to the majority of Churches;

and for these, unless in them the Spiritual Song is never to be heard, the accommodation of the simpler form of recitative is necessary. Thus, for example, the fitting of the Alleluiatic Sequence to a Chant (*Hymns Ancient aud Modern*, No. 145) is to be looked upon as a musical concession to the musically "weak brethren[1]," to enable them to have that Spiritual Song sung, and to derive edification therefrom, in cases where it would be impossible to have the music as in the *Hymnal Noted*, or any other which might be written for it, well performed.

Space would not allow me to enter into examination of Anthems to any extent. Speaking generally, the Full Anthem is the form to be preferred. It has, indeed, been asserted that no solo or verse parts ought to be sung in Church, the Priest being the only soloist. I am not sure whether this is not drawing the line too high; but at any rate, if an error, it is on the right side. The late Professor Blunt, in his *Lectures on the Duties of the Parish Priest*, says of Sermons: "The styles of Cicero and Demosthenes are characterized by Fénélon after this manner—that, at the end of a speech of the one, the cry would be, 'Oh, what an orator!' at the end of a speech of the other, it would be, 'Up, let us march against Philip!' The latter is the only effect of eloquence which the servant of God should for a moment think of." And equally true is this of Ecclesiastical Music; the only effect aimed at by the author and the executants should be, that the auditory should not so much regard the merits of the one and the skill of the other, as perceive the excellence of the work itself, and that, too, for the greater glory given to God, in Whose honour it is performed. Doubtless, in most cases, the solo is calculated to distract the mind, from the subject on which it ought to be fixed, to the personality of the soloist. It is difficult to avoid this; and, consequently, solos are to be discouraged. But although difficult, it does not seem impossible. If the solo should be constructed with a due regard to the general composition, it would seem possible that it should fall into its proper place in the general effect, and the personality of the soloist be lost in the intention of the author. I can instance no better example than the Recitative *Ach Golgotha*, from Bach's *Matthäus-Passion*, and the aria following it. If any one were to hear these—and the primary impressions on his mind were, how well it was sung, or what a great man its author was, or even

[1] 1 Cor. viii. (throughout). It should be remembered that the 'weak brother' is not he who exercises private and peculiar fancies, but he to whom *The Tradition of the Symbol* has not as yet taken place; as appears from the whole argument.

what a fine song it was; rather than what wonderful music it is, and that indescribable feeling which cannot be put into words, but which the initiated know well enough—I should say that such a man had not much music in himself. Might not this, then, be possible in Ecclesiastical compositions; and thus (exceptionally, indeed) room be found even for the solo [1]?

There is one form of music of this character which seems almost to have escaped notice, but which there appears no valid reason against utilizing; it is the Sacred Song. It may be supposed that where an Anthem would be impracticable, such might fairly be sometimes adopted. As examples of the form I mean (though I would not be understood as passing a definite opinion on the advisability of using these particular songs in this way) may be instanced the following songs of Mendelssohn: *Pilgrim's Song*, in F; and *Evening Song*, in E flat (Op. 8, Nos. 5 and 9); and *Resignation* (Op. 9, No. 11). It is worth while to mention that a song of this character, *viz.*, *Yon reaper's name is Death* (Mendelssohn, Op. 8, No. 4) is headed as *Altes Kirchenlied*. That secular songs, with independent pianoforte accompaniment, are capable of being sung by a number of voices in unison with a satisfactory effect, I have discovered by actual experiment. As might be expected, some of these experiments were failures. It depends on the sensitiveness of the melody itself whether it would endure more than one voice to render it. But if this be so, why should not the corresponding process be adopted with Sacred Songs? If so, an almost unworked field is opened out to our composers; for I should be disposed to think that the list of already existing compositions of this form that can be made available will be but scanty. Where the material is not forthcoming to constitute a choir, with the several parts properly balanced, it is in many, perhaps most cases, preferable to have good unison singing with an intelligent accompaniment; and in such cases the Sacred Song might be found very convenient. I have heard only one instance of this, which is sufficient to prove its practicability. It was the case of the movement *Caro cibus*, from Mendelssohn's *Lauda Sion*, sung from the English version as an Anthem, by sopranos, with accompaniment [2], and the effect was very fair.

[1] As I have above mentioned that greatest of Oratorios, is it chimerical to express a hope that some day it will be done, as it was intended to be, and ought to be, *viz.*, as a Service of itself, with a Sermon between its two Parts to connect them together?

[2] I must not be supposed here to be justifying the separation for the above purpose of that one movement from the rest of the work. And I may add

This leads on to the question of adaptations; and these, speaking generally, are very seldom found to be satisfactory. In the *Musical Times* of Feb. 1, 1868, which has casually come into my hands, I see some admirable remarks on this subject by Mr. Macfarren. He protests against extracts from instrumental compositions, "more or less distorted, to render their vocalization possible, and to misfit them to the texts that are desecrated by the unholy alliance;" and says that, in such cases, the result is "injustice to the music, profanation of the words, distraction of the reader's thoughts from the place of worship to the theatre or the concert-room, and sacrilege of the temple." And again, he earnestly and pertinently deprecates the adaptation from Masses, &c., to English words, not translations or close imitations of the original, but of a different purport and sentiment, such as has been done with Mozart's Masses, and other such like works. This he very properly describes as "a fraud upon the musician and upon his audience;" and adds that these pieces, some of which are still in use in some Cathedrals, are thus "despoiled of their expression, which is their chief element of merit;" and that this is an "abuse of art," which has "tendencies as evil as its proper application is good."

The question is modified according as the source drawn upon is vocal or instrumental music: for it may be observed, that while vocal music is essentially and inseparably associated with its words and their ideas, a considerable quantity of purely instrumental music (classical, of course) stands on a kind of debateable ground between the sacred and the secular. For example, while the impropriety (to use no stronger term) of performing the *Drinking Song* in *Der Freischütz* on a Sunday would be unquestionably admitted, the same objection does not appear to apply to Beethoven's *Sonata Pathétique:* nor is it any more wrong to hear the first movement of Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony* on a Sunday, than it is to enjoy the prospect of a beautiful tract of country on that day; the mental act in both cases being *precisely the same.*

that the English words do not even constitute a *version* of the original, and, being merely common-places about the goodness of the Deity, cannot suit the music of a highly Eucharistic hymn. This was probably done to obtain its performance at Exeter Hall; but if adaptations cannot be made without such torture and mangling as totally misrepresents the original words, and therefore destroys the intention and scope of the music, it would be better that such works should not be performed at all; for, otherwise, the composer is made a species of musical liar. As an English translation of this hymn is well known, why should it not be used for Mendelssohn's Cantata?

The remarks about the association of ideas and accessories with music, mentioned at the beginning of this essay, will guide us. Thus, to transcribe *Batti, batti,* from *Don Giovanni,* as a hymn tune, cannot be too strongly condemned, by reason of the associations. Less objectionable is the transcription of Agathe's Prayer in her Oratory, that occurs in *Der Freischütz;* though this, too, I believe to be indefensible. The same thing will, of course, apply to popular and secular tunes, and, as a natural consequence, to all written in such a style. The only cases I can call to mind, about which I should have any doubt in proscribing, are the 'Church Music' introduced into Spohr's *Faust,* and the Chorale at the commencement of Schumann's *Genoveva;* and I am not clear as to whether this exception may not be in some degree caused by the comparatively small knowledge which the public have of those works. To say the least, this practice is treading on dangerous ground.

Adaptations from instrumental music seem to be somewhat different. The Andante (Theme of the Variations) from Beethoven's *Septett* has been transcribed for a Chorale; and I am not prepared to condemn this. I should see no objection in extracting the Chorale that forms the *motivo* of the Adagio in Mendelssohn's *Violoncello Sonata in D,* or that which forms a subject in the Finale of his *Trio in C minor.* No Concert-room associations would be likely to be called up by these. But these canons must be laid down: that there must be no essential curtailment or elongation of the thing adapted; it must be a whole in itself; it must not be transposed in key. If it cannot be honestly *transcribed,* it must be left.

The instances above given are more sacred than many of the tunes in common use in churches where the aim is to render Divine Service in the best possible way. And this leads me to observe that the distinction between sacred and secular music does not consist in the total abstinence from, and employment of, certain chords. However rare, such chords as the 6-4, and even the 6-4-3, and some others, do not destroy the sacred character of the music. The distinction is one that can be felt, but cannot well be expressed in words. Hence, then, as in Ecclesiastical Architecture, so in Ecclesiastical Music, we shall study profoundly the works of the older writers, but we shall not servilely copy them, any more than we are expected to copy servilely the First or Middle-Pointed style. We shall endeavour to grasp principles, and then work out from them ourselves.

In Sebastian Bach's hands, music *unassociated with words* assumed the additional status of a language of itself, capable of

communicating ideas, inexpressible by words, and communicable by no other means than music. And so from his Capriccio *On the departure of a Brother*, we now have such works as Haydn's Overture to *The Seasons*, Beethoven's *Symphonies in C minor, A, and F* (*Pastorale*), and his *Pianoforte Solo Sonata*, Op. 81; Mendelssohn's *Symphony in A minor;* Spohr's *Power of Sound*, and *Good and Evil Passions in the Life of Man*, and many others. I need but refer to Mendelssohn's Letters. In one to his sister (June 14, 1830), he says that as he could not be with her to converse, he had sent a song expressive of his wishes and thoughts; *and then follows a Lied ohne Worte.* Now this shows that instrumental music of a sacred kind (which, of course, in church, usually means the employment of the organ) comes under the head of "Spiritual Song." Hence, then, the Church organist should exercise study and thought, should take into consideration such circumstances as Festival or Fast; should, on Special Services, enter into the 'intention' of such; should generally have pre-arranged in his mind, to some extent, what he intends to perform, especially in the case where he has to make extracts from different works for organ solos; indeed, he should endeavour, as far as he can, to adopt the same principles, and carry them out on his instrument, in its own peculiar way, as the faithful Priest would in his sermon. Least of all would he leave these things to chance, or to the spur of the moment; for fear of introducing heterogeneous or unorthodox elements into that wherein all ought to be in harmony, and in homogeneity, and according to the proportion of the Faith. That this is a high aim and an exacting standard, is evident; but in music, as in other things, we have yet to "go on unto perfection." And for this purpose we cannot do better than remember those maxims of Robert Schumann's: "The Spirit will not become clear to you before you understand the Forms of Composition." "Think it a vile habit to alter works of good composers, to omit parts of them, or to insert new-fashioned ornaments; this is the greatest insult you can offer to Art." "The laws of Morals are those of Art." "Without enthusiasm nothing great can be effected in Art." "There is no end of learning."

JOHN ROBERT LUNN.

# Spiritual Worship.

EVERYBODY is talking about Spiritual Worship. All kinds of "grievous" and "soft" words have been spoken, yet the strife goes on. The Church and the World are excited. The World gives its opinion. The Church declares the Faith. The "Religious World" is, as usual, undecided and divided, but leans most to the private judgment of the "men of the World."

The strangest thing about the whole controversy is, that all men are agreed in singing the praises of Spiritual Worship; while the opposite ways in which they carry out the intention of their song render it apparent that Spiritual Worship is, to very many of them, an "Unknown GOD." On this point, moreover, men seem content to be ignorant. They have the temple, the altar, and the inscription. They pursue their devotions in perfect serenity, unconscious of the intrusion of the passers by.

What man, religious or irreligious, does not bow down before the Image? What "kind of music" is absent from its festival? The Catholic Church, having received her doctrine from Heaven, extols the beauty of Spiritual Worship, and declares that no other worship is acceptable to GOD. Protestants, who "enjoy their own religion," devoutly make an Act of Uniformity, and affirm that all religion which is not spiritual is vain. The openly profane and irreligious are ready to give their unfeigned assent and consent to the statement; maintaining that, if men must be religious, they should choose a spiritual religion; and denying that any other kind of religion ought to have any place in this realm of England, or in this enlightened age. The Church and the World appear to say the same thing, yet there is not any real peace. There seems to be in this agreement a Re-union of Christendom, and even something more. The city is apparently at unity in itself. But the confusion of tongues shows that the city is not Jerusalem.

Let what has been said be enough to show that no religious community has a monopoly of Spiritual Worship, by virtue of a mere assertion of the claim. The fact that all men who think about the matter approve of Spiritual Religion, and that all men who possess any religion believe their religion to be spiri-

tual, ought to check the rash statements of some popular lecturers, who would have us believe that Spiritual Religion will "die with them" and their "views." The same two facts ought to make us try to get clear ideas on a subject of so great importance, and should make us determine to listen rather to facts and arguments than to confident assertions.

I shall introduce the subject by the following extract:—"Now Christianity is come, cleared of external things down to a very minimum. Not in the Tabernacle, not in the Temple, not on the mountains of Samaria, not in the city of Jerusalem are men now to worship, but everywhere. GOD is a Spirit. The hour was coming, and JESUS said it was then come, when they who worship the FATHER must worship Him in spirit and in truth. But, in the face of all the Spirituality, so introduced, man's nature remains the same, and the natural man receiveth not the things of the SPIRIT of GOD. Now, if Christianity consists of the things of the SPIRIT of GOD, and if the natural man receives not the things of the SPIRIT of GOD, what is he to do with Christianity? He must either reject it altogether, or he must introduce into it things that are not things of the SPIRIT of GOD, and call them Christianity. This is what has been done. The great majority of those who professed Christianity from the beginning have been under the dominion of superstition; and superstition revels in external ceremonial. What else can it do? Stirred by its fears to take some action, and not having faith in the things that are not seen, what can it do but busy itself with the things that are seen? Therefore its priest must be visible, its confession must be addressed to something visible, its absolution must be pronounced by something visible. Instead of the hidden unction of the Holy One, it must have visible oil. Instead of hidden godly sorrow, it must have visible penance. It walks by sight. This is not Christianity. This is a caricature of ancient Judaism; and, like other caricatures, it goes beyond its model in the way of excess. The Jewish priesthood offered sacrifices for the living, and for the living only. It remained for the exaggeration presented to the Christian World by the great apostasy from the Christian faith to offer sacrifices not only for the living, but for the dead."

The passage is taken from No. I. of the *Church Association Lectures*. The lecture was delivered in S. James' Hall, London, Feb. 12, 1867; the subject was the *Priesthood;* the lecturer was Canon M'Neile. It would be affectation to deny the strength, pecuniarily at least, of the Church Association. It would be presumptuous to despise a course of lectures delivered

under its auspices by such well-known men as Canon M'Neile, Dean Close, Drs. Miller and Blakeney, Messrs. Hobart Seymour and Ryle. It would be unjust to ignore the position which Canon M'Neile holds in the Protestant Party. Let the statement which I have quoted be allowed all the weight which the lecturer and his friends may desire to attach to it. Let it by all means be regarded as an authorized version of the Protestant theory of Spiritual Worship. If any one is inclined to doubt this, let it only be re-asserted that the extract is taken from No. I. of the *Church Association Lectures*, its author being Canon M'Neile; and that in No. II. of the same course of lectures, which was delivered a week after, by Dean Close, the very same argument is used—that, by a remarkable coincidence, the argument and arrangement of the early parts of the two lectures are in great measure identical.

Before I go further, I may draw attention to a very significant confession, contained in the statement quoted from Canon M'Neile's lecture. It is notorious that there are two main theories of Spiritual Worship, the Catholic and the Protestant. Canon M'Neile, the advocate of the latter theory, confesses its failure:—"The great majority of those who professed Christianity from the beginning have been under the dominion of superstition, and superstition revels in external ceremonial." Combine with this a statement made by Mr. Minton, in his sermon on *The Central Superstition of Christendom*:—"While this is quite sufficient to account for the comparative silence of the inspired writers on any sober view of the ordinance [the Holy Eucharist], it is impossible to conceive that they would have said so little, if they had attached such importance to it as the Church at large has done almost ever since their time. In this, as in so many other things, how marked is the difference between the Apostles and even their immediate followers! The great Architect of Evil began at once to lay the foundation for that huge system of superstition, which he had already designed. What he had to work upon was man's natural desire for the external in religion, his proneness to 'require a sign;' and the unconscious agents which he employed were some of God's holiest Saints."

As a preliminary argument, these two statements are most valuable, and may clear the way to a speedy solution of our problem. It is frankly confessed that "the great majority of those who professed Christianity from the beginning" were "Ritualists;" and that the "immediate followers" of the Apostles, as well as "the Church at large," almost ever since the Apostles'

days, gave to the Holy Eucharist a place of importance which Protestant theories forbid. What more could we have? What matter if Canon M'Neile calls this primitive "Ritualistic" tradition "a caricature of ancient Judaism," so long as he confesses that *it was* "from the beginning"? What matter if Mr. Minton denounces the "Central Superstition of Christendom," if he acknowledges that the "immediate followers" of the Apostles and "the Church at large" are against him? The Church at large, from the beginning, is more to be depended upon than the Church Association Lecturers of 1867. Lectures I. and II. must give way to the teaching of the "immediate followers" of the Apostles.

This is not a mere question of antiquity or of majorities. The real point to be decided is this: Does CHRIST rule His Church, or does He leave her to go astray? No one who reads his Bible can doubt that CHRIST is with His Church. How He guides her, or how far He preserves her purity, we need not inquire. This one point is agreed upon by all—the gates of Hell cannot prevail against CHRIST's Church. But, according to Canon M'Neile and Mr. Minton, "the natural man," and "the great Architect of Evil," have, from the beginning, prevailed against the Truth. Observe the consequences of this admission. Be it remembered we are not discussing some trifling matter of detail; the corruption of worship described must be, in its effect, nothing short of a corruption of the Faith. If, then, we agree with Canon M'Neile and Mr. Minton, we must believe that CHRIST's promise has failed. But, if we believe that GOD is true, we must believe also that the "Ritualistic" system of worship, whose early and general prevalence they deplore, is according to the will of GOD, and the result of Divine guidance. Assuredly, in a matter of so great importance, "the Church at large" has not been always in error, and "whatever is, is right."

This preliminary argument ought to be enough to convince all persons who have confidence in the writers, whose admissions have guided us to so satisfactory a conclusion. But, even in their case, it may be well to adduce more trustworthy evidence.

No one can think long about the subject of this Essay without calling to mind the words of our LORD to the woman of Samaria: "GOD is a SPIRIT; and they that worship Him must worship Him in Spirit and in Truth." It is, therefore, important to inquire, What does our Divine Master mean to teach us by these weighty words?

*Ritualism, in some Recent Developments, incompatible with the*

*Worship of God in Spirit and in Truth,* is the title of a tract by the Rev. G. S. Drew, Incumbent of S. Barnabas, South Kennington. The writer refers to 1 Thess. v. 23, and quotes Bishop Ellicott's statements that, in the verse, there is "a witness that may not be gainsaid of the existence and association of three elements in man—body, soul, and spirit," and that "as the body is the medium of communication between the soul and the phenomenal world, so the soul is the medium of communication between the body and the spirit, and the spirit the medium between the soul and the HOLY SPIRIT of GOD." The same writer thus interprets our LORD's words:—"Our body and our soul, or natural life, being in abeyance, the highest part of our threefold nature, our spirit, must in its loftiest exercises rise and come into His presence, and commune with Him." He still further explains his meaning thus:—"Far above our merely natural consciousness of the things of time and sense, and as if we were also for the time freed from our bodily investment, may we thus think of, and, thus thinking of, rejoice in Him." Again, "It is not primarily in the 'soul,' or 'natural man,' in the region of our affections and feelings, that true worshippers are to come in their approaches to the FATHER, but it is 'in spirit' they must first draw nigh to Him. The soul, indeed, is not inactive: all the powers of this secondary portion of our nature enter into and contribute a portion of our offerings of worship; but then only subsequently and subordinately, and after our spirit has risen on high in its ineffable pleadings with the Parent of its being." Let me add an extract from the Rev. Edward Garbett's Address on *Extreme Ritualism*:—"Rites, that is, outward forms of some sort or another, *are necessary and inevitable.* Their use inheres in the nature that we bear, compounded of body and spirit, and possessing many subtle avenues between the inward and the outward, in the senses, and the sensations related to them."

We have now to see how these extracts support the Catholic theory of Worship.

Observe, in the first place, what must follow, if we confess the supremacy of "the spirit" in man. Catholics do not need to be taught this truth. They do not hesitate to confess it. They believe that it supplies an unanswerable argument in behalf of Catholic Worship.

For what means this supremacy? Does it mean that the spirit gives orders which the soul and the body refuse to obey—that so long as the ruler speaks aright, his subjects may do as they like—that it is no matter whether the "avenues"

through which the higher part of our nature acts upon the lower, are kept open or choked up—that while the power must be preserved at its full strength, we must be careful not to suffer it to take effect—that at least some of the legitimate results of that power may be deprecated and disparaged? Or, on the contrary, does this supremacy mean that the will of the ruler is obeyed—that the avenues through which the higher part of our nature acts upon the lower cannot with safety be closed, but must be carefully cleansed from all obstructions—that the power is maintained for use—that no legitimate exercise of power is to be discouraged?

Which of these two theories is right? The former, advocated by Mr. Garbett and Mr. Drew, frees the worshipper from his "bodily investment," the soul and body being "in abeyance," while the spirit worships; and maintains that outward acts have no reference to "GOD Who is worshipped," and that "sensitive vigilance" must check them. The latter illustrates the words of S. Paul, "I pray GOD your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our LORD JESUS CHRIST;" deems it impious for you to refuse to "glorify GOD in your body and in your spirit, which are GOD'S;" beseeches you to "present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto GOD, which is your reasonable service;" and teaches you that GOD sees the outward marks of love and reverence which His people render (S. Luke vii. 44). The difference between the two theories may be stated in a word. The former dwells much on the idea that human nature, in its "corruption and deep depravity," has "a propension to what is outward, and visible, and material, rather than to what is unseen and spiritual" (*Extreme Ritualism*, p. 31). The latter adopts Law's answer to Bishop Hoadley:—"Outward ordinances and visible professions are as necessary to make men true Christians, as outward acts of love and external purity are necessary to make men charitable or chaste. For Christianity as truly implies external acts and professions as chastity implies outward purity."

The shallowness of the popular theory becomes more apparent at every step. It is founded on the groundless assumption that Spiritual Religion is denied by all who do not hold its narrow views. Acknowledging the complex nature of man, its aim is to choke up or destroy the "avenues" through which spiritual life is manifested. It makes no provision for the renewal of man's whole nature. It separates one favoured part from the rest. It calls unclean that which GOD hath cleansed, and so destroys the work of GOD.

It is no answer to say that the body and soul are "not inactive"—that "subsequently and subordinately, and after our spirit has risen on high," they "contribute a portion of our offerings of worship"—that "forms of worship, which are first concerned with the feelings and natural impulses," must be utterly condemned—that we must not, "in the first instance," be "wrought upon" by what is sensuous—that "the spirit is not aided, rather is it repressed and hindered, by these agencies, in its vital communion with God." Suppose we grant all this, and accept even the terms in which the statement is made. What is the result? Simply nothing. The great question of Spiritual Worship is left untouched.

The truth is that the argument above adduced by Mr. Drew, if worth any thing, applies only to private devotion. Such warnings may be useful in the case of a man who, while not worshipping God in spirit and in truth, enriches his private Oratory with all the ornaments and accessories of "Sensuous Worship." If the writer can find such a case, he is at perfect liberty to condemn it; yet the detection of the sinner will be no easy task. The "sensuous worshipper" condemned may not be what he seems. God, Who knows his heart, may behold in him one of the "spiritual worshippers," whom He seeks to worship Him. He may be even one whose spirit cleaves stedfastly unto God, in spite of many inconsistencies at which the world sneers. He may be struggling manfully, in that despised Oratory, against the defects that mar his Christian character. It may be, too, that it is a deep consciousness of his own frailty which makes him feel it needful to cultivate "Spiritual Worship" by leaving clear the "avenues" that connect the different parts of his nature. Who shall say that he is wrong in thus letting the "Word of God have free course," and yearning to offer up his whole spirit and soul and body to his Saviour? Is one of these little ones to be offended, because he feels his weakness?

In the case of Ritual "developments" at Church, the arguments of Mr. Drew are wholly inapplicable. It is obvious that the fittings and ornaments of the Church cannot be changed at each service, during each service, and for the edification of each worshipper severally. No staff of sacristans or beadles, however numerous and efficient, could attempt so arduous a task; and their "never ceasing from uncomely walking and jetting up and down, and overthwart the Church" (*Homily*), would not much conduce to Spiritual Worship. It is manifestly impossible for each worshipper to give notice when his "spirit" has been moved, in order that the proper officer may forthwith set before

his eyes the sensuous ornaments, now no longer dangerous, because used in their proper place, "subsequently and subordinately, and after his spirit has risen on high." The theory could be carried out only in very small parishes; where each worshipper could have his own pew as his oratory, and arrange it during the service according to the needs of his own "spirit." But, if this were done, the idea of Public Worship must be given up. This kind of assembling of ourselves together could not be acceptable to God.

In the matter of what is sometimes absurdly called "Personal Ritual" at Church, we may sympathize with Mr. Drew's objections. There must and always will be people who, more or less, act in an unreal way at Church, offering to God "the external form of worship, when the essence of it is absent" (*Extreme Ritualism*, p. 11). There must always be others who worship God with their spirits, and yet do not see the need of worshipping Him with their bodies. In either case, God is robbed of part of the honour due unto His Name. In the former case, we may confess, with Mr. Drew, that the spirit should be first and chief; in the latter, we must as plainly say that the soul and the body ought to follow the spirit's leading. Yet, with regard to both, the rule of charity must prevail. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? Who gave you the right to criticize the devotions of your neighbours at Church? What you think vanity and self-consciousness, may be the result of an humble effort to decide the question, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord?" What you call spirituality, may be carnality and hypocrisy.

Yet, notwithstanding this, we must still maintain that Mr. Drew's argument cannot affect the Ritual of Divine Service; for, though the principle which he asserts ought, as far as may be, to guide the worshippers as individuals, we must remember that it is not as individuals that they go to Church, but as members of the whole body. This consideration will, of course, modify even what has been said in the last paragraph as to the duty of being "real" in worship; for, to a certain extent, those who join in worship should conform to the usage of the congregation. Where those usages are clearly according to the teaching of the Church, the duty seems imperative, and it would be a breach of charity to refuse compliance. It may be enough for the present to add, on the point now raised, that Mr. Drew's principle cannot be carried out in Public Worship, and that the confessed necessity for being "real" in Personal Ritual does not prove his point. For, though a worshipper try ever so much to

follow, and only to follow, the leadings of his spirit, not allowing his body to go before it, still, on this very account, he will see the discrepancy between his own acts and the ritual of the congregation. He may do what is "real" himself; but there is a service going on which for the time is unreal to him, and he is bound to take part in it. The service must sometimes be unreal to him, for it is uniform, and his dispositions are by their very nature variable. Moreover, the very effort to be real, involving as it must a certain amount of singularity, will be itself a distraction. And it will often be necessary, if it were only on this account, for a worshipper to let his bodily acts run before or lag behind his spirit. We have here a choice of evils; and it must be sometimes hard to say which ought to be chosen.

This seems, at first sight, a perilous doctrine. Take an extreme case, and say whether it is right or not. There are Priests, or, if you will, there are ministers, who lead the devotions of the people. "Like Priest, like people," is, in this case, more than any other, a true proverb. Yet Priests are men of like passions with their people. They do not always "lift up their hearts" to the same height. Sometimes the mind is full of care, oppressed by parochial, and, it may be, with domestic troubles of every conceivable kind. Perhaps the next service may be entered upon with tranquil spirit and prepared heart. Must the movements of the Priest be as variable as his circumstances? His sermons show a little of the effect produced upon his mind by the worries of daily life: are the same things to alter the Ritual of his Church from week to week? It is no answer to this argument to say that a Priest ought always to be *in excelsis*. Of course he ought; and so ought every Christian to worship God with his body and his spirit.

Are we then to deprecate all acts of Common Worship, because their right performance is beset with so much difficulty? Might we not, on surer grounds, deprecate the privilege of private devotion; for it too has its peculiar trials? Let us be content with the knowledge of the fact, that Common Worship, though it may seem at some times a hindrance, is, at all times, if rightly used, a help; and that the Word of God enjoining it must be obeyed. Enough for us that common acts of Worship are necessary, though men differ widely from one another; and that all parts of our nature must combine, although they also widely differ in their character. "The senses are the only avenues for any common act between man and man. To reject all forms is very much the same as to complain that God has made us thus, and not after some finer model of our own conceiving" (*Extreme*

*Ritualism*, p. 10). All Worship is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not.

It is time to close this part of our argument. The objection of those who hold the Protestant theory of Worship takes three forms. Ritualists are accused of putting the Worship of the Body *before, above,* or *instead of* the Worship of the Spirit. This is the substance of the charge against us.

With regard to the last of these assertions the less said the better. I am content to meet Canon M'Neile's oft-repeated statement by a reference to the Ninth Commandment; and I do so the more confidently, as I am defending, not only some everywhere-spoken-against and latter-day Ritualists, but, by Canon M'Neile's own distinct confession, "the great majority of those who professed Christianity from the beginning."

The second charge is as easily met. Mr. Garbett tells us that "rites and ceremonies" are necessary, "and, being necessary, they have their proper use, as the expression of inward emotion, reacting, as all outward things do, on the emotion they express" (*Extreme Ritualism*, p. 12). I am at a loss to see how, with this statement before us, we can defend ourselves from the charge of being formal, artificial, unnatural, and every thing else that is "Popish," and wicked in our devotions, if we do not suffer the outward and the inward to act and re-act upon one another in the manner indicated by the writer. Even if we see Ritualists "bow themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement" (2 Chron. vii. 3), we have no right to condemn their eccentricity. This, and other parts, or supposed parts of "extreme Ritualism" may have their "proper use." They may be only "the expression of inward emotion." Nay, further, if we forbid such acts of apparent devotion, we may be committing the sin of restraining the feelings of inward devotion reacting on them. And if we thus sin against the brethren, weak though they be, we sin against CHRIST, contracting the double guilt of hindering our brother's devotions, and keeping from GOD the honour due unto His Name. I use the phrase "apparent devotion," because it seems clear that in the objection now combated there is more than a suggestion of insincerity. Indeed, Mr. Drew, in describing the worship of some of his brother Clergy, speaks of that "untiring zeal, which, to those who are ignorant of the strange disguises wherein self-will frequently asserts itself, may pass for self-devotion."

It appears to be taken for granted by the objectors, that where the Worship of the Body seems to be put "above" the Worship of the Spirit, the former is not the expression of the latter, but rather an indication of its feebleness or absence. And this assumption

involves another; namely, that the objector is entitled and qualified to judge his brother, deciding on the comparative power or motive force of religion in his external and internal organization. As to this claim to hyper-Apostolic gifts, it is necessary only to quote Canon M'Neile's Lecture on the *Priesthood*:—"The seat of sin, the great leprosy of human nature, is the heart. There, within, is the deceitfulness and desperate wickedness. With comparatively few exceptions, the workings of this great epidemic are not visible by man. No man can take cognizance of them; no man can deal with them." Let this statement suffice. The writer speaks here of the inadequacy of Confession to search the depths of sin in the heart of man. He says that no Priest can see the inward disease, "without any training or instruction," and thanks God that "there is no English literature on the subject." What training or instruction is it that has enabled Canon M'Neile and other writers of the same class to see, without Confession, those secret sins of hypocrisy and insincerity which, as it is said, even the Confessional is unable to reveal? The Confessional is the Priest's severest and most painful, though most blessed toil. What would it be to be possessed of a spirit which would set continually before one's eyes worse sins than those cured in the "secret chambers!" I must offer another suggestion on this point. The hypocrisy and self-will of Ritualists are secret sins. "With comparatively few exceptions, the workings of this great epidemic are not visible by man." Common prudence ought, therefore, to supply the want of Christian charity, and cover the multitude of sins. False accusers often meet with their appropriate reward; and those who are zealous in casting out "motes" which they confess to be invisible, may find the avenger ready to do unto them as they thought to do unto the other. In the interest of peace, therefore, it may be well to remind Church Association Lecturers and other warlike Ministers of the Gospel of Peace, that if our sins are secret, theirs are open and visible. It is easy to say that a Ritualist wears a chasuble "to be seen of men," or that he hears confessions with unworthy motives; yet, he who says such things may be all the while following the inspiration of the false "Accuser of the brethren." But "Evangelical Laxity" is a very different thing. When a Priest refuses to say his Prayers and read his Bible every day in Church; changes the Lessons; leaves out the Athanasian Creed; does not give notice of Holy Days and Fasting Days, or omits the Services appointed for those Days; has processions, introit, vestments, and other ceremonies introduced before his Sermon; leaves out the Prayer for

the Church Militant; never baptizes infants during service—in these and many such cases the offence is "visible," and all "can take cognizance" of it. We do not give "railing for railing." Yet a suggestion may not be considered presumptuous. *Perhaps* our invisible spirits do not offer to GOD the service which our bodies offer; *certainly* their visible bodies are at fault. If would first remove the visible blemishes from their services, they would see more clearly to correct our secret sins.

I come now to the first charge. Is it true that Ritualists put the Worship of the Body *before* the Worship of the Spirit; before it, I mean, in point of time? After the quotations that have been made, the inquiry seems superfluous and vain. It is wrong to trifle with a serious subject. It may be worth some one's while to write a treatise on this objection when it has been determined which comes first, the light or heat of the fire, and when an accurate calculation has been made of the length of time which passes between a blow and the pain of it. Somewhat has been said about the difficulty of observing the strict order contended for in the cases of private devotion and "personal ritual" at Church. The impossibility of doing the office of "time-keeper" in public worship has also been hinted at. It may be enough now to add that the Church of GOD in all ages has done all that could be done to meet the objection. Ritual was not developed in the Temple before the people of Israel had been well disciplined in the Wilderness. In the Providence of GOD there was, in the Christian Church, the same reserve at first. Canon M'Neile is doubtless right in saying that "the dominion of superstition,"—by which he means reverence—was "from the beginning;" yet we know that this primitive reverence did not find its full expression, or "revel in external Ceremonial," for three or four centuries. Similarly, the Tractarian Revival, guided doubtless by the same unerring Wisdom from above, was not at the beginning a "Ritual Movement." Tractarianism—reckoning from the date of the Preface to *The Christian Year*, as a landmark in its history, May 10, 1827—is upwards of forty years old. Ritualism proper, in its developed form, scarcely four years old. The order *has* been observed, and is still observed as far as is practicable. The clothing of wrought gold has been withheld, until it seemed evident that the KING'S Daughter was glorious within. Yet the principle was manifestly one capable of only partial adoption. The Christian Church has her babes, but she has also men of stronger growth. "Milk" is inadequate nourishment for those who are going on unto perfection. The Christian Year begins with Advent gloom, and returns to even

greater darkness in Lent. But the Church cannot sit all the year through in sackcloth and ashes, because there may not be in some of her children "one true movement of the 'inner man' towards GOD" (Rev. G. S. Drew). She must sometimes "put on her beautiful garments" to keep pace with many a faithful "spirit" which has "risen on high in its ineffable pleadings with the Parent of its being" (Rev. G. S. Drew).

All that has been written so far may now be forgotten, at least for the present. We have forsaken the King's highway; we have "walked through byways." We have made no progress. We know nothing more about Spiritual Worship than we did when we began. It is unfortunate, but it could not be helped. We have followed three Protestant writers in their dreams. We might as well, the while, have been folding our hands to sleep. It seemed desirable to have their evidence; yet all that they have said has guided us to no intelligible result. We have speculated with them upon the nature and the parts of human nature; we have learned nothing of the nature and the will of GOD. The Blessed Eucharist is stripped of all in It that is glorious, by men who dwell more on the faith of the receivers than on the love of the Giver; who imagine that faith makes CHRIST Present, and that unbelief makes Him Absent, instead of believing that the greatest of all good and perfect Gifts comes only from above. And so has it fared with Spiritual Worship. The crudities above examined have given us some superficial notions about man: they have given us no acquaintance with GOD. They have given us what is negative and human: we desired what was positive and Divine. We have meditated on man, who is "without understanding:" we have learned nothing about the Wisdom of GOD. We have scratched the surface of the question: we have not even tried to search its depths. We have got some apocryphal ideas "for example of life, and instruction of manners;" but we cannot "apply them to establish any doctrine." We have lost our labour. We must begin again.

What is Spiritual Worship? Whence comes it? What is its nature? How can we know it from its counterfeits?

"GOD is a SPIRIT, and they that worship Him must worship Him in Spirit and in Truth." Here is the answer to all such questions as these that have been stated. Spiritual Worship comes from GOD, not from what GOD teaches, but from what He is. The Nature of GOD shows of itself how GOD is to be worshipped. Because GOD is a SPIRIT, His Worship must be Spiritual.

The reason alleged is sufficient. It is so decisive that no other can be opposed to it. All lesser reasons must give way before this one. Let them be stated as clearly and strongly as they may; in the presence of a reason derived from the Nature of God they vanish at once. They are not true reasons. They are, at best, excuses, subterfuges, falsehoods.

Moreover, the reason given is perfect. No other need be sought. All inferior reasons, however true, add nothing to its force. There is no gap to fill up; there is no flaw to mend. The one reason will suffice.

Another and more difficult truth must follow. A moment's thought will suffice to make us see that the reason for Spiritual Worship now alleged always existed, and from the beginning had the very same force that it has now. To doubt this is to doubt the eternity of God, to give the lie to Him Who declares that He "changeth not." "God is a Spirit" means—"God was, is now, and always will be a Spirit." "They that worship Him must worship Him in Spirit and in Truth" means—"They that from the beginning have worshipped Him, they that worship Him now, and they that shall worship Him throughout eternity, worship Him in Spirit and in Truth."

It is hardly an addition to this statement to say, that God has always *required* Spiritual Worship. Of course it is not affirmed that God has always spoken with plain voice to all His intelligent creatures, or has taught them all the full theory of Worship with distinctness. On the contrary, it is true that God has "winked at" the ignorance of unspiritual worshippers. But this much must be maintained, for the honour of God is concerned in the fact, that, whenever God has spoken, He has spoken the truth; that He has not led His creatures astray, or given them a Worship that was not, in His institution of it, true Spiritual Worship. It only remains to add, as a further yet immediate consequence of what has been said, that God never sanctioned or commanded any imitation of humanly-devised forms of worship. No man by searching can find out God; therefore none of the systems of man can be according to the Spiritual Nature of God. And if it could be proved that God at any time ordered or even sanctioned the use, by His people, of forms of worship that had previously been in use by other nations, this fact would of itself be a sufficient proof that those forms of worship, though apparently copied by God from man, were not plagiarisms; but, on the contrary, were a part of the primitive teaching which God had given, and which had been handed down in an imperfect or corrupted form among the

heathen. Let then this point be settled at once. The precept of Spiritual Worship is no new commandment; it is the same which we have had from the beginning.

With this confession the difficulties of our subject begin. For we know that GOD has sanctioned different systems—that not only for the hardness of men's hearts, but of His own will, He has not only permitted but sanctioned or commanded forms of Worship most diverse, and, as some men think them, contradictory in their character. We ask in amazement, Were all these systems true and spiritual? The only answer that religion and reverence can give is this—Yes, "GOD cannot lie," is as true as "GOD is a SPIRIT." Let it be once ascertained that the different Religions spoken of were all GOD's ordinance; and the conclusion follows at once. All of them must have taught Spiritual Worship.

Let no man's heart fail him here. There is an apparent discrepancy; but we make not GOD a liar. We must rather believe in the truth of various forms of worship than deny any part of GOD's Word. And, above all things, the part of His Word that belongs to Worship we cannot deny; for it is a part of Himself, a direct result of His Nature. If we deny it, we deny GOD. If we take away any part, we detract from the full glory of the Most High.

We have now to consider that the variation is chiefly one of detail, and the differences are not so important as they seem. We know that often things most unlike have the very same nature. Different parts of the same work appear most contradictory. And, more than this, we who crawl upon this little speck of GOD's creation may see differences that GOD denies. We only see and know in part. In our eye, apparent variations are mistaken for real difficulties. The All-seeing looks only on the reality, observing how all things work to the accomplishment of the same result, as harmonious parts of one great, divinely-arranged system. We therefore have no right to intrude our ignorant cavils. The words of the LORD JESUS are literally true, and always were true. Call not what GOD has cleansed common. "Carnal ordinances" may mean and may be spiritual things.

Faith, however perfect, is not denied the right to search for a solution of its difficulties. We are not wrong in asking for a revelation of the mystery of Spiritual Worship. The answer is not far off. Look within, and see it in yourself. In Religion we shall never go far wrong, if we look twice, once at GOD and then at ourselves.

But is not an inquiry into the nature of man the very thing

that has been deprecated in the former part of this Essay? Assuredly it is, and nothing could be more misleading than such an investigation. But it is not the *parts* of human nature, but the *condition* of human nature that we are to take into account in the settlement of this question. It would, as I have said, be mere waste of time to discuss the difference between body, soul, and spirit. The matter now to be debated is far more serious and important. "A living dog is better than a dead lion." It may appear, by-and-by, that a redeemed body is better than a spirit spiritually dead, and that Holy Scripture gives no sanction to fine-drawn distinctions between "bodies and spirits" that GOD claims as His own. But, not to anticipate, we have seen that GOD is unchangeable. We have to add to this another fact, that man is changed. "GOD hath made man upright, but they have sought out many inventions." Spiritual Worship, then, will be according to the Nature of GOD, Who is a SPIRIT; and it will appear at different times, in whatever form the Wisdom of GOD sees to be best adapted to the state of man. GOD'S purpose is sure; its development is gradual, yet connected and consistent.

We have now ascertained that GOD'S Worship is always Spiritual, and that its apparent variations are only indications of the gradual unfolding of His purposes. We advance easily to the conclusion that Spiritual Worship can be ascertained and defined only by an inquiry into the history of that Worship. After the successive stages of that history have been investigated, we may inquire into the place in that history which Christian Worship is to take, and learn at the same time what are to be the leading features of that Worship.

"GOD is a SPIRIT." How can this declaration help us in the search after the true Worship? We say, "Shew us the FATHER:" and the answer is, "He that hath seen Me hath seen the FATHER." Again, we are sinners; how shall we offer Spiritual Worship? The answer is, "No man cometh unto the FATHER but by Me." Therefore GOD "Manifest in the Flesh" is the only solution of our difficulty. *The history of Spiritual Worship is the history of the Incarnation, with its preparation and its results.*

Without further preface, I go on to trace the successive stages of the development of Spiritual Worship. It will be convenient to note five distinct periods:—

I. The Creation to the Fall—before the promise of the Incarnation.

II. The Fall to the Birth of CHRIST—the hope of the Incarnation.

III. The Birth of CHRIST to the Ascension—the Incarnation accomplished, but not applied.

IV. The Ascension, or rather the Day of Pentecost, to the Second Advent—the Incarnation applied and extended.

V. The Second Coming, and throughout Eternity—the Incarnation in its consummation and final results.

We have now to see how GOD, in these five periods, developes gradually—I mean by steps—the Spiritual Worship which He requires. It is the same always from the beginning. It is—and it cannot be too often repeated—always Spiritual Worship. But its expression and form vary with its relations to the "Sun," whose place marks its "certain seasons."

I. What was the Worship of Eden? It was strictly Spiritual, in the sense of being the Worship of spirit and not of body. Let us have clear ideas on this point.

The Worship of Eden was not the Worship of Body. The origin and support of the human body incapacitated it for the offering of Worship. You know its origin. "The LORD GOD formed man of the dust of the ground." As far as his bodily frame went, man was not any thing but the noblest of the creatures with which GOD made the world to teem. "Man's nature can be traced downwards by insensible gradations, till it loses itself in the most elementary forms of animal existence: nay, the same process might be carried further, and the laws of our physical being might be shown, by startling analogies, to resolve themselves into powers which sway the vegetable and mineral world" (Archdeacon Wilberforce). Look, again, at the body's means of support. Not only was it, as we have seen, allied with the beasts of the field: it was, like them, nourished by material things. Nay, GOD said to Noah, "Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things."

The Worship of Eden was the Worship of Spirit. When GOD made man, He "breathed into his nostrils the breath of Life." Here is the spiritual principle, the supernatural Life that separates man from all the rest of the beings that GOD created. We cannot ascertain its nature, or estimate its powers. Enough that we know two things—it was nearly allied to the Nature of GOD, and it was far removed from the rest of GOD'S creation. It was allied to GOD, for "GOD created man in His own Image, in the Image of GOD created He him; male and female created He them." It was far above the beasts, though here also there is mystery. "Who knoweth the spirit of man

that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth?"

It is no answer to this to say that "man became a living soul." For though the man was one, his nature was two. His body as naturally walked upon the earth from which it was taken, as his spirit rose to GOD, from Whom it came. There was then no mediation needed. Nor was there any difficult adjustment of the claims of spirit and body. The body was the spirit's slave, obeying its commands naturally, and not of constraint. The spirit offered direct and acceptable service to GOD—a service such as no other part of GOD's creation knew how to offer. The body merely obeyed the spirit's will, bowing down before its Maker, "subsequently and subordinately,"—ennobled, indeed, by its alliance with the spirit, yet of itself rendering no more homage than any other part of the material world.

II. Innocence was soon lost, and Primitive Worship was lost with it. "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Death followed sin, and death is dissolution. The separation of the two parts of man's nature proved how slender had been the thread that had before connected them. Each now goes to its own place. "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the Spirit shall return unto GOD Who gave it." Yet in the curse pronounced was a hope of more than redemption. From the moment that the Serpent's curse was pronounced, a new Worship of God was established—may I not say that it was even commenced? It was a Worship which, of course, was Spiritual, though as clearly different from that which had preceded it. Mark the distinguishing feature of that new Worship. Its inspiration was the hope of the Incarnation. Observe the influence of that hope on the spirit and on the body of man.

First, see the hope of the body. "When Thou takest away their breath they die, and are turned again to their dust. When Thou lettest Thy breath go forth they shall be made, and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth." This renewal was to be wrought, as it appeared, after a new manner. No body "prepared" from the dust of the ground was to be quickened by the breath of GOD; but the SEED of the Woman was to bruise the Serpent's head. Dimly, yet certainly, the promise of GOD already revealed the truth—"The HOLY GHOST shall come upon thee." The words pointed to a change in the order of Nature; and, through all the ages that passed away before the Annunciation made that promise sure, the mysterious yearning of "our body"

signified that it was not always to be a slave to the spirit, or a burden "pressing down" the higher parts of our nature. Yet for the body as yet there was only hope. It had no real part in the Worship of GOD; for it was not, and could not be, Spiritual.

The spirit, on the contrary, depressed indeed by sin, was not "in despair." Not the hope only of future enlargement was its support; for it lost not all its former privilege. The tone of its address was lowered, yet still it had access to GOD, through Him that was to come. Here, again, all that I have said may be questioned. I shall be told that, however applicable all this may be to the earlier and simpler Worship of the Patriarchs, it misrepresents the Law with its ordinances of service, its "worldly sanctuary," its carnal worship—that Judaism was unspiritual, a thing of outward form and "bodily exercise." My answer is, a simple denial of the assertion. In truth and soberness, I maintain that the Law was eminently spiritual; that Judaism, with its Rites and Sacrifices, was a Spiritual Religion, nothing else and nothing more. Is any one so unmindful of the truth of GOD as to question this? Unmindful, I say, for surely no Christian will deliberately call GOD a liar; and assert that He, Who was equally pure a SPIRIT three thousand years ago as now, ever commanded in express terms any thing that was not strictly and purely Spiritual.

I am willing to admit that the hope of the Incarnation was very fully and intelligibly *uttered* in the Jewish Ritual—that the unconscious yearnings of man's body found expression according to Divine command in elaborate Ceremonial—that there were many shadows of good things to come. It is also readily confessed that the language of GOD was not always rightly understood by those to whom it was addressed, and that all ideas of imposing Jewish Ceremonial on Christians as necessary were repudiated by the Apostles. It is, of course, understood that those Rites were not of themselves effectual, and could not make the comers thereunto perfect. Moreover, it is true that "the measures with which the coming truth was seen through the existing shadow were very various in various individuals; some resting in the shadow itself, as in a formal act, and seeing little or nothing beyond; others penetrating through the shadow, and anticipating with wonderful clearness the eternal truth foreshadowed by the passing figure" (Canon M'Neile). But these facts are themselves enough to vindicate the true position of the Jewish Ritual. *Man cannot rise above the Revelation which God has vouchsafed.* Spiritual worshippers, such as those above described, could not have attained to their degree of spirituality by

means of any Ritual which was not itself intensely spiritual. And, in truth, it must be confessed that GOD'S own appointed means of keeping up Religion—that is, Spiritual Religion—among the people of Israel, must have been more spiritual than any system which we could have devised or imagined. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick;" and without those Ceremonies the spirit of man would have sunk down in despair, giving up the glorious hopes and aspirations enkindled by their means. Again, I say that Judaism was essentially and entirely a Spiritual Religion; and that the Rites which unspiritual unbelievers now depreciate were the Divinely-appointed means—in other words, were absolutely the best means—of keeping up the pure spirituality of worship.

In Judaism, then, there was the Worship of the Spirit, and not the Worship of the Body. There was, indeed, a great deal of "bodily exercise;" but that was only for the support of the spirit in its aspirations. The body was still allied to the dust. It had no bond of union with God. It had not, like the spirit, the wreck and remainder of that communion which sin had marred. The body, therefore, had no actual share in the worship, except that subordinate position which might be claimed for it by reason of its unconscious yearnings after good things to come—good things in which it was some day to have a clearly-ascertained share. Remember the miracle wrought by GOD through the body of Elisha:—"When alive, he wrought the resurrection by means of his soul; but that not the souls only of the just might be honoured, but that it might be believed that in the bodies also of the just there is power, the corpse which was thrown into the grave of Elisseus, when it touched the dead body of the Prophet, was quickened, and the dead body of the Prophet did the work of the soul, and that which was dead and buried gave life to the dead, and while imparting life, yet continued itself among the dead. Wherefore? Lest, if Elisseus should rise again, the work should be ascribed to his soul alone; and to show that, even though the soul is not present, a virtue resides in the body of the Saints, because of the righteous soul that has for so many years tenanted it, and used it as its minister" (S. Cyril's *Catechetical Lectures*). Without laying undue stress on the narrative or its interpretation, the words of S. Cyril seem to describe the functions of the body in spiritual things during this period. It had no direct alliance with GOD, or with things spiritual. Yet, "because of the righteous soul," it claimed a share in the "work of the soul." It had made a step in advance. In Eden it obeyed the spirit

"subsequently and subordinately:" in the Temple at Jerusalem it instructed, aided, sustained the spirit; and, besides, had a hope of a future for itself.

III. In the fulness of time the promised SAVIOUR came, and "the WORD was made Flesh." He, "by the Operation of the HOLY GHOST, was made Very MAN, of the substance of the Virgin Mary, His Mother." It was a "taking of the Manhood into GOD."

It is hard to realize this fact, or to estimate the Worship that could be offered during the mysterious years of our LORD's sojourn upon earth. "It was a time of transition. Judaism was expiring indeed. The last sands were running out of its glass, but it was not yet actually superseded. Christianity was there, but had not entered into all its functions" (Canon M'Neile). Hence the difficulty. Yet we must try to see what were the powers of Spiritual Worship then enjoyed by the spirit and the body of man.

Again, I have to maintain that the body had no real claim to approach GOD in Worship. True, its hope was confirmed by the presence of Him Who was to fulfil it. But the hope was not yet fulfilled. The Body of CHRIST did not discharge its "functions," except occasionally. JESUS CHRIST was as yet but potentially the SAVIOUR of the World. The fountains of the great deep of GOD's mercy were being opened up, that "rivers and streams of waters" might refresh the earth; but, for the present, GOD laid up the deep as in a treasure-house—the Sacred Humanity of CHRIST. Spiritual Worshippers indeed approached Him, and with the Angels worshipped Him; and He did not refuse the body's homage, which erred only in being premature. As in the days of His humiliation He could not ever hide His glory; so, in the days that passed before the benefits of His Incarnation were or could be fully applied, there was a limited grant by anticipation of the blessings which, in their full measure, were reserved. The MESSIAH could not come, without working the miracles and signs which were given to the disciples of S. John the Baptist as proofs of His commission. And those blessings, coming apparently "before the time," encouraged His followers who were forward to offer adoration. Yet all the while there was a wall of separation keeping back those who would offer bodily worship to the Sacred Humanity of JESUS: and the sinner who kissed and anointed His feet at the house of Simon might well have poured forth the tears that expressed her penitential sorrow; even though she felt not so deeply the sinfulness of sin; and only mourned because the Body of JESUS did not yet

fully assert Its life-giving power, or bring as many as received Him into union with Himself. The necessary reserve in these two points—I mean His, in not conferring blessings, and theirs, in not offering Him homage—seem to be occasionally explained or vindicated by Himself. "Greater works than these shall ye do," plainly shows that there was to be a time when the disciple would in a true sense be greater than his LORD: "Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended unto My FATHER," seems to explain that a time would come when, more than in the days of His Flesh, He could heal those that touched His Body, and could receive the unrestrained homage of His Saints. Hence He said; "It is expedient for you that I go away."

Of the spirit of man at this time, and of its worship, I need add little. "My spirit hath rejoiced in GOD my SAVIOUR," may express the development of Worship which it claimed in this day of mystery. All the faculties of man's spirit were quickened at the Advent of the long-expected MESSIAH.

IV. "The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit." We have now to see how the curse was reversed; and how the new Spiritual Worship of Christianity affected the spirit and the body of man.

The course of events is as follows:—

1. GOD breathed into man's nostrils the breath of Life. This was at man's creation, before he fell, and before the promise of the Incarnation was given.

2. GOD promised that the SEED of the Woman should bruise the Serpent's head. This was at the Fall. It was the promise of the Incarnation.

3. "The HOLY GHOST shall come upon thee." This was the message of the Angel, declaring the Incarnation accomplished, but not yet applied.

4. "Then said JESUS to them again, 'Peace be unto you; as My FATHER hath sent Me, even so send I you.' And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said unto them, 'Receive ye the HOLY GHOST.'" Here, and in the mystery of Pentecost, with its consequences, is the Incarnation applied and extended.

We have already seen the kind of Worship which resulted from the two-fold origin of man; the new Worship perfected in Judaism, the further realization of men's hopes with the Worship that expressed it when our SAVIOUR was upon earth. We have observed especially the comparative absence of bodily Worship during the three periods that have been marked. We have now to

inquire further into the Christian development of Spiritual Worship, and the part that the body takes in it.

It is necessary here to draw attention to two things which indicate the close connexion between Periods III. and IV. One of these is the Commission already quoted, given by our LORD to His Apostles. The other is the Institution of the Holy Eucharist, with the precept enjoining its Celebration. Both these acts were, as we shall see, applications and extensions of the Incarnation; yet both of them belong to the time of His Personal Presence upon earth. And they stand out in the Sacred Narrative with great prominence, apparently distinct even from the commission to baptize, as well as from the unrecorded sayings of our LORD concerning "the things pertaining to the Kingdom of GOD." A little consideration of these two subjects will explain the position which the Bible gives to them.

"There is a time for all things. There was a time for Judaism; its time was rapidly expiring. JESUS, the Great Teacher, became soon after the all-sufficient Sacrifice; then, rising from the dead and passing into the Heavens, He became the everlasting Intercessor. The shadows had passed away; the heavenly realities had come" (Canon M'Neile). How does CHRIST work as the "everlasting Intercessor"? What are the "heavenly realities" that He brought us?

We hear a great deal of the "finished work" of CHRIST on the Cross. And in truth each part of the work of CHRIST was perfect when He was pleased to perform it. But if we would gain an adequate idea of His whole work, we must see it as divided into two parts, the first extending from the Annunciation to the Ascension, the second from Pentecost to the Second Advent. "All that JESUS began both to do and teach, until the day in which He was taken up," we learn in the Holy Gospel. The second part of His work is too little regarded.

The Priests of Judaism "were all merged in Him of whom it is written, that He abideth a Priest continually" (Canon M'Neile). Being a Priest, "it is of necessity that this man have somewhat also to offer;" being a High Priest, it is of necessity that He have His Priests to minister under Him. This is no more than what He said Himself, "All power is given unto Me in Heaven and in earth. Go ye *therefore*—:" "As My FATHER hath sent Me, *even so* send I you—: Receive ye the HOLY GHOST."

This becomes more clear when we see what are the "Heavenly realities" of the Christian dispensation. That the Holy Eucharist was not a "shadow" but a "reality," not a sign but a

truth, our Blessed LORD was careful to show. If the words "THIS IS MY BODY," "THIS IS MY BLOOD," do not mean this, it is hard to tell what any other words of the Bible mean. "Stirred by its fears to take some action, and not having faith in the things that are not seen, what can it [Superstition] do but busy itself with the things that are seen?" (Canon M'Neile). This is a most accurate description of those who hold unbelieving views of the LORD'S Supper. "MY BODY," "MY BLOOD," are the things Heavenly and Unseen Whose Presence is solemnly affirmed. And, as the writer above quoted admits, "the great majority of those who professed Christianity from the beginning" have received the saying. Then comes the unbeliever, and busies himself "with the things that are seen;" denying all that his eyes do not witness, and refusing to see "Him Who is invisible." Is it too much to say of this form of unbelief—"It walks by sight. This is not Christianity. This is a caricature of ancient Judaism"? For does it not take us back again to the days of form and shadow? It has no "Heavenly realities" to offer.

It remains only, so far as this question is concerned, to notice an objection which promises to become a favourite. Archdeacon Wilberforce, in his works, pressed home the natural argument against the Anti-Sacramentarian system, maintaining that it was in effect a denial that JESUS CHRIST had come in the Flesh. Without dwelling on his argument further, it is well to notice the *tu quoque* argument which is used on the other side. How old the argument is I do not know; but it comes of late years from Canon M'Neile and Mr. Ryle. In the *Guardian* of Feb. 5, 1868, the former writes thus of the "Declaration on Kneeling" added to the Communion Office: "To assert otherwise concerning our LORD'S Body is to deny that He had a *true* Body, a Body of *flesh* such as ours, and such as the Apostle (Heb. i. 14) says He took. We have a warning from another Apostle that Antichrist should come, and should deny that CHRIST is come *in the Flesh.*" It is unnecessary here to show that those accused do not hold any doctrine inconsistent with the Declaration quoted. But observe the consequence of the argument. If it has any meaning, it must maintain that CHRIST'S Body was literally "such as ours," but without sin; that it had no powers which our bodies cannot claim. According to this theory all the miracles wrought by the LORD'S Body in the days of His flesh must be denied. Especially must we affirm that He was not transfigured, and that He did not walk on the sea. The miraculous multiplying of the five loaves must be given up; the

more so, as it so significantly illustrates the loving prodigality with which the LORD is by Catholics believed to grant the Precious Food of His Sacramental Presence to His people in all parts of the world. The miracle of the Ascension must be also rejected as unhistorical; for "a body of flesh such as ours" cannot rise, and some enthusiasts who have tried to fly have lost their lives in the attempt. But enough of this. If the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Eucharist denies the Manhood of CHRIST, the Protestant doctrine denies His Godhead. If the former denies that "JESUS CHRIST is come in the Flesh," the latter denies that He Who came in the Flesh was JESUS CHRIST.

We are now in a position to ascertain the parts which the body and the spirit take in the new Spiritual Worship. We may say of Christianity what Canon McNeile says of Superstition—"Its priest must be visible." Its High Priest was visible—"We have seen with our eyes." Those whom, under whatever name, He sent out to do His work "on earth," were visible. The Church founded on the Day of Pentecost was the Body of CHRIST: the breath of the HOLY SPIRIT quickened its members: they were baptized into one Body, which was visible. From the first they joined visibly in "the Breaking of Bread;" and partook of the Heavenly Food, by which their *souls* and *bodies* were kept unto everlasting Life. Christianity, then, is the emancipation of the body from its thraldom. The breath of GOD recreates man's nature, uniting again what spiritual death has dissolved, binding its parts into one. The natural difference between body and spirit is forgotten in the spiritual change which has come upon both. The Christian, who realizes what it is to be a Christian, is not puffed up for one against another. There is "no schism." We worship GOD with Body and Spirit, not because one or another is of itself a fit worshipper, but because both are GOD'S, and have been brought into union with GOD. The former things, the petty jealousies and conflicts that disturbed us, are not remembered now; they never come into mind. The difference between that which is external and that which is internal had to do with the rudiments of the world. The first principles of the Gospel make no distinction, except the vital one which separates that which is spiritual from that which is natural. Christianity has taught men that there is such a thing as a "Carnal Mind;" and that there is also such a thing as a "Spiritual Body." It does not, to use Canon M'Neile's phrase, "busy itself with the things that are seen"—with the manifestations of the natural workings of body or spirit. All its desires and efforts have a

view to the unseen, to the Spiritual, that is, the supernatural workings of Divine power on both body and spirit.

The effect of the Gospel in displacing crude human notions of Spiritual Worship for those which are Divine and perfect cannot be over-estimated. The "shadows" are gone: the "Heavenly realities" have come. The darkness is past; the true Light now shineth. Ritual is no longer a mere phylactery or encumbrance; it is a real thing and an acceptable service. To argue concerning the relative values of the offerings made to GOD by body and spirit is a turning again to the weak and beggarly elements of Jewish Ceremonial—a touching, tasting, handling of the chains that once kept us in the house of bondage—a denial of the Gospel, and of the liberty wherewith CHRIST has made His people free. The spirit cannot now say unto the body, I have no need of thee. Nay, more, GOD, in tempering together the parts of man's nature, hath, in the Gospel, "given more abundant honour to that part which lacked" before the Gospel came. There is, we know, a freshness and a buoyancy in the exercise of newly-acquired powers. And, even apart from any excitement, there is, of necessity, even in the most phlegmatic, a consciousness that it is a sign of weakness to receive privileges, and not to assert them. Let no one wonder, then, if the Church of CHRIST, whenever she becomes specially alive to her Gospel privileges, finds the doctrine of the Incarnation the greatest spur to her enthusiasm; and can express her deep feelings in nothing more than in devout acts of adoration paid to the Sacramental Presence of her LORD. Let us rather expect that each revival of Religion, if it be sound and lasting, will be marked by what, to the more cold-hearted, may appear an outburst of "Extreme Ritualism."

V. "It doth not yet appear what we shall be." It, therefore, is impossible to determine with any accuracy what is the nature of the Worship rendered in Heaven "with our bodies and our spirits." "What we shall be" we can, however, in some measure determine, by considering what we are now, and what the Presence which we hope to enjoy in a future state. "Now are we the Sons of GOD"—"we shall see Him as He is." For these two reasons we shall be like GOD. Similarly, if we ask how we shall worship GOD, our knowledge is determined by a consideration of the way in which we worship Him here, and of the change in that worship made in the immediate Presence of GOD. We may be somewhat helped to an understanding of this subject by noting two objections that may naturally be brought against the argument of the last few pages. And this appears to be the proper place to answer them.

In the first place it may be objected that the possession of a spiritual body has been supposed to be the lot of Christians now. This difficulty must be met. It has not been contended in this Essay that any thing like perfect spirituality has been, or can be, attained in our present imperfect state. Rather is it confessed that, even in the hour of death, the body is sown "in corruption," "in dishonour," "in weakness," "a natural body;" though it is raised "in incorruption," "in glory," "in power," "a spiritual body." It is further admitted that that which is "sown" is "bare grain," and that in its present state of "flesh and blood" it "cannot inherit the Kingdom of God." But as fully must it be maintained that, when "we shall be changed," the body which we shall "put on" will have a relation, more or less intimate, to that which we put off. The seed in its origin is "the Word of God;" and that seed is sown since "the Word was made Flesh." It is unnecessary to ask, "Didst not Thou sow *good* Seed in Thy field?" And whatever "an enemy" may do in the meanwhile, it is apparent that the Seed ought to retain its character. The rule of the Resurrection is, "To every seed his own body." Now, "all flesh is not the same flesh:" the flesh which the "quickening spirit" of the last Adam has united to himself is not like to the flesh of those children of wrath whose bodies resemble "the flesh of beasts" that perish. Therefore, the "bare grain" that is sown—the bodies that live on earth—if they are to be "celestial bodies" at the Resurrection, are not "bodies terrestrial" now. It is not hard to see from this, how a "neglecting of the body" in the matter of worship is gross and culpable carnality; for *it is an assertion of the power of "that which is natural" over "that which is spiritual."* The outcry against the Ritual system, whose reality was established by the Gospel, is well described by these words: "In the face of all the spirituality so introduced, man's nature remains the same, and the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God" (Canon M'Neile).

The objection noticed above was founded on the imperfect development of the body's spirituality. The other is founded on the development of what I must call the spirit's spirituality. It may take this form—The body is elevated, indeed; but the spirit is also elevated; and, as the spirit was from the first above the body, it still takes the higher place. Without entering into the accuracy of this statement, it is enough to say that in practice we cannot allow it any weight. It has already been contended in this Essay that whatever natural pre-eminence the spirit of man may have had is not now to be taken into account;

for the supernatural power which both body and spirit have received, places them on a level which no circumstances merely natural can disturb. And this argument can only be refuted by showing that in the application of the benefits of the Incarnation, the spirit of man has been more highly favoured than his body. This impracticable argument will not, I suppose, be attempted by any one who has a due sense of man's ignorance about Divine mysteries. "The superficial view" commonly taken of such Scripture phrases as "the new man," and "the inner man," is false, and "will not bear examination;" for these words do not "denote the incorporeal in contrast with the corporeal, but the spiritual in contrast with the natural" (*The Inner Man:* an article in the *Christian Advocate and Review*, March, 1867; edited by the Rev. E. Garbett, author of *Extreme Ritualism*). One word more on this point. I have throughout taken it for granted that Mr. Drew's statements concerning the spirit, soul, and body are correct; and that, apart from the Gospel, and viewed in their merely natural state, the body is the lowest part of our being. I do not, however, find any corroboration of this statement in our LORD's words, telling us that "from within, out of the heart of men," come all evils that defile. And perhaps truth ought rather to lead us to consider the body as the wretched victim of the "evil thoughts" of the "desperately wicked" heart, and of the intelligence for mischief displayed in the "carnal mind." But I say these things only to show how fruitless must be all such attempted comparisons as those to which allusion has been made. The Gospel, which renews all the nature of man, has made it impossible, at least for us, to determine what is "the best member that we have." What is generally supposed to be the natural order of things is often inverted. The active spirit of man, when strongly tempted, "*takes* the members of CHRIST," and pollutes "the temple of the HOLY GHOST;" and again, the body is often defrauded of its accustomed acts of homage to GOD by the distractions of a wilful and uncertain spirit.

From all that has been said about this fifth period of Spiritual Worship, we may be able to get some general idea of the worship of body and spirit in Heaven. What we are now, and what the Presence into which we hope to be admitted, are, as before said, the two considerations that may help us. We are now the Sons of GOD. By this we do not mean that we have "received" and believed the Gospel; for that only gave us "power to become the sons of GOD"—that is, to be made the Sons of GOD, by GOD's act, through GOD's ordained means of adopting us into His family.

As Sons of God, we have been joined to the Body of Christ in Holy Baptism, and fed upon His Body and His Blood. It is a real union, which extends to all parts of our nature. And the Worship which results from that union is the Worship of a redeemed body and spirit. That Worship in its perfection is the Worship of Heaven. No part of our nature which has been made partaker of the Divine Nature can be plucked out of our Father's Hand: all that have been purified here will be glorified hereafter. Again, consider the Presence to which we are to be admitted. The Presence of the Incarnate God is with us now under sacramental veils. As the Spiritual Worship of the Gospel is in its subject the whole redeemed nature of man, so is the Spiritual Worship of the Gospel in its object the Presence of Him Who is "Perfect God and Perfect Man." The chief part of Spiritual Worship which is peculiar to the Gospel, as distinguished from less perfect Revelations preceding it, is marked by two things—body and spirit join in the worship, and the Personal Presence of God is adored in the Blessed Sacrament. The new thing of the Evangelical system of Religion brought in by Jesus Christ is that our body worships the Body of Christ in its Sacramental Revelation. And doubtless the new thing of Heavenly Worship is that the *glorified* bodies of the Saints adore that glorified Body of Christ, not under Sacramental Veils, but seen *as It is.*

We may now go back to an early stage of our argument. It will be remembered that from our Lord's words to the woman of Samaria we gathered that God, Who always had been "a Spirit," must always have been worshipped by Spiritual Worship—that all forms of Worship sanctioned by Him must have been Spiritual. We have accordingly traced five periods of Spiritual Worship.

Our work is not, however, yet completed. Though all these forms of Worship were Spiritual, it does not follow that they are all spiritual for us, and that we may choose which we will, and adopt it as our own. Still less are we at liberty to confuse all those forms of Religion together, or maintain that in drawing nigh to God, we Christians, "who have been brought back into His family by His sovereign love," may approach Him "*just as* Adam in his unfallen state, and as the Prophets, when they saw His Glory—like the Apostles also, during the forty days after His resurrection." The writer (Rev. G. S. Drew) seems to consider *only* "Ritualism, in some recent developments, incompatible with the worship of God, in Spirit and in Truth." The statement which he makes is quite consistent with the unscriptural notion that we must "discard the unscriptural figment of the corporate

life of the Church" (Rev. E. Garbett on *Extreme Ritualism*). But it involves a forgetfulness of Bible History, and, at least, a confusion of ideas as to the reality of the blessings obtained for us when JESUS CHRIST came in the Flesh. We are not to accumulate all the religions from Eden to the Paradise above, but to ascertain our place in the History of Spiritual Worship—to see what is behind us and what is before us.

The Worship of Eden is no guide to us. It lasted but a very little time, and then was gone for ever. Yet there are some writers of the present day who, supposing them to have any clear ideas of what they want, seem to desire a return to Paradise; ignore the Incarnation and the Body altogether; and seek communion with GOD, such as that enjoyed by Adam—the communion of spirit with Spirit, without a Mediator in the flesh. A pamphlet has lately been published, which, as far as my experience goes, has attained the difficult pre-eminence of being the most ignorant of all Anti-Ritual utterances. It is the first, and from its ludicrous failure, is not unlikely to be the last, of a series of *Essays on Modern Religious Thought*, and is entitled *Ritualism Ecclesiastical and Revealed.* The writer gravely says:—"The Apostle writes that he would not that we should be ignorant how that our fathers were under a cloud"! (p. 69); and further informs us that "Stephen declared the Jewish dispensation to have been a 'Church in the Wilderness'"! (p. 76). In this summary way he gets rid of the Early Jewish Church. He does not explain that "the LORD went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, *to lead them the way;* and by night in a pillar of fire, *to give them light;* to go by day and night" (Exod. xiii., 21). To be sure, the cloud was "a cloud and darkness" to the Egyptians (Exod. xiv. 20); and, perhaps, that is the "view" taken by "Modern Religious Thought." The Essay, whose motto is *Nunc liceat intellectualiter intrare in arcana Fidei*, does not find it convenient to let us know a secret, which any one that can read discovers at once; *viz.* that S. Stephen spake of "*the* Church in the Wilderness," and of "the Angel," and of "the lively oracles" that were "received" from GOD. Passing on to the history of the more perfectly developed Jewish Ritual, the writer says:—"That, then, which the LORD did in reference to the Jewish Ritual, was not to originate that mode of Worship, but to regulate and reduce to order, for a specific use, some of the Ritualistic observances which had been extant among the nations" (pp. 71, 72); and further tells us that the vision in which Moses received the "pattern" of Worship "was not to originate the idea of the appurtenances which are spoken of." The explanation of

GOD'S Revelations on the subject is significant:—"It was, no doubt, important to the carrying out of those directions, that the Jews should regard them as having supernatural recognition"! (p. 73). Concerning the Christian Religion, we have an expression of doubt in Holy Baptism, and of unbelief in the Holy Eucharist, as follows:—"It is not improbable that it [Holy Baptism] may be the means of connecting their spirits with spiritual influences of a more interior kind" (p. 29). "We see that by His Flesh is signified His Divine Good, and by His Blood His Divine Truth; and that to eat and drink these denotes the acceptance of them in love and faith" (p. 106). Thus the Bible is treated as a kind of parable; and we are brought back to the Worship of Eden, or nothing! The attempt is futile. There is no way back to Eden. The door is closed. Nothing is left of Eden but the Fall. It would seem as if men's "haughty spirits" and "modern religious thoughts" were preparing for even "a worse thing."

Equally impossible is it to restore, as some would seem to desire, the third period of Spiritual Worship. Many very devout Christians would equally shrink from the coldness of deserted Eden and the weakness of the Temple Ceremonies. But they have not learned to appreciate the reality of Gospel Ordinances. They know nothing of Sacramental Life, or of its consummation hereafter. Like Apollos, they are "mighty in [a portion of] the Scriptures," but know only the Baptism of John. All the yearning of their heart is after direct communion, not with their Maker, as in Eden, but with GOD in CHRIST, as He was on earth. Without seeing the means of union with CHRIST in His Church, and by the Holy Sacraments, they desire to have the spirituality of the beloved Disciple, or of S. Mary Magdalene. They trust more to the excitement of their feelings by Divine Grace, than to the recreation of their whole nature by union with the Source of all Grace. They have forgotten that JESUS is in Heaven, and that they should approach Him through the definite Channels of Grace which He has given. Yet we cannot sharply rebuke devout souls like these. They have caused revivals of Religion when the Church slumbered. What can we do but gently admonish them that their pious yearnings cannot be realized, and that they have "left undone" what would have sanctified what they have done? May GOD reveal even this unto them!

We may now pass by these two periods—the Worship of Eden; and the Worship of CHRIST from Bethlehem to Bethany and the Mount from which He was taken up. We have now to compare

the two periods that respectively followed them—the second and the fourth—the Jewish and Christian periods. And with them we take the last, the Worship of Heaven.

In the Jewish system, as we have seen, the Body had no real place. Spiritual Worship was rendered by the spirit, the body only assisting it by the use of symbols. In the Heavenly system, on the contrary, we see spirit and body worshipping GOD. In the Christian system, we have a development of the Jewish, and an anticipation of the Heavenly system. For now the body is not, as in Jewish days, a mere servant and assistant for the spirit; nor has it attained to the perfection of the Spiritual Nature which awaits it in Heaven.

From a consideration of the five periods of Worship that we have marked, two conclusions may be drawn. One result of the inquiry is, that *the History of Spiritual Worship is, in a great measure, the History of the Body's advance.* Through the Incarnation of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the body has been made more and more to take a part in Spiritual Worship.

This conclusion has been apparent all along. A second conclusion follows immediately from it, and is not less important. If we understand the steps by which the body has risen, and is now rising, to the place which GOD has appointed for it, we shall see that *the more we realize the Body's advance, the more we grow in the true idea of Spiritual Worship.*

Consider this latter point. We have compared the Jewish, the Christian, and the Heavenly systems, as far as we know them. We have seen that Christianity leaves Judaism "behind," and "reaches forth" to the things that are "before" it in the Heavenly Jerusalem. It is, then, *a part* of Christianity to give up bodily symbols and external signs. Our Religion does not "stand only in meats and drinks, and divers washings." These were imposed "till the time of reformation" (Heb. ix. 10). But it is another and *a higher part* of Christian knowledge to see the realities prefigured in the Worship of old. And we must be very careful, as we leave the shadows of Judaism, that we go on to the realities of the Gospel Dispensation.

Herein lies the difficulty. Many persons are content with what is destructive and Protestant, while they have no idea of passing on to what is constructive and Catholic. They can pull down, but they cannot build up. Thus a writer before quoted says, "The Ritual is accepted simply because the intelligence of real Religion has been but imperfectly unfolded among them" (*Ritualism Ecclesiastical and Revealed*, p. 37). When he said

that in the Christian Church "that peculiar mental obscurity has passed away to which they [Jewish ceremonies] were related" (p. 74), he did not see how dim his own light was. Such writers appear like spoiled children, proud to exhibit their learning before injudicious friends, who wonder how their little heads can carry all they know. The children get kissed and petted, and they are happy. They know nothing of the wide fields of knowledge yet untouched. Thus does "modern religious thought" prattle childishly for the amusement of grown-up listeners. It has been taught to give up forms, and it refuses to learn more for the present. Speak of Christian realities: your pupil stares. He lingers shivering on the brink of a subject whose knowledge is too wonderful and excellent for him, because it is Divine, and he leans upon his own understanding.

When will people learn that to use Christian Sacraments, and call them forms, or symbols, or signs, is a mere restoration of Judaism and a denial of Christianity? When will they learn that to believe or affect to believe in the reality of Christian Sacraments, and at the same time to cry down the beautiful and appropriate Ritual which expresses a due sense of that reality, is flagrant inconsistency or something worse? Tell us no more of the passing away of Jewish symbols. We know all this. We learned it when we were children. We have no desire to ignore it. What we protest against is the pertinacity of novices, who are "lifted up with pride" because they have learned some elementary truths, and are so self-satisfied that they refuse to learn any thing more. If they are content to be "children," let us be "men." If they deem it enough to renounce Judaism, let us see that we are established in the faith of Christianity.

JAMES S. POLLOCK.

# Retreats.

One of the most important practical gains in the Catholic Revival is the establishment of Retreats, and, at the same time, it is singularly free from an imputation that may perhaps be charged against some phases of that movement. Nothing of a party spirit can, except through a most gratuitous love of causing divisions, be laid to the account of Retreats. No doubt, men of one side, rather than of another, have sympathized in these devotional exercises; but this has arisen from incidental causes, rather than from any thing in the principle of Retreats, viewed in themselves.

It is true that Confession, which hitherto has been treated as a party question (though, as the Church of England manifestly sanctions that "Godly discipline," any satisfactory reason for such a view can hardly be given), is very commonly practised in Retreats, and seems naturally to follow as one of its results. But this does not arise from any special inducement or pressure in the conduct of a Retreat. It is merely the result of a quickened sensitiveness of conscience, and a deeper concern as to the state of one's soul before God, which the Retreat tends to awaken. The conscience has been stirred to a closer, truer examination of its condition; and the desire for relief, or the anxiety to discipline the inner life more carefully, has led to seek the private ministration of the Priest.

The principle of Retreats is too deeply imbedded in the Holy Scriptures to admit of mere party considerations. It is a saying of S. Bernard, that "God has always been pleased to signalize His mercies towards men in Retreats." The Saint may appear to claim too much for his favourite means of devotion; but, viewing Retreats generally, in their simplest aspect, as seasons of retirement, of undivided and undistracted communion with God, whether alone, or in company with others like-minded—whether rapt in vision, or absorbed in contemplation or prolonged prayer—the saying is strictly true and most important. Holy Scripture is full of evidences of its truth. The principle is not confined to any particular age, or country, or phase of religious development. It enters into every form of God's

dealings with His Elect, more especially as subserving marked periods of progress, whether in the corporate expansion of His Church, or the increase of grace in individual souls.

Fresh revelations have, in all cases, been given during periods of Retreat, and through persons whose whole life had been penetrated by their spirit. Such, *e. g.* was Abraham's life subsequent to his call, when he "went forth from Haran." From that hour he became permanently detached from the world. Not only was he withdrawn on certain special occasions into the closest intercourse with GOD; his whole life, so far as was possible for one still bound by domestic ties and the necessities of occasional relations with society, was that of "a pilgrim and stranger." He was ever contemplating "a better country, that is, a Heavenly." And he was the Prophet of the Patriarchal Dispensation, which, as in a seed, contained the future Gospel.

The same principle accompanied the giving of the Mosaic Law. The Lawgiver had been prepared by a forty years' seclusion in the Wilderness; and was, by special command, separated from all outward claims of ordinary life. When he had wholly yielded himself to the præternatural call, and fully embarked in his stupendous mission, he was yet further drawn within the veil that screens from mortal eyes the Invisible and Eternal, on the Mount, in the Visible Presence of GOD; and there, while looking upon the very patterns of Heavenly things, he received the Divine communications.

The same was the case in ushering in the Prophetical Dispensation. The critical era of that Dispensation commenced with Samuel; and he from a child was separated from the world, cloistered for a while even within the precincts of the Temple. His institution of the Schools of the Prophets, to be the nursery of the future race of Seers and Teachers, was in some degree a perpetuation of the same secluded life. The establishment of the Prophetical order, inaugurated by the superabundant measure of spiritual gifts shed upon Elisha, was the fruit of the Forty Days' Retreat passed by Elijah on "Horeb, the Mount of GOD."

The same law, only in a still more prominent degree, regulated the introduction of the last and greatest Dispensation. S. John Baptist's career was one prolonged Retreat, more secluded and severer than any previously recorded; as though it were purposely proportioned to the surpassing manifestation of Divine grace, for which it prepared the way. The law of Retreat was intensified, because the gift to be bestowed, through "the manifestation of the SPIRIT," was "more exceeding glorious."

Instances of this same principle might be indefinitely ex-

tended, if we take the cases of individual Saints or Prophets, irrespective of marked eras in the course of Divine Revelation. The "walking with GOD," so significantly recorded of Enoch and Noah, seems to imply an habitual state of contemplation. The names of Isaac, Daniel, Nehemiah, Anna, occur as types at very different periods of the history of the elect people, and under very different circumstances of life, of the same contemplative character, and to whom a special abundance of gifts of grace was vouchsafed.

If, at each stage of the advancing mystery, retirement from this outward scene, abstraction within the veil of a more conscious Presence of Almighty GOD, was necessary, to prepare those who were chosen to be the depositories of the secret purposes of GOD, and the channels of His grace to the world, much more should we expect this law of the supernatural life to regulate the developement of the Gospel. And this was manifestly the case. What a world of thought springs up at the recollection of the fact, that thirty years of our Blessed LORD'S life was spent in seclusion, to be followed by only three years of active ministry! How striking the contrast in this respect between His life, and that of those who bear His Priestly commission among ourselves, between the preparation for the ministry of the Incarnate GOD, and our own. Even after so prolonged a state of separation from the world, the Forty Days' Retreat in the Wilderness must immediately precede His going forth into the world.

As it had been thus ordained for our LORD Himself in regard to His own Person, so, in calling His Disciples to share His labours, the same spirit of retirement pervaded the whole action. "He went out into the mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to GOD; and when it was day, He called unto Him His Disciples, and of them He chose twelve" (S. Luke vi. 12, 13).

Our Lord ordained a similar preparation, though one of a yet more marked character, for the reception of the Gift of Pentecost. The HOLY GHOST first shed Himself forth upon the Church, in answer to the prolonged waiting of faith, pleading our LORD'S Promise, cherished and deepened secretly in "the Upper Chamber." The Apostles had been commanded "to tarry at Jerusalem, till they were endued with power from on high" (S. Luke xxiv. 49). And their mode of carrying out this injunction of their LORD is recorded—"They all continued, with one accord, in prayer and supplication" (Acts i. 14). It was in Retreat that the Dispensation of the SPIRIT opened upon the world, as, in earlier days, the Mosaic Dispensation.

The same principle again prevailed in what was virtually a renewed Revelation of the Gospel through S. Paul. It were an interesting research, but beyond the scope of our subject, to note the distinctive points of the Pauline Commission, whether in respect of his peculiar call to the Apostolate, as the one who had not "companied with them all the time that the LORD JESUS went in and out among them"—not having received the Gospel from our LORD during His manifestation in the Flesh, nor from the HOLY GHOST in His effusion on the Day of Pentecost, but separately from our LORD in vision and secret personal communication,—or in the range of dogmatic theology to be gathered from S. Paul's Epistles, conveyed in a line of teaching very different from, though in perfect harmony with, the rest of the Books of the New Testament—as well as in the important fact, that the words of consecration in the administration of the Holy Eucharist are taken, not from the Holy Gospel, but from S. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 23—26); *i. e.* not from eye witnesses of the Institution, but from one who had known it only in vision; together with the solemn Sacerdotal blessing, "The Peace of GOD," &c. (Phil. iv. 7—21), and the minor benediction closing the daily offices of prayer, "The Grace of our LORD," &c. (Rom. xvi. 24, &c.). These striking circumstances show the importance of both the dogmatic and sacramental system of S. Paul's writings in the scheme of New Testament Revelation. Considering its separateness in its mode of communication, as well as its completeness in detail, rendering it even more available for the Church's use than the records of all the other inspired Apostles and Evangelists, the Pauline Revelation clearly bears the character of a fresh and separate Dispensation of the Gospel.

But the only point for us to note in this remarkable supplemental Revelation, is this—that it was the fruit of a prolonged Retreat. Three years' seclusion in Arabia was the chosen means through which this "least," "one born out of due time," became the depository of a gift of divine knowledge, which rendered him equal "to the very chiefest Apostles."

The last Revelation vouchsafed to mankind was committed to S. John the Divine, during his lonely confinement in the Isle of Patmos; thus closing the Book of GOD, as it had been opened, with gifts of inspiration vouchsafed in retirement.

These many great and signal instances connecting the use of Retreats with the most transcendent dispensations of the will of GOD, are of so uniform and marked a character as to show an essential law regulating His intercourse with His creatures.

Moreover, these instances cannot be regarded as exceptional.

They show a purpose to form a habit of mind, a special developement of character in those devoted to the service of GOD. Our LORD'S observance of this practice of occasional retirement during His ministry, is carefully recorded in the Gospel, and His example in this respect has a direct bearing on ourselves, more especially as He was wont to take His disciples to share these Retreats with Himself. They cannot be explained as mere occasions of refreshment after toil. Their object evidently was to recruit the powers of the inner life, as the preparation through secret communion with His FATHER for fresh conflicts and temptations. They betoken a habit of mind ever tending to withdraw, whenever possible, from the outward world, for the renewal of the true strength of the human spirit in silent and rapt communion with the Invisible. In two successive chapters of S. Luke we read, "And when it was day He departed and went into a desert place" (iv. 42); and again, "And He withdrew Himself into the wilderness and prayed" (v. 16).

Nor could such a lesson as that involved in our LORD'S approval of Mary of Bethany be lost to the disciples. Whatever else may be implied in the contrast drawn between Mary and Martha, it is clear, that the cherishing a contemplative habit of mind must be among the objects approved, and that the "one thing needful" is, therefore, in part connected with the life of devotional retirement, or is at least dependent upon it in some very remarkable manner (S. Luke x. 38—42). Mary's sitting at the feet of JESUS, while Martha served, is the picture of a side of life which can be fully realized only in a Retreat.

Thus, then, we are manifestly placed in the presence of a momentous law of the Divine operations, which cannot possibly be set aside in considering the relations which the HOLY SPIRIT of GOD has established between Himself and His people in His personal communications with them.

We are not here entering into details, nor anticipating what may be urged in the way of objections drawn from differences, whether of circumstance or of time. Our object has been hitherto simply to establish the principle in question. Its application to ourselves involves a far larger consideration. The benefits of a Retreat, viewed generally, are implied in these instances drawn from Holy Scripture. The preparation of the soul for the reception of Divine truth—the bringing the mind of man into harmony with the Mind of GOD—the setting his will and spiritual faculties free from the powers of the world—the predisposing and fitting him for sustained intercourse with unseen things—the enabling him to maintain his standing-

ground on a higher level of spiritual consciousness, and thus enduing him with power to go forth to the fulfilment of high and arduous efforts in correspondence with the designs of GOD—the illumination of his soul through increasing knowledge and the revelation of secret mysteries—such are the results which we have seen to be attained during such hours of isolation and retirement from the visible world.

It was to be expected that a principle thus impressed on the first disciples, endeared and consecrated by our LORD's own practice, one to which, manifestly, the Prophets of the New, as before of the Old Dispensation, were indebted for so much of their inspiration and spiritual strength, would become, even though not expressly enjoined, a settled tradition, and an abiding law of life. It was not the purpose of the New Testament to give minute rules of practical devotion. The rules naturally followed from the principles embodied in the example and habits of our LORD and His Apostles. A loving faith, under the guidance of the HOLY SPIRIT, fulfils its part in adapting these laws to the circumstances of successive ages, and the variable details of ordinary life. Out of the predispositions thus formed in the mind of the Early Church, arose the tendency, so quickly and so extensively developed, to withdraw from the world, whether as Solitaries or in Communities, for the purpose of Divine study and prolonged prayer, which, as the Church's life became settled and organized, grew into what afterwards became known as the Contemplative Orders. This side of the Religious Life is essentially connected with the principle of Retreats. But it is manifestly beyond the scope of this Essay. Our view is confined to the use of special seasons of retirement, as distinct from a life of retirement; to the occasional withdrawal from ordinary habits, and daily duties, whether in the case of members of Religious Communities, or of persons, clerical or lay, living in the world.

Formal Retreats were coeval with the monastic organization. As monasteries spread, opportunities were sought for yet more entire seclusion, during occasional periods, for their members; and secular persons were drawn, by their example, and through their aid, to seek similar aids to devotion, as far as the duties of ordinary life permitted. The Dominican and Franciscan Orders systematized and developed the simple rule of yet earlier days, forming plans for conducting Retreats which still exist as an established rule in the Roman Communion; the Dominicans being still among the chief Directors of Retreats. The brethren of "the Common Lot," in yet later days, extended the same system in the Low Countries. *The Imitation of Christ* is an

imperishable witness of the character of piety, sustained by habits of devotion thus cherished. Thomas à Kempis was but one link in a long chain of saintly examples of the devotional life of Mediæval times, fed by systematic rules of meditation, learnt and maintained in Retreat [1].

But the Ignatian method forms the greatest era in the history of Retreats. Apparently for the first time this principle was made by S. Ignatius an absolute law in testing and training candidates for the Religious Life. In the rule of S. Augustine, there is no mention of Retreats. The first important step in the novitiate for the Jesuit Society, is the Retreat. From this feature of their Rule, a new organization of the system of Retreats resulted.

So important is the bearing of the Ignatian method on the whole question, that it becomes necessary to enter at some length into its main elements.

There can be no question but that S. Ignatius was indebted to the traditionary spiritual wisdom of preceding ages, in the formation of his well-known code of Rules for Retreats, and the *Exercises*, which alone would have sufficed to make his name famous. Although he must have gathered, from the devotional exercises already sanctioned by the use of his predecessors in the spiritual life, the main subject matters of his scheme of teaching; and although his system is composed of the simplest truths, which must be more or less familiar even to neophytes in practical religion; yet, considering the wonderful arrangement and completeness of the *Spiritual Exercises* [2], they must ever stand out among the great mass of similar writings, as the creation of

[1] I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Littledale for the following brief sketch of the progress of Retreats up to the time of the Reformation. "Their oldest forms, so far as I recollect, were in the Thebaid, where it was not an unfrequent custom for the monks of a Laura to withdraw, singly or in pairs, to some yet more secluded hermitage, for stricter silence, fasting, meditation, and prayer, than they could observe in the company of their brethren. And what the hermitage was to them, the Laura was to secular visitors. The practice continued, in some form or other, down to the thirteenth century, when it became more systematized through the institution of the Dominican and Franciscan *Tertiaries*, to whom the houses of their respective Orders were open for periodical seasons of retirement. I do not think that Retreats formed any part of the recognized ordinary spiritual teaching of secular Clergy, until the Counter-Reformation, when it was felt that *the* task of the hour was to raise the tone of the Parish Priests. S. Ignatius certainly gave the final touches to the scheme of Retreats, by methodizing it in a definite and progressive manner."

[2] *Spiritual Exercises* of S. Ignatius Loyola. The object of the *Exercises*, as stated by their author, is "to lead man to conquer himself, to disengage himself from the fatal influence of evil affections; and, with the heart thus set free, to trace out for himself the plan of a true Christian life."

a new world of thought of the most original character, and have undoubtedly given an extraordinary impulse to the practice of Retreats, impressing on all such devotional use their own peculiar line of teaching.

It must be carefully noted that there is nothing whatever beyond the limits of the most true Catholicism, in the *Exercises* of S. Ignatius. They are singularly free from allusion to any controverted points of Theology. They are simply a masterly combination of the main normal and practical truths which concern the soul of every man. They deal with human nature in its universal characteristics, not with a school or specific form of thought. No doubt the scheme of S. Ignatius has exercised the greatest possible influence in forming the stamina, if I may so speak, of the Jesuit mind, giving to it its marvellous strength and concentrated devotion. But it is equally certain that what the *Exercises* have effected in furthering this end, is due to the application of the purest Christian ideas, by bringing to bear, in the most effective form and under the most moving circumstances, the great fundamental laws of God's dealings with man, of man's account with God, and of the life of the Spirit in His work of healing and sanctification. Whatever is distinctive in the Jesuit Community, rendering it an object of distrust to many, even among the Roman Catholics themselves, is to be referred to other principles and influences pervading its system, not to the modes adopted to impart determination of the will, and devotion of heart.

It is most important to make this disclaimer, because the *Exercises* are so universally held to constitute a model system, to which all Directors of Retreats must look as the primary law of every scheme of instruction to be adopted. Otherwise, the acceptance of the principle of Retreats might seem, in some degree at least, to commit us to the approval of the whole Ignatian system. It is sufficient to look even cursorily through the subjects of the *Exercises*, to be convinced of the truth of the assertion.

The *Exercises* are formed on a plan embracing all the successive stages, through which a soul must pass in its progress from the depths of sin to the completion of its conversion to God. They are arranged in three grand divisions, called respectively the Purgative, the Illuminative, and the Unitive Way. The object of the Purgative Way is to work in the soul a horror of sin and a true contrition; of the Illuminative, to incline the soul to the love of Divine knowledge, and the practice of virtue; of the Unitive, to confirm the soul in habitual recollection of God's Presence, and closeness of intimate fellowship with Him.

The following is a very brief digest of the course of subjects which form these three divisions:—

Of the first or Purgative Way, the chief subjects are, the true end of the creature, more especially that of man; sin, with its distinctions into mortal and venial, and their respective effects; the sin of the Angels; of our First Parents; our own sin; Hell and its torments; Death and the last Judgment. These subjects are followed by the exposition of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, which closes the Purgative course.

The second, or Illuminative series, embraces the following subjects:—the Incarnation, first viewed generally, then divided into the separate mysteries of the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Infancy and Childhood; to which succeed certain selected acts of our LORD's life—the Temptation, the calling of the Apostles, the cleansing of the Temple, the Sermon on the Mount, the stilling the Tempest, and walking on the Sea; the mission of the Apostles, the conversion of the Magdalene, the feeding the multitude, the Transfiguration, the raising of Lazarus, the supper at Bethany, the triumphal entrance into Jerusalem, the preaching in the Temple, closing with the chief points of the Passion.

Lastly, the Unitive course is composed of the events of the Life of our Divine LORD subsequent to His Resurrection, embracing His different appearances during the Great Forty Days, and ending with His Ascension into Heaven, and His Session at the Right Hand of the FATHER.

The two last series are interspersed with practical rules and meditations; such as relate, *e.g.* to prayer, the choice of a vocation, the discernment of spirits, the battle between good and evil, and the reign of CHRIST in the soul; while, in the course of the first, the Purgative series, special directions as to the examination of conscience, penance, and preparations for Confession, are introduced.

The Ignatian scheme, moreover, contains a plan or order of time, rules for occupation, hours of prayer, &c. A period of four weeks is contemplated as the full period, during which the whole of the *Exercises* may be gone through. But a week, according to this system, is understood to mean, not a period of time, but a course of meditations. Hence, its length varies according to the needs of the soul. A certain series of mental operations has to be gone through; or, rather, the mind has to be subjected to a certain definite series of influences; and, according as this end is gained, the period is fixed. It is not a question of days, but of spiritual operations. Thus, the four weeks

of meditations necessary to complete the course will require more or less than four weeks of days, according to the mental or spiritual condition of the person in Retreat. He may need a shorter or longer period of actual time for the entire course, or for one or other portion of the course, in order that the intended effect may be produced.

Understanding, then, the term "week" in this spiritual or metaphysical sense, the method pursued for the attainment of the end in view, is as follows:—The first week has for its end the freeing of the soul from the power of its sinful tendencies and entanglements, and the influence of evil habits. The second week leads the soul into an intelligent view of the life of CHRIST, and fixes it in a firm resolve to give itself to an obedient imitation of His Example. The third is employed in penetrating and filling the soul with ideas calculated to deepen and confirm the impressions made during the preceding weeks. The fourth week raises the soul—now purified, illuminated, and confirmed in grace—to perfect love, and the irrevocable surrender of itself to its LORD in a wedded union of will and affection.

The person entering the Retreat is supposed to be animated with courage and a supernatural desire, but yet as a sinner. The object proposed is to convert the sinner into a Saint, or rather to place him in a course tending, if his will continue to co-operate with the designs formed in the Retreat, to ensure his subsequent advance to a high degree of sanctity.

The cause of the variations in regard of the actual time to be allowed for the different stages of the course, will, therefore, readily be seen. The problem is how to bring to bear, in co-operation with the interior movements of the SPIRIT of GOD, the most effectual means of influence. To destroy the empire of evil in the heart, and establish there the permanent reign of what is good, which is the object proposed, must require a different application of the appointed means, so as to suit different souls. Hence the difference of time allotted to the several portions of the *Exercises*. Thus, in the case of one whose heart is in a less advanced state, the first week, or the Purgative Way, must be comparatively prolonged, in proportion to the later portions; while again, the second and third weeks, or the Illuminative and Unitive Ways, will in their turn occupy a larger space of the course, in the case of those who are more advanced. Sometimes a Retreat may be wholly occupied by Exercises of the Purgative kind. At other times, subjects drawn from the Illuminative and the Unitive Way will form the only matter for meditation; though even in the highest range of instruction, the thought of sin and its remedies

can never be wholly excluded, even though it may be dealt with only incidentally and implicitly. In fixing the proportion to be given to the one or the other portion of the *Exercises* or course of subjects, the instructor must be guided by what he considers to be most conducive to the wants, at the time, of those to whom his instructions are addressed.

Again, as to the arrangement of the daily occupations. According to the Ignatian method, each day has four hours (which are not, or need not be, consecutive) set apart for devotion, to which is added one hour of the night, thus giving five hours of the twenty-four to this object. These five hours are distinct from those set apart for Offices, times of prayer, reading, examination of conscience—to which last purpose two quarters of an hour each day are allotted. They are also independent of the time occupied by the delivery of the addresses or instructions. The remainder of the day is taken up by meals, recreation, manual labour or other employment.

One important point in the teaching of S. Ignatius must be borne in mind, in order to give a real view of his method, lest it should seem to be a kind of Procrustean bed on which every soul alike is to be stretched. One of the first rules laid down by him for the director of a Retreat is, that "he adapt the *Exercises* to the age, the capacity, the strength of the person about to perform them; that he never impose too heavy a burden on an unenlightened mind, or a faint heart; that he never propose any thing to any one which is not in proportion to his present strength and good will."

One, commenting on the practical character of his design, says, "S. Ignatius makes himself all things to all men; he sacrifices to the utility of each the beauty and harmony of his plan; or, to express it better, his plan is to carry to the highest state of perfection those who are capable of it; and yet to be useful to more limited minds, and more imperfect wills" (Introduction to *Manresa*, or *Spiritual Exercises* of S. Ignatius: Burns and Lambert, 1860).

The way in which the Ignatian method is practically carried out in the present day, will be seen in the following record of a Retreat, lately passed by one on his probation for admission into one of the Houses of the Jesuit Order in this country.

### Retreat commencing Saturday.

I. A week's meditation on the Purgative Way, the chief subjects being—the end of Life—Sin—Death—Judgment—Hell, &c.; ending with a meditation on the Prodigal Son.

The following Monday was a day of repose for walks, recreation, &c.

The next day commenced with the Illuminative Way, the meditations being on different points of the life of our LORD, &c., and lasting for the next ten days, succeeded by another day of repose. The Illuminative Way concluded with a six days' consideration of the Passion.

After another day of repose, there followed one week's meditation on the Unitive Way, the subjects being the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Resurrection Life, Heaven, and the Love of GOD.

ORDER OF EACH DAY.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rise | before | 5. 0 | a.m. |
| Meditation (an hour) | | 5.40 | |
| Mass | | 6.40 | |
| Breakfast | | 7.30 | |
| Meditation (1¼ hour) | | 8.30 | |
| Manual labour | | 9.45 | |
| Meditation (1¼ hour) | | 11. 0 | |
| Reading, Private Prayers | | 12.15 | p.m. |
| Dinner | | 1. 0 | |
| Manual labour, Reading, Private Prayers, &c. | | 2. 5 | |
| Meditation (1¼ hour) | | 5. 0 | |
| Tea | | 7.15 | |
| Bed | | 9.30 | |

It must not be forgotten that the system we have been considering, was designed as an instrument of training for the Religious Life, at once testing and advancing a candidate for the Order to his desired end. Otherwise, it would seem elaborated and prolonged to a degree that would make it unfit for ordinary use. Its value as a guide to those engaged in giving ordinary Retreats, consists in supplying a standard, and a line of thought which may be applied at discretion. And the remarkable wisdom of its construction is shown by this, that it is literally impossible to take any line of subjects for Meditation during a Retreat, which will not be found to embody the principles of which it is composed, in a similar order of sequence. This results from the fact that the method is ordered according to the laws which must ever regulate the progress of the soul in its advance towards perfection, while, at the same time, by its elasticity, it can be accommodated to the needs alike of the least, as of the most advanced scholars. The *Exercises*, indeed, form as perfect an out-

line of motive-powers to act on the soul in the order in which their influence is most calculated to tell, as can possibly be conceived. They are to the spiritual life what the Newtonian system is to the natural world. Every fresh line of thought falls within their grand scope, as surely as any fresh discovery in astronomy falls within the primal law of gravity; while, at the same time, its capability of adaptation to individual cases, however various, gives to it a separate and additional proof of its essential and practical truth.

The *Exercises* are sometimes spoken of as a remnant of a system of visionary or ecstatic mysticism, at variance with the true laws of human progress [1]. Such a view is founded on a complete misapprehension alike of their substance and purpose. The idea that underlies them, from their commencement to their close, is that the intelligence must be informed and developed by means of real and simple, but grand, elements, of moral and spiritual truth, quickened by the regulated play of the imagination; and thus, by these combined influences, brought to bear on the will and the affections, healthfully arousing them to energetic action. They imply, in every case, the previous effort of the reason and fancy, in order to produce an effect on the active powers. And their whole influence depends on preserving a true harmony between these different phases of action and progress in the soul's development.

I have dwelt thus long on the Ignatian method, not merely because the *Exercises* form such an important era in the history of Retreats, but because they also afford occasion for illustrating the kind of subjects ordinarily suggested for meditation, and the principles which must ever guide the Instructor in the choice and adaptation of his materials. We may now turn to the consideration of the system of Retreats, such as are more especially contemplated in this Essay.

Retreats may be either general or particular; *i. e.* for a body of persons collected together, or for separate individuals. In either case, a Director is necessary. He is responsible for the rules to be observed, for giving the subjects of meditation, and

[1] A striking instance of this popular error occurs even in a work singularly characterised by talent and research, and of considerable authority. "All attempts, from the rules of Simeon" (the High Priest) "to the *Spiritual Exercises* of Loyola, to invert the Divine order, to purchase material ecstasies by the sacrifice of intellect and of conscience, have been steps backwards into darkness, not forward into light."—Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible.* Art. "Urim and Thummim."

for such private aid as may be desired to meet the special needs of each person attending the Retreat.

The time allotted for a Retreat necessarily varies according to circumstances. Religious Communities are naturally able to prolong their Retreat beyond the time possible for those living in the world; and among Religious, Contemplative Orders have their time more entirely at their own disposal beyond those of an Active Order. The Retreats given to Religious Houses abroad last generally ten days. Some exceed that term, while others fall short of it. Retreats given to secular persons generally occupy three days, but they are often shorter from the necessities of employment; or a single day, or parts of three or more days, may be all that can be allowed. On an average, less than three days can scarcely suffice to produce such an impression as the system is designed to effect; though any amount of retirement, however short, if rightly used, will hardly fail to bring the soul under more than ordinary influence of the unseen world.

The addresses themselves ordinarily occupy from half an hour to an hour, the object of the Instructor being, not merely to excite in the minds of those whom he addresses feelings that will incline the will to the service of God, but also to leave on the memory definite thoughts, or points for meditation, on which the mind may afterwards exercise its own powers of reason and imagination. The addresses are generally prefaced by the *Veni Creator*, and a few Collects, or a short extemporary prayer; and are concluded by the *Anima Christi*, and the Blessing. The Instructor, ordinarily, is seated while giving the address, as well as those whom he addresses. Having concluded his address, the Director retires, while those in Retreat either remain in their places or go to their rooms, and, for a certain fixed time, are occupied in meditation. Many commit the chief points of the address to paper for future reference. There is an entire absence of pressure or restraint as to place or posture in carrying on the meditation. Ordinarily it is done kneeling; but, if this posture become irksome, sitting or walking may be chosen instead. Whatever, in fact, tends to assist the mind in the free and healthful exercise of its powers, and fixedness of attention, is recommended, so that reverence be preserved.

It is of the utmost moment, both at the commencement and throughout a Retreat, to divert the mind from all that is calculated to distract or disquiet it. On this account, the observance of silence is essential. It would of course be mere prudery to scruple asking or answering a question on matters of absolute necessity. But the only conversation permitted, according to the

strict principles of a Retreat, is with the Instructor. For the same reason, writing or reading letters is disallowed, unless something of real moment is involved. Whatever hinders absorbed attention to the great and vital questions presented to the mind, is, from the very nature of the object in view, to be avoided. During meals, some book generally is read aloud, each person taking his turn of reading, or some one singly undertaking this duty. If a single person read throughout the time, it were more reverent for him to stand.

Intercourse between the Director and those engaged in the Retreat, is always open and unrestricted. No one is constrained to seek such aid; but the Director is free, according to his own discretion, to open communication with any whom he desires to see. Or, if the charge of receiving those who may come to him for spiritual counsel, is beyond his strength, or the time at his command, he may depute some other Priest engaged in the Retreat to assist him.

It is of great importance in separating after a Retreat, though the rule of silence necessarily ceases, to preserve, as far as possible, the quiet reverential tone with which it has been conducted. It would be an ill sign of the results of such a season of solemn communing with God, to break up as boys leaving school, or a military band returning from a soldier's funeral. Rather, the healthful feeling would be to dread the return to ordinary intercourse, lest the Heavenly vision should altogether fade away in descending from the Mount of Transfiguration to the plain below.

We may now turn to the consideration of the practice of Retreats among ourselves at the present day. Their revival amongst us is a striking proof that the Church movement has passed out of the region of controversy in which, of necessity, it was at first occupied, into the yet more eventful sphere of the devotional life. The desire for their revival has been felt before our own day, though, until lately, without fruit. The expression of this desire found its place in one of our most popular devotional manuals, where it lay dormant for many years.

Bishop Wilson has left the following record of his own convictions of the value of Retreats:—"The Primitive Bishops had places of retirement near their cities, that they might separate themselves from the world; lest, teaching others, they should forget themselves—lest they should lose the spirit of piety themselves, while they were endeavouring to fix it in others" (*Sacra Privata*, Works by Cruttwell, vol. i. p. 231, 4to, 1781). Nor is

this passage a solitary witness to the existence of such a desire in the mind of the English Clergy. An English translation of a foreign work containing instructions and meditations for a Retreat for Priests, appeared in 1703. The work is entitled *Pastoral Instructions, and Instructions and Meditations for an Annual Retirement of ten days*[1]. It was reprinted by Shrimpton in Oxford in 1861, under the title of *A Plea for Seasons and Places of Spiritual Retirement for the working Clergy*, by a Priest of the Church of England, accompanied by a Preface recommending the adaptation of the principle to our own case. These *Instructions and Meditations* are of an earnest, devotional character, the subjects being such as more immediately concern the Priestly life. They are drawn up in a regular connected series, arranged so as to provide two meditations for every day, each meditation being followed by "affections," *i. e.* fervent expressions of devotional feelings and desires, and closing with one or more "Resolutions."

It is possible that the republication of this work conduced, with other influences, to direct attention to the subject; at least, it marks a yearning in other quarters coincident with the movement out of which the first actual design of a Retreat amongst us originated. The actual restoration of Retreats amongst us is, under God, due to a Society of Priests accustomed to meet in London, known as "the Society of the Holy Cross." The first Retreat was held under the immediate direction of a few of the brethren of this Society, about twelve years ago.

It is interesting to note the imperfect rudimentary essays in the formation of a system, which has now attained an important position, and a steady consistency. They show, moreover, that it was an effort of life springing from amongst ourselves, not borrowed from without. Had it been the simple copy of a foreign original, it would have at once assumed a more formal shape. The palpable mistakes of the first promoters of the system, is an unquestionable guarantee of its being the exuberant growth of an earnest and vigorous, though untrained, life. The first Retreat, held at a country Parsonage in Kent, as well as the one held in the following year at Oxford, was attended by eight or ten Priests, and each lasted two days. There were Offices of Prayer, and the Celebration of Holy Communion as usual. But, in other respects, these Retreats resembled more a meeting

[1] They were originally written for the use of the Clergy by the celebrated Antony Godeau, Bishop of Grasse and Vence. The translation in 1703 was dedicated to Humphrey Humphreys, Bishop of Hereford, by his Chaplain, Basil Kennett.

for mutual conference on spiritual subjects, and private meditation, than for such a course of teaching and connected contemplation, as now forms the main feature of a Retreat. The plan adopted was to read passages from a spiritual book, which afterwards formed the subject of Mental Prayer. There were besides two conferences each day on practical questions, the subjects chosen at one of the meetings being Conversion, Home Missions, Confession, &c. At the third Retreat, held the following year, for the first time definite meditations were given; and after this the practice grew into the settled form now prevailing.

The rapid spread of Retreats during the last twelve years is one of the cheering signs of the growth, in the Church of England, of spiritual religion of the highest Catholic type. They are at present held every year (varying only in minor details) at about eighteen or twenty different places. They have received the express sanction and support of certain of our Bishops. The greatest number of Priests attending any one Retreat, as far as the writer is aware, has been about forty—the general average varying from ten to twenty. Not merely the Clergy, and Religious Communities now regularly hold their Retreats; but laymen and men of business have had the same system arranged to meet their needs and opportunities. Nor is the movement to be considered as limited to what is more properly entitled to the name. Meetings are held in many places, in which the same principle is followed out, as far as circumstances permit. The writer knows an instance of a Ruri-decanal Meeting which, for several years, has been formed into a quasi-Retreat, with regular addresses and intervals of private meditation; the house of the Rural Dean being generously surrendered for the purpose.

The desire for Retreats is, moreover, rapidly spreading. Every where we find a readiness to offer country Parsonages and Colleges, where they may be held. The difficulty now felt is to find Priests capable of conducting them. While the newly stirred desire calls for unmixed thankfulness to the Giver of all Grace, it sadly reveals the great defect of theological and spiritual training in the main body of our Clergy; and constitutes a very special call to provide means for supplying so great a lack through a fuller dogmatic teaching, and a more systematic discipline, in the preparation of candidates for Holy Orders.

We may now consider the chief objections made, either to the principle of Retreats, or to our usual mode of conducting them.

I. It is argued that Retreats tend to excite emotions more

fictitious than real, and to hinder rather than promote the true and sober progress of the soul's life, by rendering it liable to reactions, which are likely to leave it more dead, or at least in a less simple and healthful state, than before. The temporary excitement of religious feelings which alone a Retreat is supposed, according to this objection, to effect, is thought to be dearly purchased at the risk of subsequent subsidence to a state of exhaustion and comparative torpor, or, at least, a relapse to the ordinary level.

That the emotions excited at a Retreat may subside and leave no fruit, is but to charge against it an objection that lies against every effort of the preacher, or religious instructor. If such an objection were to be allowed, all endeavours to bring external influences to bear in the communication of Divine truth must cease. To state the real extent of such an objection might be a sufficient answer to it. But it may be further urged that the course of instruction ordinarily chosen for a Retreat, such as has already been sketched out, bears on its face the greatest possible security against such a liability, as far as the outward influence of its subject-matter is concerned. For, as already abundantly shown, the proper work of a Retreat is not to act directly on the feelings, but on the intelligence and the conscience. The sustained length of the meditations, and the accompanying aid of seclusion, silence, abstraction, concentration of ideas, &c., all combine to give to the mind the most favourable possible opportunity for receiving and pondering a line of thought, calculated very especially to become an impelling power to act afterwards on the feelings and energies of the inner life. The clear, undisturbed apprehension of great vital principles of doctrine and of action, is the very best means that can be set in motion, under the grace of God, for the permanent change of the heart. If it fail to produce the whole desired results, at all events some effect has been produced in the storing up of thoughts and ideas taken in during a momentous pause in the soul's ordinary course, which can scarcely be forgotten; and which, if not at the time, yet at some future day, can hardly fail to rise up with some degree of power, influencing the currents of a renewed life. It is the favourable opportunity given for reflection, under very moving circumstances, and variety and extent of appeal, which constitute the essence of a Retreat; a system, in fact, as much opposed as is possible to the transient excitement of emotions, which are too apt to pass away as the morning dew, simply because there is no underlying information of the reason or conscience to remain as the groundwork of abiding reflection.

Nor has the same objection any more weight, if it proceeds on the supposition of something forced and unnatural being brought to bear on the soul, and so an unreal state produced, which, being assumed for the time, necessarily ceases when the soul subsides to its ordinary habit of thought and occupation. It is possible, of course, in giving a Retreat, as in preaching a sermon, or in any intercourse with the souls of others, that the instructor may choose a subject or line of thought beyond or beside the capacities or needs of those addressed. He may shoot above their heads, or delight himself in flights of eloquence, or in raptures of devotional fancy, mere elevated and beautiful sentiments, such as may, indeed, exhibit his own personal gifts, but all the while the understanding of his hearers fail to be edified. There is no guarding against such possibilities, except by instructing the instructor, and choosing well our instruments.

But, as has been already shown, one of the first principles in directing a Retreat is to adapt the line of instruction to the spiritual condition of those who attend it. The master spirits to whom we look for guidance in such Exercises uniformly and with urgency of appeal, equally as by their own example, insist on the necessity of not setting before the soul an unattainable standard, or too onerous requirements, still less to exhibit our own powers to the manifest disregard of the needs of our hearers. The most earnest exhortation is ever given to the Instructor in a Retreat, to seek the best means of placing himself in accord with the immediate wants and capacities of those committed to his teaching, to draw them on, and raise them as they are able to bear it; and so healthfully arouse and stimulate the whole man according to the appointed laws which regulate the action of the mind and heart, without some knowledge of which one could hardly venture to undertake so responsible an office. Moreover, there is an important aid ready at hand to keep the Director of a Retreat in accord with his hearers, which does not exist in all modes of instruction. The fact of the free and confidential intercourse between him and them on the one subject which has brought them together—the unreserved opening of the heart in Confession, or, if not in formal Confession, yet in private intercourse on the soul's deepest interests, naturally accompanying the Exercises—is one of its sure signs of reality and depth of influence, while it cannot fail to act as a constant guide and restraint to the Director in determining the selection of his subjects, or, at least, his mode of dealing with them.

II. Some have questioned whether the order of a Retreat, such as has been assumed in this Essay as the normal rule, is not too

austere, or, at least, too constrained. It must be carefully noted that austerity, as the term is ordinarily understood, has no place whatever in a Retreat. Bodily mortification, fasting—except such as the Church's rule may enjoin—loss of necessary sleep, even restraint in posture, or strain in too prolonged meditation, as already has been observed, are especially discouraged. The practice aimed at in the objection is, no doubt, the rule of silence. It is supposed that this rule must act as an unnatural restraint, painful and depressing; and that an important improvement would be effected, if a more cheerful tone and freer play of thought were encouraged, especially since the very object of bringing persons together to a Retreat must ensure a common aim, and a character of conversation in harmony with the general design.

This question may fairly be viewed as a matter of practical experience. Retreats have now been carried on amongst us for a sufficient length of time to enable us to form a satisfactory judgment on such a point; and there can, I suppose, be no doubt what those who have been most frequently present at Retreats would say upon it. It is possible, indeed, that some persons may feel entire silence, lasting two, three, or more days, irksome, and their minds require relief from the pressure of their own thoughts in communing with the thoughts of others. This especially may be the case with those who are unaccustomed to the practice of meditation, beginners in a purely spiritual exercise. And it is undoubtedly an important and advisable thing, especially in the commencement of a system, to accommodate the rule to meet such cases, even though the rule itself be essential to its perfectness. What is only meant for the soul's advancement and increased joy in God, ought not to be felt as burdensome and unnatural. But if experience has shown the value of such occasional accommodation, it has unquestionably proved, on the other hand, that those who have begun the practice of Retreats with the allowance of occasional conversation, even though of a grave and subdued character, have grown into the desire for increased strictness in this respect, and have felt more and more drawn to the conviction of the value of the absolute rule. The writer, from his own personal experience, can testify how persons who, even though attending a Retreat for the first time, and having entered it dreading the stricter rule, yet have afterwards expressed themselves as most thankful for it. The truth is that time passes rapidly in a Retreat. The regularity and the constant interchange of Offices, Private Prayers, Holy Communion, Addresses, with meal times, and exercise, leaves only sufficient space for the pure mental exercise of meditation, which is the

very object of the Retreat, and affords no room for the sense of loneliness and vacancy. On the contrary, there is a sensible relief in the conscious power of uninterrupted freedom, for the soul to expand and go forth into regions of thought and supernatural visions too dimly discerned through the distractions of ordinary life; or to follow out, without let or hindrance, views and considerations of our own personal state before God, or of the eternal realities which compass us about, most needful for all to contemplate before the time of our probation is past.

It must not be forgotten, that the object of a Retreat is not companionship of harmonious minds, or the gain of intelligence through mutual communications and play of thought. This, of course, is of inestimable value in itself, but it has its own proper place. A Retreat also has its special object, and that is to give, as far as outward circumstances can further it, an undivided influence favourable to the presentation of unseen and impalpable truths in their bearing on one's own solitary personal life. Its peculiar aim is to correct the consequences of ceaseless converse with the outer world, and remove the obstructions which other minds and other thoughts present to the full working of the conscience on itself, and thus make the impressions of eternal concerns and verities more vivid and deep than they can be in social life, causing a more complete realization of what only floats before the soul vaguely in its ordinary state. Any one will perceive how much a return to even serious topics of conversation may interfere with this design; and how impossible it is, where matters of interest, however grave, have been opened, in the quick mutual play of different minds, to prevent conversation becoming sufficiently exciting to occupy, if not absorb the thoughts, it may be long after the intercourse has ceased.

Moreover, it is not merely the absence of distraction, but the security against the possibility of such distraction, and the certainty of a safeguard against one's own heedlessness or forgetfulness, which is desired to be maintained, as the point on which so much of the integrity of the concentrated effect of the Exercises depends. Any one who attends Retreats may judge of this question for himself, supposing conversation has been allowed only during times of recreation, by comparing his own state of mind before and after such intercourse has passed. If an agreeable walk, with pleasant, though becomingly serious talk, has followed the afternoon's meditation, there is a sensible relaxation in the tone of mind previously maintained, which is felt to detract from the influence of the evening's meditation.

How constantly have those who feared on entering into a Retreat, regretted the return to the world's converse; and those by whom the restraint was at first felt to be irksome, afterwards been thankful for the discipline, and looked back to the unwonted isolation as fraught with something of solemn anticipation of the time when, whether they will or not, they must stand face to face before God, when the One Almighty Presence will be All in all to the soul.

The danger of an imperfectly-kept Retreat is, lest the Addresses should prove to be merely a series of sermons; having, indeed, the immediate influence of a moving discourse, but leaving little result. Even if there have been earnest attention to the addresses, the quick return to the ordinary current of thought during the intervals, leaves room for only a slight amount of reflection, to be followed by little, if any, abiding change in the soul's after progress. The object of a Retreat is, rather, to provide that the ideas suggested should, during its progress, grow and accumulate within the soul; and, by a combined and concentrated power, as they occupy the whole field of vision, determine and fix the entire bent of the inward life upon a new standard, and with fresh energies. For this purpose, a steadily-sustained force of connected thoughts is needed, and time for the development of ideas to form new principles within the soul. It is not uncommonly found that the earlier portion of a Retreat is occupied in merely getting rid of previous trains of distracting thought or anxieties, or in freeing the soul from some self-contemplative mood absorbing all power of attention; and only the latter part felt to be of any benefit, because this alone has been received into a free and unembarrassed mind. What would be the chance of persons thus preoccupied profiting by the Exercises, if subjected to the yet further inroad of other interests and excitements, from the occurrence of intervals of conversation? The result is wholly different, when opportunity is given to open the soul's grief or difficulty to one who may console by his sympathy, or guide with discretion, applying, as need may be, religious aid or Sacramental healing, which is provided for in the charge entrusted to the Director of the Retreat, whose counsel is calculated to be all the more helpful, because of the very restriction which confines all interchange of thought to communication with himself.

III. Objections are also sometimes made to the character of the Addresses delivered in our Retreats, as implying a familiarity with the habit of meditation beyond the average capacities of those who are addressed, and so leaving behind little

profit. A difficulty may, indeed, exist on this score, when mental prayer and spiritual contemplation have been so little practised amongst us. Persons desiring the benefits of a Retreat may yet come with little aptitude for fully entering into the course of the Exercises; still less for employing their own minds on the subjects given, when left to themselves to meditate on them. But is such a possibility to be wholly avoided in the case of beginners? It is but the objection made by Laud to the discredit of Jeremy Taylor, when he first preached before him at Lambeth—that he was "too young a preacher to remain in London;" and the reply may be given with equal force as to our case, in Taylor's answer; "He humbly begged his Grace to pardon that fault, promising that if he lived he would amend it" (Heber's *Life of Bishop Jeremy Taylor*, vol. i. Life, p. 11). A similar objection is often urged against sermons; but it is not always felt advisable to lower the standard of thought in preaching. A growing experience gives both to speaker and hearer increasing power of mutual understanding—to the one, through knowing better the wants and capacities of his brethren; to the other, through being able to follow out more intelligently the suggested heads of spiritual reflection. None can doubt the great loss incurred by lack of use in an exercise considered by all masters of the spiritual life to be more influential than any other in furthering the advancement of the soul; and nothing but practice can instruct either the teacher or the taught. We are but at the commencement of a system, and we must be content to bear the unavoidable imperfections attending the early efforts to achieve success in so great a cause.

IV. But a yet more important scruple may weigh with many thoughtful persons. It is not uncommonly found that, while a first Retreat has been accompanied by sensible emotions, and an appreciable gain in the after-life, a repetition of the same practice has been followed by little, if any, apparent benefit. The life has received no perceptible additional stimulus; or, at least, the effects were of so unnoticeable a character, that the result can hardly be regarded as adequate to the exertion and loss of time incurred.

The true answer to this objection is to be found in questioning the view of life on which the objection rests. A first Retreat, like the first consciousness of a call from God, necessarily produces a vividly sensible impression, and a greater contrast to previous experience than any after influence of the same kind can be expected to effect. The result will necessarily

be more apparent, when the work of the Spirit has to be begun. The later operations of God within the soul are less cognizable than the earlier; they are ordinarily slower and more secret. Each separate period of increased attainment has less of self-consciousness in proportion to the degree of the attainment, less of emotion excited, and less therefore of perceptible gain. But the impresssion made may be really as great, or greater. The most material work of the soul, like the ordinary developments of nature, consists in silent progress and quiet increase, arising from ever-repeated and renewed impressions, it may be of the same or like truths. The steady unobserved deepening of spiritual convictions is really a greater work than the awakening the first fresh emotions. For a constant advancing course, the very least gain is the reaching a higher level; and in climbing heights, the last approaches towards the summit appear to rise with a far less perceptible elevation the nearer they are approached. We cannot measure results by impressions, nor are sensible improvements any guide to the actual progress of the soul's life. As God's gracious gifts flow on, the currents may often be the stiller from their very depth. Retreats resemble other religious exercises in this, that they are often more a work of faith than of consciousness; but they have not therefore less of God, neither are they less hopeful for the future.

V. Not unlike to the feeling which dictates the last objection is that which disposes busy men, especially Clergymen, to regard Retreats as of slight moment, when contrasted with calls of active duty. Earnest Parish Priests compare their work at home, and its influence on their people, with a retirement for spiritual repose; and it seems to be the putting a mere sentiment in the place of devoted service. Their minds are already fully absorbed in spiritual things; and to listen to the Addresses given in Retreats, is but a repetition, though it may be under more impressive circumstances, of what, more or less, forms the staple of their constant studies. Their life has already but one fixed aim. If change is needed, it were better that it were a real refreshment, such as would send them back to their work reinvigorated by an entire relaxation from all mental effort. The Retreat is but another form of spiritual exertion, intended to effect what is already making more or less of progress in their souls, in their appointed path of duty.

An answer to such a line of thought is to be found in what has already been said of the nature and object of a Retreat. We have seen that its purpose is to bring to bear on the soul a wholly new force, in order to endue it with fresh energies, both

for its own advanced heavenly-mindedness, and its greater usefulness. Previous remarks will have anticipated much of this objection.

But it is an important consideration, whether the main ground of this supposed objection be not an exaggerated view of the active, in comparison with the contemplative life. The training of the inner life of our Priesthood has manifestly not been cared for as it deserves. A certain amount of theological knowledge, and the absence of any positive bar on the score of morality and general orthodoxy, are the sole tests of fitness which it has been considered necessary to secure in a candidate for ordination. The training of the mind itself in habits of prayer, of meditation, of self-discipline, have been wholly neglected, or at least left to chance. Taken as a class, there is no clerical body in Christendom so little trained as our own. Even the Dissenting Communities have a far more distinctive preparation, than the Clergy of the Church of England. Our Public Schools and Universities lay an admirable basis of moral character, which need not fear comparison with any system of education of a similar kind in the world; but, except in the case of the few Diocesan Colleges established within the few last years, nothing is provided with the view of imparting a distinctive character, or special aptitude, to the future Priest. It is evident that candidates trained at our Diocesan Colleges bear an almost infinitesimal proportion to the number of the ordained. Speaking with scarcely any appreciable exception, the education of our Clergy differs in no respect from that of the Laity. Those who are to guide and teach their brethren in the mysteries and discipline of the supernatural life, have no more preparation for their work than those over whom they are about to be set.

This entire absence of spiritual training at the commencement of a Clergyman's course, cannot but tell upon the general estimate of such discipline, and tend to produce an indifference to, or even an undervaluing of, merely spiritual exercises. If it be thought needless at the commencement, as a test and means of fitness, why more necessary afterwards, when the Priest is already accepted as sufficient for his work? The result of such indifference to this material part of the priestly life has been, that intellectual gifts and general activity have assumed a disproportionate value in the established view of the character of our Clergy, fatal to any adequate cherishing of purely spiritual attainments, on the due development of which the saintly and devotional character depends. No doubt there is serious evil in the formation of a mere Sacerdotal caste; a form of character

shaped after a fixed and uniform type, having little sympathy with laymen, nor allowing any freedom for the healthful development of the mind. This is fully allowed. But this is an extreme supposition, and is a danger which manifestly need excite no fear in our case. Our case is that of absolute defect as to any training whatever of a spiritual kind for distinctly spiritual work, so far as the Church's provisions and requirements are concerned. All that is here meant is, that a ministry, which is to impress on the world not merely a spirit of benevolence, and laws of morality, nor merely a doctrine, but the very Mind of CHRIST, ought to have, underlying and infusing all ministerial activities, all intellectual gifts, an inner life, disciplined by habitual intercourse with the unseen world, and quickened and ruled by whatever means can be brought to bear on its development. It is not enough to say that this inner growth must, after all, depend on the grace of GOD, and the work of His SPIRIT, which may be obtained through secret prayer and private study, and the heart's own communing with GOD in a man's own chamber, and must rest on every man's own individual care of his own soul. The only point urged is that such an end may be greatly furthered by special means; and the question is, whether the use of means of acknowledged efficacy for the end in view, ought not to fall within the order of the Church's discipline in the education of those on whose fitness for the charge, under GOD, hangs the whole hope of her ministrations of the Gospel of CHRIST,—whether efficacious aids for ensuring this needful personal care, and assisting these individual efforts to attain a spiritual and saintly mind, ought not to form a special object of the Church's education for her Priesthood. Some recognized provision for directing and deepening the operations of the Spirit in those whose whole calling and object is centred in the things of the Spirit, ought surely to be provided.

If, however, no such provision is made amongst us in the preparation for the Ministry, all the more needful must be any practice which gives promise of supplying the lack afterwards. Retreats profess to furnish such a means. Experience proves them to have a very real influence in giving a substantial reality to unseen things. They tend to form a mind conversant with the inner life of the spirit, and thus to spiritualize the character; cherishing, by a peculiar concentration of the purest and most powerful influences, the very mind which the Priest is bound to cultivate, if he is to be the embodiment of the Life of CHRIST to the World. It must press unceasingly on the heart of every faithful Pastor of souls to think of his own state before GOD, even

though his whole energies may be bent on the one aim of preparing his people to meet their last account. "Thou hast made me a keeper of vineyards, but mine own vineyard I have not kept," are words which must often haunt the conscience of such a man with anxious misgivings. The proffering, therefore, of any means which may, at the same time, both test and deepen the life of his own soul in the search after such an end, can never be lightly put aside as of little moment.

There are other reasons, arising from outward circumstances, why Retreats seem very specially to meet the needs of the Clergy, as a most important aid in keeping their own hearts in harmony with their vocation. The pressure of work and constant distractions of infinitely varied calls, which form the habitual life of so many Priests in large parishes; the manifold interruptions besetting even those who occupy retired spheres of labour; the drain upon their hearts and minds from the constant giving out of themselves for other's needs; the unavoidable tendency to view religious truth as affecting others in a kind of business way; and the manifest danger of what is professional becoming mechanical and perfunctory, what is constant and habitual losing its freshness and vital personal interest; or, again, the effects of domestic and social engagements, and lighter claims, even of lawful and unavoidable intercourse with the outer world, diminishing the energy, and dulling the keen, vivid sense of the invisible world, which is the groundwork of the earnestness and concentrated grasp of truth so essential to a minister of the Word of God; or, again, the tendency in those whose lot is comparatively isolated, to become morbid and absorbed in partial views or exaggerated prepossessions, to whom new and vivid impressions from other minds would be specially reinvigorating; or, the mere risk of degenerating in spiritual earnestness besetting all, but in some respects peculiarly affecting those who, from being always ministering to others are never themselves placed under the influences which they feel so needful to every one else—these and similar reasons will readily occur as specially affecting the Clergy.

Our own time suggests reasons peculiar to itself. The controversial habit of the day, and the ceaseless conflict of opinion; the rapid succession of new ideas and questions of deepest and most exciting interest; the stir, the movement, the increasing activity of every thing around us—are additional reasons why every means of encouraging calmness, a spirit of rest, the power of viewing truth in its inner depths and simplicity, irrespective of mere accidental circumstances, must be specially valuable.

All these facts tend to show the immense importance to a

Priest of being placed from time to time in a position where the mere activities of his ministry, the common lines of thought, the surrounding interests and anxieties, the claims of those depending upon him—are altogether removed, and himself brought face to face with God in his own personal individual consciousness, as he must at last stand to give account of himself when he will no longer be the judge of other men, but himself be judged all the more strictly, as he has ventured to tread the innermost sanctuary of God.

With Religious Communities, again, Retreats have the closest possible affinity. They are the natural expressions of their life when relieved of the necessities of outward service. Their life ever tends to the more absorbed and intimate communion with unseen things, and Retreats are the recurring satisfaction of their unceasing desire. The special need of Retreats for active Religious societies lies in this, that a life resting wholly on spiritual realities, and yet subject to the external influences which their work, often of the most absorbing and unceasing character, involves, needs above others to be sustained by the periodical presentation of the objects of faith in their most impressive form. Their members are necessarily liable, as others, to the decline and decay which beset all forms of spiritual life in this world, in its struggle to maintain its true standard; and their service may often allow less opportunity of undisturbed devotion than can be commanded by many in their own homes. The refreshment and reviving power which the Exercises of a Retreat supply, is the one means which most effectually supplies the need.

The value of Retreats to persons living in the world, desirous of maintaining a higher standard of life, seeking opportunity to break away from the trammels and sinful entanglements of the past, that they may devote themselves to a more pure and undivided life in it for the future, is too evident to require more than a brief mention. Retreats form, to such persons, often the only available occasion of an entire seclusion from outward hindrances, combined with such teaching as may help to the full realization of the objects of faith, which are the proper means for bringing to bear the powers of Religion upon their souls. The influence of sermons and other ordinary ministrations must always be marred by a defect of power, because the impressions made are so liable to be obliterated by the rapidly succeeding ideas prevailing in the outer world, to which the hearer must immediately return; or by the mere instinctive reaction of the mind itself after a transient excitement. Time secured from all possible interruptions, and relief from all outward pressure and

the constant play of ordinary associations, are needed for such self-reflection as is calculated to produce fixed and permanent results[1].

[1] The following account of a Retreat, held by Père Ravignan, in Paris, marks a striking era in his ministry. It was an experiment made at the close of one of his Lenten Conferences at Notre Dame. It is here quoted, as a very extraordinary instance of a kind of Retreat, which could only occur after a very unusual degree of excitement, the fruit of profound impressions, and at a remarkable crisis of a people's religious history. In the following year, Ravignan held a similar Retreat for men; and, on the same day, another for women, and a third for the poor. There was but one address given at each. But, as might be expected, the strain which such an effort caused was felt by him to be too much to attempt a repetition.

"Dès le début de son ministère à Notre Dame, le Père Ravignan avait entrevu la retraite comme le couronnement nécessaire des Conférences. Laissons l'homme de Dieu raconter avec effusion les fruits de son nouvel apostolat :—

"'Les Conférences ont été suivies avec la bienveillance et l'assiduité ordinaires. L'idée de la retraite pour terminer m'était venue, il y a près de cinq ans, et presque dès l'origine de mes Conférences à Notre Dame. Jusqu'ici le moment n'avait pas paru assez convenable. Cette année je demandai, vers le milieu du Carême, et j'obtins toute liberté de Mgr. l'Archevêque.

"'Il sembla prudent de ne rien publier d'avance, de commencer aussi par une petite église. On me donna l'Abbaye aux Bois, pouvant contenir, très-serrés, mille à douze cents hommes. Je m'assurai la grande et belle église de Saint-Eustache, en cas d'encombrement; on m'avait refusé Saint-Sulpice.

"'Le Dimanche des Rameaux seulement, à Notre Dame, avant la Conférence, j'annonçai pour la Semaine Sainte, une retraite d'hommes; instruction tous les soirs, à huit heures, jusqu'au Samedi Saint inclusivement.

"'Le Lundi Saint au soir je me rendis à l'Abbaye aux Bois vers sept heures et demie. Je trouvai une foule et un encombrement extraordinaires; pas une seule femme, au reste: je les avais toutes exclues. Depuis près de deux heures tout était plein, et déjà une centaine de personnes s'étaient retirées, ne pouvant pénétrer. Je devais traverser le bas de l'église, je ne pouvais passer. On me reconnut; on me demanda instamment, quoique sans tumulte, d'aller ailleurs. Je le promis.

"'De la chaire, je fus frappé de cet entassement d'hommes, jeunes presque tous, et remplissant les autels; et nul désordre.

"'Après les avoir vivement félicités, je leur indiquai Saint-Eustache pour le lendemain, puis je leur dis de se lever tous pour prier. Ils se levèrent comme un seul homme, nous recitâmes le Veni Creator; et l'instruction eut lieu sur ces paroles: *Venite seorsum, et requiescite pusillum.* Je leur recommandai de rester tous au salut. Tous restèrent.

"Le lendemain Saint-Eustache était envahi dès trois heures pour huit; et l'on vint même plus tôt les jours suivants.

"Mon cœur est plein de reconnaisance envers Dieu; son secours a été manifesté. Je ne sais si jamais pareil auditoire d'hommes a été vu: ferrures des portes, crénelures des piliers, grilles, tout était couvert d'hommes suspendus; nef et bas-côtés inondés et pressés plus que de raison; et le plus profond, le plus religieux silence. Pas un désordre, point de force armée. Trois ou quatre mille voix d'hommes chantant le *Miserere*, le *Stabat*. Ce spectacle m'a touché profondément'" (*Vie du R. P. de Ravignan*, vol. i. p. 204).

In what has been urged as to the wonderful effects of this great means of spiritual edification, it is not meant to be implied that it is advisable for all persons under all circumstances or states of mind. Caution is needed as to the use of any special means of devotion, especially those of a deeply stirring character. There are both physical and mental states, which might render such an exercise hurtful rather than beneficial; but these are exceptions which cannot affect the general conclusions at which we have arrived. They are mentioned here, lest it should be supposed that there had been any disregard for doubts, or scruples felt by those who, having a common object in view, are yet drawn to God more in accordance with their own mental condition through other means. Such cases may be fully recognized without in the least diminishing the force of the argument advanced. They are clearly exceptional. The objection may also be exceptional in the experience of those who are thus affected; and Retreats which may be unadvisable at one period of life, or under special circumstances, as, *e.g.*, of weakened health, or overwrought sensitiveness, may be most beneficial on the return of fuller strength, or of calmer and more healthful feelings.

It may not be considered too minute to enter into questions of time and place for holding Retreats.

As to place—a College with its chapel, or a quiet country Parsonage with a Church close at hand, seem to be the fittest places for such an object. Seclusion, facility of access to a chapel or one's private chamber, are the main requisites. If the freshness of country air, and freedom of a retired haunt with its uninterrupted walks, is added, we have all that can be desired. A Church alone, in which the attendants at a Retreat, going to and fro from their own homes, can find, for a time at least, during the day, entire isolation from the world, is all that can often be secured in the case of those who are unable to leave their own sphere of occupations and daily duties, and will enable such persons to gain all the benefits of such an Exercise practicable in their case.

The season of the year must depend on the probable leisure of those for whom the Retreat is designed, or of him who directs it. For the Clergy, the summer or autumn is freer from pressing work than other seasons, and has far less risk of interference with the more urgent claims of their people. That the weather at such times is more favourable for relaxation and refreshment, is not without its benefit.

For lay persons, seasons such as Advent, the Epiphany, or

Lent, seem most suitable, because the association of the Church's Commemorative Services gives additional weight to the devotional exercises. The mind is instinctively acted upon by the influence of the time, and is more predisposed to receive the intended impressions.

Enough may have been said as to the length of time during which the Retreat is to last. It is only the pressure of the many avocations, ever tending to increase, in such an age of restless activity as that in which our lot is cast, which has fixed the limits hitherto observed in our Retreats. Three clear days is as much as has been felt to be practicable, with but one or two rare exceptions. But the length of period will probably increase as the practice spreads, and becomes, as we can hardly doubt it will become, a more recognized part of our religious system. The arrangements of life and work will be made with a view to such periodical retirements. Irrespective of the limits unavoidably fixed by necessary duties, the object in view would determine the time. Abstractedly such a period is to be desired as would allow for the fullest possible impression being made, without incurring the risk of weariness or hurtful strain to the mental powers.

The order of the day is also a point of considerable practical importance; but one that must necessarily depend on the circumstances of each individual case. A time-table is required, to which all who attend the Retreat may have ready access; and punctuality in observing the directions given, is one essential requisite for success. The subjoined "Tables" have been in actual use, and will form the best illustration of the general arrangements which have been pursued. They may also well close these remarks, as conveying suggestions which, it is hoped, may lead to the still more extensive adoption of the practice, which, from the experience already gained, bears the promise, it is believed, of abundant fruit unto holiness, to the honour of God, and the edifying of His Church in this land. It is only necessary to add that the first Table is copied from a tract on "Retreats" in the "Evangelist Library," published by Mr. Hayes, Lyall Place, Eaton Square, to which attention is directed, as containing valuable remarks and rules on the subject.

## TABLE I.

### EVENING OF ARRIVAL.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6.20 | p.m. | Tea, or cold Dinner. |
| 8. | „ | Evening Prayer in Church, and Introductory Address. Retire for the Night. |

### DAYS OF RETREAT.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6.30 | a.m. | Holy Communion. |
| 7.30 | „ | Breakfast. |
| 8.20 | „ | Morning Prayer and First Address. Retirement. |
| 12. | | Litany and Second Address. Retirement. |
| 2. | p.m. | Dinner. |
| 3. | „ | A short Service. |
| 3.15 to 4.15 | „ | Recreation. Retirement. |
| 4.30 | „ | Third Address. Retirement. |
| 7. | „ | Tea. |
| 7.30 | „ | Evening Prayer. Retirement. |
| 9.45 | „ | A Short Service. Retire for the Night. |

### MORNING OF DEPARTURE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6.30 | a.m. | Morning Prayer, Holy Communion. |
| 8.30 | „ | Breakfast; Concluding Address. |

## TABLE II.

### DAY OF ARRIVAL.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7. | p.m. | Meet in Refectory. |
| 7.30 | „ | Tea. |
| 8. | „ | Vespers, Introductory Address, after which retire for Meditation. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 9. | p.m. | Supper. |
| 9.30 | „ | Compline, and retire for the Night. |

DAYS OF RETREAT.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7.15 | a.m. | Prime. |
| 7.30 | „ | Holy Communion. |
| 8.30 | „ | Breakfast. |
| 9. | „ | Matins. |
| 9.45 | „ | Terce and Address, after which retire for Meditation or Spiritual Reading. |
| 12. | | Sext, after which Recreation. |
| 1. | p.m. | Dinner, after which Recreation. |
| 3. | „ | Nones and Address, after which retire as before. |
| 5.30 | „ | Evensong. |
| 6.15 | „ | Tea. |
| 7. | „ | Vespers, Address, after which retire as before. |
| 9. | „ | Supper. |
| 9.30 | „ | Compline, and retire for the Night. |

MORNING OF DEPARTURE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7.15 | a.m. | Prime. |
| 7.30 | „ | Holy Communion. |
| 8.30 | „ | Breakfast. |
| 9. | „ | Matins. |
| 9.30 | „ | Terce, and Concluding Address. |

A bell will be rung in the House five minutes before each Service. Silence will be kept during the Retreat.

Meals will be on the table at the times specified, but may be partaken of according to convenience.

Reading at meals, the book being handed from one to another.

T. T. CARTER.

# Prayers for the Dead.

When the grave closes over all that is mortal of those we love, does the connexion which bound us to them while living cease to exist in every sense? Is the bond of spiritual affinity as perishable as that which has its origin in the associations of this earth? Lost to sight, are the Dead also lost to charity? Have the good works of the Living no influence on the happiness of the departed? Must those names which mingled in our daily and nightly prayers be uttered no more? Are they henceforth nothing to us, nor we to them? Is it a thing useless or forbidden to commend them to the God of the Spirits of all flesh? Is our love all thrown back into the past, leaving the present cheerless and barren, embittered by the thought that we are separated from beloved objects by a gulf impassable as that which divides the saved and the lost?

To these and the like questions, which take such deep hold on human affection yearning after the beloved Dead, the World has no reply. It is not slow, indeed, to reward great actions with posthumous renown. It has its statues and its monuments, "the storied urn and animated bust," its commemorations and its banquetings, in honour of those who have contributed to the glory of their nation or the material interests of society; but it is all with respect to man's earthly existence, and with no view to benefit the departed spirit in its unseen state of being. The World tolerates, as an amiable weakness, the tender affection which cherishes the memory of those of whom it speaks as "the loved and lost," because such emotion may be wholly of itself, of the earth earthy, without any perception of spiritual affinity or even of immortality. But as for any duty towards the departed, by which we may do them good, or maintain an invisible communion with them, it knows nothing of it, or scoffs at it as an idle superstition. Disbelieving the efficacy of prayer for anything, it "cannot away with" it, when offered for those who have passed beyond "that bourne from which no traveller returns;" and the Religion of the day so far agrees with the godless World, and denounces it as an unscriptural error or a relic of Popery.

It is in the Church alone that the heart of man finds all its innocent longings satisfied, and its tenderest affections enkindled at once and elevated by the possession of privileges not subject to time, and by the exercise of duties which do not terminate in the grave. In the Church, relations and affinities once formed endure for ever. They are not for this earth only, nor only for time, because they do not arise out of earthly associations, nor depend upon the laws of human existence. They pass beyond the bounds of time, and have their perfect realization only in Eternity. These relations do not cease when a man dies. They are not affected by the conditions of our present existence. They are independent of the body, or of bodily presence in any one place. They are relations subsisting between human souls, uniting them one to another, and to beings and things spiritual and unseen. They have, indeed, a visible manifestation; because the Church, in which they exist, is itself an external institution of the nature of a Kingdom; and having, like other kingdoms, a regular organization, its own laws, its corporate privileges, its visible rulers, with living men for its subjects, whom these relations bind together as members of the same community, partaking of its advantages and obliged by the duties resulting therefrom. In all that appertains to the Kingdom—privilege and duty, grace and favour from its LORD, charity and mutual help—its subjects participate in common. The external agency—Sacraments and Rites of Worship—by which these things are maintained and enjoyed, cease, of course, when death intervenes to separate a man from the visible communion of the Church. But the relations themselves once formed, are not dissolved by our transition to the unseen state; because the Church and Kingdom of the LORD embraces both worlds. The relations which are formed among redeemed souls in the Church visible pass on with the disembodied spirit into the Church invisible, which is but another part of the one Kingdom. The essential principle of its existence—that in which its real union and communion consists—is spiritual and internal, having its origin in the Heavenly Kingdom, and in the Person of Him who is its Head. Death, which separates us from the presence of the living, brings us into closer contact with the Great Source of Unity, and so cannot make any breach in the communion which is formed by the diffusion through numbers of the Divine SPIRIT of Unity. Nothing but that which separates us from the Head can separate us from any part of the Church, which is His Body, whether upon earth or in the world of spirits. The Church visible is the channel and means of our union with the Church invisible. And when, by the

One Baptism, we are in It, united to the company of the living faithful, we are at the same moment joined to the spirits departed; so that the living and the dead are members of the same Church, subjects of the same Kingdom, united to one Head—the LORD and Ruler of both worlds—and members one of another in the same community. Nothing can separate us from CHRIST—neither death nor life, things present nor things to come—nothing but that which cuts us off from the communion of the Church—either excommunication, or a death in mortal sin. The former cuts us off from the Church, visible and invisible, at once; and, by the latter, we fall away from the grace of CHRIST, the hope of Heaven, and the fellowship of redeemed souls.

If we are found, at the close of life, in the unity of the Church and in a state of grace, death makes no breach of communion. It does not build up a wall of partition between the living and the dead, barring every species of intercourse. It is but as a veil drawn between the visible and the invisible; and when we pass beyond it, we are not cut off from the charities which bind the members of CHRIST one to another. We are only transferred to another part of the one Kingdom of the Redeemer—there to do the will of GOD, and to wait for the coming of our LORD JESUS CHRIST from Heaven under conditions different from those of our present state; but still a continuation of the course on which we entered at Holy Baptism, without loss or diminution of the union with CHRIST and the Saints, which is the source whence all spiritual good flows forth upon us here. None are lost to the Kingdom but the children of perdition. None are excluded from the streams of grace, which make glad the City of GOD, but those whom the "great gulf fixed" has separated from the company of the faithful. That is the only real wall of partition, which raises up an impassable barrier between the souls for whom CHRIST died. All who live in and to Him are One, in whatever part of His dominion they are placed. They are all children of the Kingdom, and share its privileges in common, each according to his needs and his capacity. The visible and the unseen, the living and the departed, are alike subjects of the SAVIOUR'S redeeming Love, alike members of His Body, alike inseparably united to all other His members every where; for we are members one of another in Him. The Church, which is His Kingdom and His Body, is but One.

We speak of the Church visible and the Church invisible, the Church militant and the Church at rest, or the Church triumphant; but these are not two Churches. They are the One Church in different states; the One Church existing, with the

same properties, under different conditions: in the one case battling for its privileges in the face of an opposing enemy, in the other enjoying or improving these privileges in a way independent of that doubtful fight. But the bond of faith, hope, and charity subsists unbroken throughout the whole. CHRIST both died, and rose again, and revived, that He might be "LORD both of the dead and living" (Rom. xiv. 9). He overthrew the usurped dominion of Satan by His death, and "reigned from the Tree." He cleansed the polluted world by shedding His all-precious Blood, and made it a fit empire for Himself. But there was another world, the world of disembodied spirits, who had long waited for Him. Over that world He had to assert His dominion as well as over this, and impart to the expectant souls detained therein the cleansing virtues of His Blood. And to this end He not only died but "descended into Hell," into that unseen place where the spirits of all, who had died before His Incarnation, were kept in some mysterious sort of subjection to Satan, who, in consequence of man's fall, "had the power of death" and the custody of the souls who had come under its dominion. S. Peter speaks of them as "the spirits in prison," implying that they were in some degree of restraint and discomfort. All through the Old Testament the state of the dead is represented as an abode of darkness and bondage, subject to some gloomy power, who held them in unwilling but not hopeless subjection to himself. They were prisoners, though "prisoners of hope," yet for the time they were "cut away" from the Divine "Hand," from the light and sweetness of GOD's countenance, "in a place of darkness and in the deep."

To that dark world of spirits CHRIST descended "to preach," S. Peter says, to the imprisoned souls; to fulfil to them the "promises" which they had believed, but which had never been realized to them, and, it would seem, to give to those "who had once been disobedient," a second chance of accepting the glad tidings of salvation through a Redeemer, of Whom they had heard by the hearing of the ear, but Who had never come among them, as a "great Light," to give light and life to them that "sat in darkness and in the shadow of death." Our LORD, by His death, destroyed "him who had the power of death, that is, the Devil;" and by His descent into hell "delivered them, who, through fear of death, had been all their life time subject to bondage." He set up the Kingdom of Light in those gloomy regions, where the "strong man" had established his dominion, and set free the captives whom he had long detained. He "led the long-prisoned fathers forth;" either changed their abode into a Paradise of joy,

or carried them with Him, as partners of His triumph, when He ascended into Heaven, as He gave to living men a proof of His victory in the unseen world by setting free from the power of the grave "many bodies of the saints which slept," and who, as pledges of the resurrection, "arose and came into the holy city and appeared unto many." We can scarcely suppose that, having once risen on such a great occasion, they returned to the sepulchres from which they had issued. It is more probable that they formed part of the train which followed the conquering Redeemer to the everlasting doors of Heaven. At any rate we are sure that the unseen mansions of the Dead could not be the same after our Divine LORD had been there, as they were before; they must have been changed for the better, freed from the power of Satan, and brought within the limits of the kingdom of light and grace, and made part of the Church, which the Redeemer had purchased and cleansed by His own Blood. There was no longer a divided empire over the Living and the Dead, Satan confining the one in his strongholds and CHRIST ruling over the other. No longer has the Devil power over the souls of the redeemed; no longer can he "disquiet any to bring them up," as he was permitted to "disquiet" the soul of Samuel through one of his human agents. CHRIST hath put a final end to all such power over departed spirits. None can henceforth "disquiet them to bring them up," for none can pluck them out of the Redeemer's Hand. There is henceforth but one Kingdom, and one King ruling the Church, and one Body, of which all are members, the Dead as well as the Living; for CHRIST died, and rose, and revived, that He might be LORD of both: for "whether we live, we live unto the LORD; and whether we die, we die unto the LORD. Whether, therefore, we live or die, we are the LORD'S" (Rom. xiv. 8).

We must, of necessity, speak of the living and the dead as being in two different states, each under its own condition of existence. But we cannot, consistently with what is said in Holy Writ, speak of them as two Churches, except for the sake of distinctness; or two kingdoms, or two communions, having no common bond of union, nor any channel of intercourse. In the view of Scripture the living faithful are joined on to the company of unseen spirits; and the Church itself, though having an external existence and development, has its real life and its highest privileges in the invisible world: "Ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the Saints and of the household of GOD" (Eph. ii. 19). The Church is here represented under a different aspect, more limited in extent than

a kingdom, but implying a more intimate connexion among the persons composing it, as a city is more compact, and its inhabitants more closely united by the possession of municipal privileges in common than the subjects of an empire. The figure used by the Apostle glides, in the concluding words, into another which indicates a closer union even than this. Not only are Christians fellow-citizens with the Saints, they are members of the same "household," domestics in the same family, whose Master is our LORD and GOD, CHRIST JESUS, "of Whom the whole family in Heaven and earth is named." And, as if this were not enough to express the strictness and closeness of the union which binds together all the members of the house and family of GOD in Heaven and earth, S. Paul goes on to say, that they are knit and cemented together as firmly as stones in a building. "Ye are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, JESUS CHRIST Himself being the chief Corner-stone, in Whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the LORD, in Whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of GOD through the SPIRIT" (ver. 20). The city and the temple symbolize the same thing under different aspects, and the "household" intensifies the idea of unity and dependence. In the Church, as in a city, all redeemed souls have their habitation, and their common rights of citizenship; as in a "household" they are all living under the same roof, so to say, all dependent upon each other in the performance of their daily work under the eye of a common Master. The Church, as a temple, is built up of living souls; they form the stones of that spiritual edifice, resting on the foundation of the Apostles, compacted together by CHRIST, the Corner-stone, "to Whom coming as unto a living stone, ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house" (1 Pet. ii. 4, 5).

These are not characteristics of the Church as a visible institution only, nor of the condition of Christians on the earth. For this City, in which we enjoy the fellowship of the Saints, is not of earthly origin. Its foundations are the twelve Apostles of the LAMB; but though they were the visible and human agents who introduced it into the world, its vast foundations are "upon the holy hills." It is, in truth, a manifestation of the world unseen, an extension into this lower sphere of Heaven itself, of that city whose builder and maker is GOD. S. Paul, who applies to it the earthly names of the City, the Temple, the Household, yet speaks of it as having its locality in the World above, and only reaching down to earth in order to take us up into itself: "the Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all"

(Gal. iv., 26). The City is above, yet it must be on the earth at the same time, because we all have our birth in it. She is "the mother of us all," as it was foretold in the prophetic Psalm (lxxxvii. 5), "of Zion it shall be said, This and that man was born in her;" that is, all, one by one, were born in her; not in the earthly Zion, which would have implied a physical impossibility, but in the Jerusalem above, for she is the mother of us all, and the mother of all GOD's children; and in her are we all fellow-citizens with the Saints. This City, so singularly constituted, was shown to S. John in vision, in its double relation to the two worlds. "I, John, saw the Holy City, New Jerusalem, coming down from GOD out of Heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband" (Rev. xxi. 2). The City is identified with that spoken of by S. Paul by what is said of its foundations: "the wall of the City had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the LAMB." Therefore what S. John saw was a vision of the Church, in the full amplitude of its extent as embracing both worlds, having its existence in Heaven, yet reaching down to this lower world, and establishing the closest relations between spiritual beings and men on this earth. But the one part is not separated from the other, though we, who dwell below, and converse only with the visible, are not sensible of our connexion with the invisible and the spiritual. We do not know, by any external medium of proof, that Heaven and earth are joined together, that the Church is simply an extension into this world of that kingdom where GOD and CHRIST and all good spirits have their dwelling-place; that we are surrounded by a whole world of unseen beings, and are united to them by imperceptible yet most certain and real ties; living with them, as citizens live together under the same municipal institutions, and enjoying the same privileges, and uniting with them and they with us, though we do not know it, in worshipping the one Heavenly King, and doing acts of mutual service to one another. And yet this is what follows from those representations of Scripture above referred to. It is what we mean when we say: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church."

It may seem that this Article of the Creed refers to the Church militant and its characteristics; and so in a sense it does. It is a part of the Catholic Church, and we often give to it the name of the whole, and call it, in its visibility, the Catholic Church, as it truly is in reference to this earth, because it is the receptacle of all the truth which GOD hath revealed to man, and the channel through which all grace flows forth upon the souls of men, to lead them through things temporal to things eternal. It is the

part which comes into immediate contact with ourselves, through which we derive all our greatest gifts—union with CHRIST, a place in Heaven, and fellowship with the Blessed. And so vast are the interests involved in our connexion with it, that we are led to speak of it as if it absorbed and exhausted all that Holy Scripture describes as the peculiar property of the Jerusalem above, "which is the mother of us all." The Church Catholic, as we see it developed visibly in the world, is truly the mother of all GOD's children; as it was said of old, "no one can have GOD for his Father, who has not the Church for his Mother;" and this is true of our visible union with the Church militant. The One Baptism which unites us to it, unites us also to the whole, to GOD the Blessed TRINITY, and to all the redeemed in Heaven and earth. We naturally speak most of the visible, as being the mother of our new birth, and the local habitation of the SPIRIT, by Whose grace we hope to be saved. Still it is but the outer court, as it were, through which we pass to that vast Temple, that glorious City, where the Throne of GOD is set up, with the whole world of blessed spirits gathered around it. We see only one part of it; but S. John, when he described the "holy Jerusalem," saw the whole at once, the visible and the invisible, without that veil which hides the unseen from human eyes. He saw the Invisible encroaching upon the visible, the Heavenly absorbing the earthly, the Jerusalem above descending to the lower abodes of men—not to leave them as they were, but to unite them to the innumerable myriads who serve around the Throne of GOD and of the LAMB. The Church, in the full extent of its Catholicity, comprehends all these; and the beloved Disciple saw them as one community, as inhabitants of one city, as worshippers in one temple.

The City of GOD, the Heavenly Jerusalem, is the name common to both parts of the Catholic Church, the visible and the invisible. There is no admission into the "true Tabernacle" but through its outer court, no connexion with the invisible but through union with the visible. But when we speak of union with the visible Church, we do not mean the reception of external privileges only, such as all men have in common in the Sacraments and Worship of the Church. We mean the participation of spiritual privileges—citizenship in Heaven, union with CHRIST, and with all who are united to CHRIST, not those alone who are conversant with us in the Church on earth, but with the whole Body of the faithful wherever they are in the vast Kingdom of which CHRIST is LORD, whether in this world or in the world to come, whether living or dead. We are not like Abraham in his

pilgrimages journeying towards a city which we never reach, seeking a country afar off, and looking for a home, which will not be ours till we have passed away from the present scene, and for privileges which we only hope to attain in the distant future. We have already entered within the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem, which stand open day and night for the reception of all who will enter in. We are already made free of its immunities and are in close alliance and communion with its inhabitants, being fellow citizens with the Saints, not with living Saints only, but with all that is holy in the universe. "Ye are come unto Mount Zion, the City of the Living God, the Heavenly Jerusalem, and to the innumerable company of Angels, to the general Assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new Covenant, and to the Blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel." (Heb. xii. 22, 23). In this grand enumeration of Christian privileges, S. Paul does not speak of what shall be realized hereafter, but of that which exists even now. He speaks not of unities pervading the mansions of the blessed only, but of a unity which has already made us members of their blest society. He says we have *come* to that wonderful communion; not that we *shall* come to it, but that we *have* come to it. It is our state already. It is a present and existing reality in our condition. We are *come* to that holy City, and to the innumerable company of Angels, to the general Assembly and Church of the first-born, and to the Spirits of departed Saints, and to God the Judge of all, and to Jesus the Mediator, Whose Blood cleanses and cements together all the souls whom He has redeemed.

It is a great thing to say, and hard to believe that the Church which exists upon this earth, dispersed abroad a stranger and sojourner, is all one Body, and that we are, each of us, as closely united to multitudes of other people of whose existence we are ignorant, as the members of our own body are to each other. But it is a far greater thing to say that the Church is all One with the world invisible; that even as we see it now it is the very same as the Church which was in the days of the Apostles and blessed Saints of whom we read in history; that not one of God's elect has ever been separated from it, but that they are all in it still, though removed beyond our sight, and are as intimately united to us, after some transcendent way, as those who kneel with us around the Altar—more so, it may be; that we are all one body with the Spirits of the departed; that the Angels are going to and fro among us, though we cannot

see them; that CHRIST is as really present upon our Altars and in our Houses of prayer as if He were to reveal Himself openly. He would not be more present in that case than He is now; we would only know of His presence in a different way. There is in reality no separation between the Church and the World unseen, only a veil drawn between, which hides from our sight that which is ever present. These fleshly bodies are the veils, and we cannot see the invisible till we be divested of them. These are great things to say and hard to be believed. The World derides them as transcendentalism, and Protestantism hears them with anger or incredulity. Yet they are no greater and no other than the grand climax of unities, in which S. Paul says Christians so far surpass the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Holy Men who went before them, as fruition surpasses hope. We have actually *come*, though by nothing perceptible do we know that we have come, to this ineffable communion with things and beings unseen, with the blessed company of Angels and holy Spirits; with GOD the Judge of all, and with JESUS the Mediator of the New Covenant, and with the Precious Blood, which cleanses Heaven and earth from sinful stain.

All this, and far more than it is possible for us, in this dark world, to express or to conceive, is covered by that article of the Creed, "I believe the Holy Catholic Church." It was held with undoubting faith that the Church was thus boundless in its Catholicity, and that this intercommunion existed between the two worlds, long before there was any direct assertion of its reality added to the formula of Christian faith. For many ages the Creed was recited without the clause, "the Communion of Saints," which seems to have been added to make sure, by an explicit confession, of the recognition of the truth, which had always been received as a necessary corollary from belief in the Catholic Church, *viz.* that there is an actual communion between the two parts of which it consists, the visible and the invisible, the Living and the Dead; that there is not only One LORD over both, but that there is a relation between them which implies mutual duties. For if all the members of the Holy Catholic Church are united together by virtue of their common union with CHRIST through the HOLY GHOST, and the grace of the Sacraments, they must necessarily have communion one with another; because no one possesses any thing for himself alone, he is but a sharer with others in the same things. Each has his place and his special gift and vocation in the Body; but they are all exercised in connexion with, and dependence upon others; and all the members ought to have the same care

one for another. As it was in the beginning with temporal goods, so it is at all times with spiritual things. Christians have all things common. All may not enjoy the same things in their fulness, because some may render themselves incapable of appreciating them, or by their neglect and transgression of the laws of the Kingdom may shut themselves out from them. But every baptized person is entitled, by the grace of his New Birth, to all the supernatural gifts, and all the advantages internal and external, which belong to the Holy Catholic Church. GOD, of His great goodness hath made him a partaker of the inheritance of the Saints in light, and therefore he is admitted into communion with all that are members with himself of CHRIST's mystical Body, "the blessed company of all faithful people," a Body, which is certainly not confined to the world we see, nor limited to time or place, or any number of persons, who may be living together upon this earth; but is co-extensive with the multitude of the Redeemed.

There is an ambiguity in both the terms used in this second clause of the Article.

1. Who are the Saints?

2. What is the Communion which they have one with another?

1. To the first question we answer (*a*) "Saints" is the common title given to all who are in the unity of the Church, though they may not be all personally holy, as the Catholic Church itself is called Holy, because it contains all who are sanctified in CHRIST JESUS, though there are mingled with them some who are dead in trespasses and sins. S. Paul addresses whole communities as "Saints," though he has occasion to reprove them on account of irregularities and sins existing among them; so, in the Church, tares are mingled with the wheat, a mixture of good and bad, which will not be rectified till the time of harvest. (*b*) "Saints," in a more restricted sense, is the name appropriated to those who have suffered and died for CHRIST, Confessors and Martyrs, who are now reigning with Him in Heaven, and for whose sake He bestows favours upon men, as He saved Jerusalem for His servant David's sake. (*c*) They also are called "Saints," who have persevered unto the end, and finished their course in faith, and now wait in peace for the resurrection of their bodies. All these are comprehended under the general term "Saints," though it pre-eminently belongs to those whom the Church commemorates by name in her Liturgy, or who have been recognized by the united suffrage of the faithful, and the witness of their own deeds, as endowed with heroic virtues.

2. The answer to the second question has been in part anticipated by what I have said of the union of Christians with one another in virtue of their union with CHRIST through the HOLY GHOST, Who pervades the whole body, as the vital principle pervades and animates all the members of the human frame, according to the similitude of the Apostle: "From Whom the whole body, fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love" (Eph. iv. 16). "The Communion of Saints," in its principle and essence, consists in this organic union with Him Who is the Head of the whole family in Heaven and earth. It is a thing Divine and spiritual, and may exist without visible acts of intercommunion, because it is formed by the viewless operation of the HOLY GHOST, and the communication of the life-giving virtues of the Risen SAVIOUR. Hence, it means more than intercourse, more than fellowship in outward acts, more than the enjoyment of external privileges; all of which may be enjoyed and exercised by those who derive no benefit from that organic union with CHRIST, which binds together into one communion all who are really His, that is, all who are truly Saints —all the saved. So far as the "Communion of Saints" is external, it belongs to all who are in the visible unity of the Church. All have communion with each other in the same things—they are partakers of the same Sacraments; all unite in the same acts of worship, join in the same prayers, and live within the sphere of that grace which is needful and sufficient to bring them to salvation; though many are no better for these advantages, gain no graces from the Sacraments and Worship of the Church, and have no part in its blessings, its promises, and its hopes, except so far as this, that they are in a condition more favourable to conversion and amendment of life than those who are altogether excluded from the Church.

This mixed communion of the evil and the good extends not into the world unseen. Death, which severs all earthly bonds, divides the Saints from all connexion with the unholy. But it cannot divide those who live by the life that is in CHRIST. They are as much one as ever they were. The principle of unity is immortal. "Neither death, nor life, nor things present, nor things to come," can separate any from the love of CHRIST, nor from the Communion of His mystical Body. "Is CHRIST divided?" is a question that may be put with as much force with respect to any supposed divisions between the living and departed members of His Body, as it was by S. Paul with reference to the sinful

divisions in the Church at Corinth. It suggests a monstrous and incredible thing, inconsistent with the unity of our LORD's Person; and with respect to the communion of the visible and invisible, it is a thing impossible, so far as the Dead in CHRIST are concerned: they are now for ever His, and for ever one with the blessed company of His faithful people. And if the Communion subsists, as it must necessarily do, by reason of this organic union of all Saints in Christ, the proper acts of the Communion must survive, so far as they can be discharged in states so different as the earthly and unseen. All visible acts of communion cease, but there are others which have no dependence upon time or temporal things. Individuals pass away successively from human sight, but the Church is not divided; and though the departed are separated from her visible worship, they are not separated from a share in her Intercession, nor from the virtue of the Great Sacrifice, which stirs up, so to say, and applies the functions of the Eternal Priest. The principle of spiritual life is the same in every living soul; and "charity," which is spread abroad in the hearts of the faithful by the HOLY GHOST, "never faileth." It survives death and the grave, and becomes more Divine through contact with the flame which circulates through the regions of the blessed, warming and intensifying the love which glows in every living spirit; and if they love, they cannot cease to long and pray for those who are still engaged in the conflict from which they themselves have been delivered, while, in turn, they may be cheered and benefited, in their secret mansions, by the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living members of the One Body, in which all have alike their being.

The practical issue of "the Communion of Saints" on both sides, is thus stated by Thorndike (*Just Weights and Measures*, chap. xvi.). After asserting the antiquity of offering and praying for the Dead, he continues his argument after this manner: "In the mean time, what hinders them to receive comfort and refreshment, rest and peace, and light (by the visitation of GOD, by the consolation of His SPIRIT, by His good Angels), to sustain them in expectation of their trial, and the anxieties they are to pass through during the time of it? And though there be hope for those that are most solicitous to live and die good Christians, that they are in no such suspense, but within the bounds of the Heavenly Jerusalem; yet, because their condition is uncertain, and where there is hope of the better there is fear of the worse, therefore the Church has always assisted them with the prayers of the living, both for their speedy trial (which all blessed souls desire), and for their easy absolution and discharge with glory

before GOD, together with the accomplishment of their happiness in the receiving of their bodies." Reciprocally, he says, the Departed pray for the Living. "All members of the Church triumphant in Heaven, according to the degree of their favour with GOD, abound also in love to His Church militant on earth. And though they know not the necessities of particular persons, without particular revelation from GOD, yet they know there are such necessities so long as the Church is militant on earth. Therefore it is certain both that they offer continual prayers to GOD for those necessities, and that their prayers must needs be of great power and effect with GOD for the assistance of the Church militant in this warfare. Which, if it be true, 'the Communion of Saints' will necessarily require, that all who remain solicitous of their trial be assisted by the prayers of the living for present comfort and future rest; that the living beg of GOD a part and interest in the benefit of those prayers, which they, who are so near to GOD in His Kingdom, tender Him without ceasing for the Church upon earth." Again (*Epilogue*, Book iii.), "There is the same ground to believe 'the Communion of Saints' in the prayers which those, who depart in the highest favour with God, make for us, and in the prayers which we make for those that depart in the lowest degree of favour with God, that there is for the common Christianity, *viz.* the Scriptures interpreted by the perpetual practice of GOD's Church. Therefore there is ground enough for the faith of all Christians, that those prayers are accepted which desire GOD to hear the Saints for us; to send the Deceased in CHRIST rest and peace and light and refreshment, and a good trial at the Day of Judgment, and accomplishment of happiness after the same."

There is, indeed, not much difference of opinion about the antiquity of the practice of Prayer for the Dead. The evidence for it is too strong to be resisted. The great objection is its want of Scriptural authority. Calvin and Bucer, whose sinister influences contributed in a great degree to its exclusion from the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., both admitted its great antiquity while they condemned it. Calvin (*Inst.* iii. c. v. § 10) freely grants that the early Christians prayed for the Dead, and commended them to GOD in the Holy Communion. And in his letter to the Protector Somerset (Collier, vol. v., p. 354), while censuring, as a corruption, the Prayers for the Dead remaining in Edward's First Book, allows that the manner in which the Dead were commemorated there, in the Communion Office, did not imply belief in the "Romish" Purgatory; and confesses that the Commemoration of the Dead was an ancient custom

in the Church, intended to witness to the Communion of Saints, to show the connexion between the Church militant and triumphant, and to declare the Christian belief, that the faithful, whether in this world or the next, all belong to the same Society. Bucer (*Script. Anglican.* p. 467) says: "I know that this custom of praying for the pious Dead is most ancient (*pervetustam*), but, as it is our duty to prefer the Divine to all human authority, and since Scripture nowhere teaches us by word or example to pray for the Departed . . . . I wish that this commendation of the Dead, and prayer for their eternal peace were left out."

It must be frankly acknowledged that Holy Scripture contains no direct and explicit command to pray for the Dead apart from the Living; for Scripture says very little about the state of the Dead; and, indeed, takes little account of death itself, as if it were a limit to all Communion in the mystical Body of CHRIST. It seldom or ever refers us, for motive, to the hour of death, as if that were the termination of our moral training and discipline. "The coming of the LORD" is the point to which it directs our attention as our goal, for which it bids us wait for the consummation of our destiny. Of the intervening time it says almost nothing, only that the pious Dead are present with the LORD, in the bosom of Abraham, that they are in peace, that they rest from their labours, that they sleep in CHRIST. But beyond these general expressions it is silent. It rather seems to speak of the work of grace as going on in the soul, even till the LORD come at the last day to complete all things. "Being confident of this very thing, that He which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the Day of JESUS CHRIST" (Phil. i. 6). "Waiting for the coming of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, who shall also confirm you unto the end, that you may be blameless in the Day of our LORD JESUS CHRIST" (1 Cor. i. 7, 8).

The Scriptures give us plain directions to pray one for another, to make prayers, supplications and giving of thanks for all men, to pray for all Saints, &c. And if all belong to the same society, if there be One Body and One Spirit, if that One Body be CHRIST Himself, from Whom no faithful soul can be separated by life or death, it does not appear how any one soul, united to the Head, can be excluded from the prayers, which the Church offers for the whole body, or from participation in the virtues of that Sacrifice, without which no human soul can live. If it is the duty of all Christians to pray one for another, our prayers will necessarily comprehend all who can derive benefit from them; that is, all who are united with us in the "household of GOD;"

wherever they are, they are in the one Kingdom of the Redeemer, and have their life from the same Body and Blood, which are the nourishment of ours. No distance can divide them from our charity or from the life of CHRIST; for, whether near or afar off all are made nigh by the Blood of CHRIST, nigh to GOD, nigh to each other, nigh to all the Saints. There is no need that we should know those for whom we pray, or that they should know that we pray for them, or that we should know the sort and measure of the good they may derive from our prayers in their behalf. It is enough for us that it is an act of communion due to all who are in the household of GOD; enough that GOD knows the needs of all His servants; enough that "if we ask any thing according to His will He heareth us," and will not allow the intercession of His Church to be fruitless, whether it be applied to the particular case to which our intercession directed it or not. The Church, as the visible representative of the Intercessor in Heaven, intercedes for her departed members by prayer and offering the "Sacrifice of our Ransom," but leaves the Divine wisdom and goodness to apply it.

Prayer for the Dead supposes, of course, that their state is imperfect, that they are capable of higher degrees of happiness than they have yet attained, that this increase of happiness follows upon their advancement in holiness, and that there may be remains of evil about them which the unknown discipline of the Intermediate State may cleanse away. The very fact that it is an Intermediate State implies that it is also a state of preparation. It is a period interposed between the trials and sufferings of earth and the eternal joys of Heaven; but it cannot be without use. The soul is not dormant; it is in a state of conscious existence; and, if conscious, its powers must be actively exerted in some way. Thought is of the very essence of its being. Existence and inaction are contradictories in the nature of an immaterial substance. The soul, in its disembodied state, is waiting for the coming of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and it is reasonable to suppose that it is preparing for something that shall be after, that is, the Beatific Vision. In most cases some preparation is necessary beyond what is made in this life. Scarcely a human being, it is supposed, passes away from this scene of probation so perfectly free from all that is opposed to the holiness of the Divine Nature as to be fit to see GOD face to face. That souls, immediately upon death, are received up into Heaven seems to have been an opinion connected with a denial of the Resurrection, and was part of the Gnostic heresy. It was thought, that in the Intermediate State, all who died in a state

of grace were preparing for the Vision of God; and the Church, still recognizing them as within her communion, assisted them by the prayers and oblations which she offered to God for them.

In what way the soul, which leaves this world in a state of grace, yet with remains of sin, will be prepared for its ultimate destiny in the Kingdom of God, into which nothing that defileth can enter, we know not. It may have to pass through a longer or shorter process of suffering in order to its purification; but it may be otherwise. It may be that sin, once admitted into the soul, cannot be eradicated without the application of severe remedies external to itself. Sin has a substantive existence, besides its opposition to the will of God, which seems to be wrought into the very substance of the soul itself, so that we cannot get rid of it by any effort of our own. After we have repented, after absolution, while we are striving against it, still it haunts us; we feel it as the presence of an evil being, which will not let us alone. It may survive our earthly existence. It may survive God's most gracious pardon, and require means not attainable in this life for its extermination. All our experience leads us to believe that there can be no real, thorough conviction of sin without the deepest anguish of mind. And if it were so, that the soul had to pass through some fiery ordeal, internal or external, for its cleansing from the devil-marks which have been ingrained into it by former sins, it would not be so much penal suffering as the loving treatment of the Divine Physician healing the wounds of the soul by sharp but salutary remedies, and, in healing, drawing it ever nearer to Himself, and imparting an increasing foretaste of eternal bliss.

Some texts of Holy Scripture have been thought to point to a cleansing pain, other than the emotions of the soul itself, as following after this life; such as that trial by fire, spoken of by S. Paul (1 Cor. iii. 12—15), to which all men's work will be subjected; and the prison (S. Matt. v. 25, 26), into which we are in danger of being cast, if we do not make timely peace, and from which there is no release till we have made entire satisfaction. Several of the Fathers understood S. Paul to speak of a fire, through which every human being, however holy—Saints, Martyrs, and even the Blessed Virgin herself—will have to pass on the Day of Judgment. The perfect, who have no sin about them on which the fire can prey, will pass through it unharmed, while those who, holding the true foundation, have built upon it the wood, hay, stubble of worldly affection, will suffer pain and loss—the fire which burns up the excrescences of evil, and so

purifies the soul, will lay hold upon themselves, and scorch them with a fiery pain, yet so that they shall be saved. Possibly, it may be thought, the "fire" signifies the strictness and severity of the Divine Judgment; but there seems to be a distinction marked. The "Day" (of Judgment) shall "manifest every man's work;" for the day itself "shall be revealed by fire;" and "the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is." Thus Lactantius (*Div. Just.* vii. 21) says that "God will try even the just by fire. Then they whose sins, either in weight or number, preponderate, shall be tormented by fire and partially burned, but those who are mature in righteousness and ripeness of virtue will not feel that fire, for they have in them something of God, which repels and throws it off from them. So great is the power of innocence that that fire flies before it, having received power from God to burn the wicked, but to recede from the righteous. Let not any one think that souls are judged immediately after death, for all are kept in a common place of safety (*custodia*) until the time comes when the Supreme Judge shall bring their merits to the test. Then they whose righteousness shall have been approved will receive the reward of immortality, but they whose crimes have been detected will be shut up with the wicked, being reserved for certain punishments." Again, S. Hilary, on those words of the 119th Psalm, "Concupivit anima mea desiderare justificationes Tuas," says, "Since no one is clean in His sight, how can His judgment ever be desirable? Since we must give account of every idle word, how can we long for the Day of Judgment, in which we must undergo that undying (*indefessus*) fire, and those heavy punishments for cleansing the soul from sin. . . . If that Virgin who could contain God is to come into the severity of the judgment, who shall dare to wish to be judged by God?" So S. Ambrose (in Ps. cxix. *Serm.* 20), "All must pass through the flames, whether he be John the Evangelist . . . or whether he be Peter, he who received the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven—they must still say we passed through fire and water," &c. He and others apply what the Baptist says of Christ: "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire;" 1. To the Baptism given in the Church; 2. To the fiery Baptism at the last day, in which sins, not voluntary but casual, shall be burned out, which the Lord Jesus hath prepared for His servants. There is another fire which He hath prepared for the Devil and his angels, of which He says, "Depart ye into everlasting fire."

On the other hand, S. Chrysostom (*in loco*) interprets S. Paul's words of the eternity of future punishment: "If any man lead an

ill life with a right faith, his faith shall not shelter him from punishment, his work being burnt up. Wherefore he said 'he shall suffer loss;' here is one punishment: but he himself shall be saved, but so as by fire; here is a second; and his meaning is he himself shall not perish in the same way as his works, passing into nothing, but he shall abide in the fire. . . In saying 'he shall be saved,' he hath but darkly hinted at the intensity of the penalty; as if he had said 'but he himself shall remain for ever in punishment'" (*Library of the Fathers*).

S. Augustine understands the fiery judgment of S. Paul of temporal affliction, by which men's characters are tried and sifted. One has built upon the "foundation" the gold, silver and precious stones of good works; and when the trial comes his works bear the trial, and he suffers no loss; because he had no love for the things, the loss of which causes pain. Another has built upon the same foundation the wood, hay, stubble of worldly love; if, when trouble or persecution comes, he hold fast by the foundation CHRIST, and rather lose the objects of his earthly affection than fall away, he is saved yet so as by fire;" he is saved in virtue of the foundation, but not without pain, by the loss of the things he loved. Whether something analogous may not take place after this life through a kind of purifying fire (*ignem quondam purgatorium*) "is not incredible," S. Augustine admits, "and it may be a matter of inquiry whether it be so or not, that some believers, in proportion as they have more or less loved perishing goods, are so much the more slowly or speedily saved" (*Ench.* 69). Some persons, in his time, relying upon this text of S. Paul, held that all the baptized would be saved, and therefore wished every one, who was willing, to receive Baptism, whatever his conduct in the present or his intention for the future; and S. Augustine warned them of the danger of trusting to an obscure text, one of the things 'hard to be understood,' which men ought not to pervert to their own destruction, so as, in opposition to the most manifest testimonies of the Scriptures, to set free from all anxiety, concerning the obtaining of salvation, the most wicked men, most obstinately clinging to their wickedness, and unchanged by repentance or amendment" (*De Fide et Oper.* 26).

The earlier Fathers, Justin Martyr, S. Irenæus, and others, handing on a tradition, which they had received from the disciples of the Apostles, believed the doctrine of a Millennium to take place after the destruction of Antichrist, when the just would rise from the dead and reign with CHRIST upon the renewed earth for a thousand years. This they called the first Resurrection,

to which none but the righteous would be admitted, while the rest of mankind would not rise till the thousand years were finished, and then they would rise only to be judged and condemned; and hence they prayed that the Living and the Dead might have part in the first Resurrection. But the Millennium did not complete the destiny or the happiness of the holy. It was a period not of full reward, but of preparation for a higher bliss, which none could attain unto without preparation. This is but the beginning of incorruption—a state in which the Christians shall reign in the earth, growing by the sight of the LORD; and through Him shall they be habituated to receive the glory of GOD the FATHER, and shall, in "the Kingdom," receive a "conversation and communion and unity of spiritual things with the holy Angels." (See *Library of the Fathers, Tertullian,* Note D. p. 120.)

All that can be inferred from these passages is that the writers of them recognized the need of some preparation before the majority of people could be admitted to see GOD, and that preparation might not be fully made in this life, that there might be a cleansing of the soul in the Intermediate State, at the Judgment Day itself, or during the Millennium, and that the soul might be aided by the prayers of the faithful. But the diversity of opinions they express shows that there was no received doctrine on the subject. They can only be regarded as the views and opinions of private Doctors, true, perhaps, in themselves, but not binding upon the conscience as a Catholic dogma, which nothing can be but that which the whole Church has received. Till such reception be accorded to it, men are free to speculate to any extent within the limits of Christian piety, and the analogy of faith. Neither the "fire" in which all men's works will be tried, nor the "purgatorial pains" of S. Augustine, comes up to the popularly received idea of Purgatory, because the trial is not to take place till the Last Day; and all men alike, the purest and holiest, will have to pass through that "fire," as well as the imperfect and world-stained. The Early Church had not mapped out the invisible world into its five divisions, nor invented a scale of temporal punishment which must be fully paid, either in this life or the next, except so far as it may be modified by the operation of indulgences, prayers, alms, and masses. It was content with the distinction of the better and the worse place in which souls were confined between death and the resurrection, and spoke of the pious Dead as "resting in the sleep of peace." Eastern Christianity knows nothing of Purgatory. At the Council of Florence, it was *forced* into a qualified admission of the doctrine of the Latin Church, as far as the action of a packed

representation, afterwards protested against and repudiated by the whole Communion, could commit it. But as the Greeks, even under that pressure, rejected a "purgatorial *fire*," so have they ever continued to teach that "the souls of the righteous are in light and rest, with a foretaste of eternal happiness; but the souls of the wicked are in a state the reverse of this: that such souls as have departed in faith, but without having had time to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, are aided towards the attainment of a blessed resurrection by prayers offered in their behalf, especially such as are offered in union with the Oblation of the Bloodless Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of CHRIST; and by works of mercy done in faith for their memory" (*Russian Catechism*, p. 99, Blackmore).

Of course the statement of this doctrine suggests several questions which we naturally would like to have resolved, and opens a wide field for speculations in which the human mind may expatiate in wandering mazes lost. The Greek is contented to put them aside and repose on the constant tradition of the Catholic Church for the ground of the doctrine, and on its practice for the application of it; not proclaiming it as an essential article of the Faith, but, as Tertullian said, "a custom established by tradition and observed by faith" (*De Coron.* 3). He finds the source of it in the conduct of Judas Maccabeus (2 *Mac.* xii. 45) and the practice of the ancient Church following thereon.[1] He traces the germ of it in Holy Scripture, and its development in the uniform teaching and practice of the Catholic Church from the beginning. No doubt a great deal more may be and has been said more definitely by orthodox teachers when they discuss the subject. Very much in the doctrine of the Latin Church may be true and worthy of all acceptation, but there can be no obligation in conscience to receive what the whole Church, East and West alike, have not received. There is in truth but one article of faith on the subject, "the Communion of Saints," which is common to all who say "I believe One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church," whether it be expressed in the Creed or not. This is the real foundation of the Church's practice of Prayer for the Dead, Divine in its origin, certain in its effect, enduring in its exercise as the charity which binds together the members of the One Body.

In this matter the reasonings of particular Doctors are of se-

[1] See an interesting article in the *Union Review* for January, 1868, "The Orthodox Doctrine of the Departed." By a Member of the Holy Eastern Church.

condary importance. At times these views may have gone beyond or come short of the teaching of the Church. They are unexceptionable as evidence of the existence of a custom or the prevalence of an opinion at any particular time; and where a long series of authors are unanimous in their testimony from age to age, it would be irrational to doubt or deny their competence to witness habits and practices which were familiar in their daily lives. But when they reason upon those facts, offer explanations, and assign meanings to them, they may be received with more hesitation; and when they differ among themselves, one assigning one meaning and another a different one for the same thing, we may infer that they knew as little about the reason of things as we do ourselves.

The most unexceptionable authority is to be found in the Liturgies on all points of Catholic faith and practice which they embrace. No documents of proof can equal them in importance, and where they all agree, as they do in this matter of Prayer for the Dead, we may be certain that we have attained the mind of the whole Church of CHRIST, not in one age or country, but in all ages and all countries where CHRIST has been worshipped. One Liturgy, at least, is referred to by S. Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 16); and if it be the case, as Dr. Neale has, with much learning and singular acuteness, proved, that the Apostle himself quoted from the Liturgy, the origin of them may be traced to the "Upper Chamber," in Jerusalem, where the first Eucharist was offered. "Liturgies are the voice and words, not of one Doctor, however great, but of Churches, who with one consent have approved that form of sacred rites, and those prayers. They obtain the force of Law, than which, if we except the Holy Scriptures, none can be greater. Nor is this a new thought, since, by the testimony of the Church prayers, Augustine confuted the Pelagians" (Renaudot, *Præf. ad Lit. Orient. Collet.*).

In proof of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and in It of Prayer for the Dead, Bishop Overal bids us read a "whole army of Fathers" —so superabundant seemed to him the evidence. The same may be said of the Liturgies. There is among them an absolute unanimity. "With an undoubting faith and a steady voice has the Church always, East and West, North and South, prayed for the Dead." There may be a difference in the position which these prayers occupy, in different Liturgies, relatively to the Consecration. But there is no difference in the uniformity of their occurrence. In every Liturgy extant they form part of the great Intercession for the Church and the World, for the Living and the Dead; and this generally follows the Consecration

in the Oriental Liturgies, except in S. Mark's, and the forms derived from it, in which it precedes the Consecration, and the Liturgy of Malabar, in which it forms part of the *Missa Catechumenorum.* In the Roman and ancient English Uses, the living are prayed for before the Consecration, and the dead after it. In the modern English Use, and in the Scotch Liturgy (1637) the prayers for the whole Church, living and dead, went before the Consecration; and in the Non-jurors (1718), and in the modern Scotch, it follows it (Neale's *Introduction to Translation of the Liturgies*).

It would be equally beyond the purpose and the limits of this Essay to quote the words in which the Liturgies commemorated and prayed for the Departed. Sixteen examples are given in the Appendix to Neale's *Translations of the Liturgies.* But these are a very small portion of the vast body of Eucharistic Offices that have been used at different times and in various divisions of the Church. For it is not among the Orthodox alone that the custom has prevailed, it is common to all the Separatist bodies in the East, the Nestorians, Monophysites, and Armenians, who by their agreement with the Church in this particular, show what the practice was at the time of their separation. It may be interesting, however, to set down the Commemorations and Prayers as they occur in the principal representative Liturgies; those, that is, which are the models on which others, more or fewer, have been formed. In each of them there is a special Commemoration of the Blessed Virgin. In the first example she is thrice commemorated; 1. In the Mass of the Catechumens; 2. After the Gifts are brought in; 3. In the great Intercession, by an evident interpolation.

*S. James.*—"Commemorating our all-holy, spotless, exceeding glorious Lady, the Mother of God, and Ever-Virgin Mary, with all Saints and Just Men, let us commend ourselves and each other and all our life to Christ our God. . . . Let us commemorate the most holy, spotless, exceedingly glorious, Blessed Lady, the Mother of God, and Ever-Virgin Mary, with all the Saints together, that we may obtain mercy through their prayers and intercessions. . . . Hail Mary, &c.

"Remember, Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, the Orthodox whom we have commemorated, from righteous Abel unto this day. Give them rest there in the land of the living, in Thy Kingdom, in the delights of Paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our Holy Fathers, whence pain, sorrow and groaning is exiled, where the light of Thy Countenance looks down and always shines."

*S. Mark.*—" Give rest to the souls of our Fathers and Brethren that have heretofore slept in the faith of CHRIST, O LORD our GOD, remembering our Ancestors, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Bishops, Holy and Just Persons, every spirit that has departed in the faith of CHRIST, and those whom to day we keep in memory, . . . especially the most holy, stainless, Blessed, our Lady, Mother of GOD, and Ever-Virgin."

After the Diptychs of the Departed—" And to the Spirits of all these give rest, our Master, LORD and GOD, in the tabernacles of Thy Saints, vouchsafing to them in Thy Kingdom the good things of Thy promise, which eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and it hath not entered into the heart of man, the things which Thou hast prepared, O GOD, for them that love Thy holy Name. Grant rest to their souls and vouchsafe to them the Kingdom of Heaven."

*Clementine* (so called)[1].—" Further we offer to Thee, for all the Saints, who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world, the Patriarchs, Prophets, Righteous Men, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Sub-deacons, Readers, Singers, Virgins, Widows, Laymen, and all whose names Thou knowest. . . . Let us commemorate the holy Martyrs, that we may be deemed worthy to be partakers of their trial. Let us pray for all those who have fallen asleep in the faith."

*S. Chrysostom.*—" Commemorating the all-holy, spotless, excellently laudable, and glorious Lady, the Mother of GOD and Ever-Virgin Mary, with all Saints, let us commend ourselves and each other, and all our life, to CHRIST our GOD. . . . Further, we pray for the blessed and ever-memorable Founders of this holy abode, and for all our Fathers and Brethren that have fallen asleep before us, and lie here, and the orthodox that lie every everywhere. . . . ." [After the Invocation.] " And further we offer to Thee this reasonable service on behalf of those who have departed in the faith, our Ancestors, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, and every just spirit made perfect in the faith. Especially the most holy, undefiled, excellently laudable, glorious Lady, the Mother of GOD, and Ever-Virgin Mary." [After the Diptychs of the Dead.] " The holy John, the Prophet, Forerunner, and Baptist; the holy, glorious, and all-celebrated Apostles, Saint N., whose memory we also celebrate, and all Thy Saints, through whose prayers look down upon us, O GOD. And

[1] Of uncertain but early date. Never used in any Church, but good evidence for the practice of its own age.

remember all those that are departed in the hope of the Resurrection to eternal life, and give them rest where the light of Thy countenance shines upon them."

*The Roman.*—"Communicating, and venerating the memory, in the first place, of the glorious, Ever-Virgin Mary, Mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ; and also of Thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs, Peter and Paul, &c., and of all Thy Saints, by whose merits and prayers grant that in all things we may be defended by the aid of Thy protection. Through . . . . Remember, also, O Lord, Thy servants and handmaids M. and N., who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace." (*Commemoration.*) "To these, O Lord, and all that rest in Christ, grant, we beseech Thee, a place of refreshment, light, and peace. Through . . . ."

*Mass for the Dead.*—"O God, Whose property is always to have mercy, and to spare, we humbly present our prayers unto Thee in behalf of the soul of Thy servant N., which Thou hast this day called out of the world; beseeching Thee not to deliver it into the hands of the enemy, nor to forget it for ever; but command it to be received by the holy Angels, and to be carried into Paradise, that as it believed and hoped in Thee, it may be delivered from the pains of hell, and inherit everlasting life. O God, the Lord of Mercy, give to the soul of Thy servant, whose anniversary we commemorate, a place of comfort, a happy rest, and the light of Thy glory. Through . . . ."

*Sarum (Super Oblata).*—"Receive, O Holy Trinity, this Oblation, which I, an unworthy sinner, offer in Thy honour, and in that of the Blessed Mary, and of all Thy Saints, for my sins and offences, for the salvation of the Living, and the rest of all the faithful Departed, in Thy Name." "*Communicantes,*" and the rest, as in the Roman.

Though the Blessed Virgin and all Saints were remembered or commemorated generally, or by name, in the Liturgy, it does not follow that they were prayed for in the same sense as were the faithful Departed in general. All who were prayed for were commemorated; but all who were commemorated were not, strictly speaking, prayed for. A special exception was made in honour of the Martyrs, who were believed to be crowned at once, and admitted, without waiting, like others, into the Kingdom of the Master for Whom they died; and if the Martyrs, much more the Blessed Virgin, whose ineffable nearness to Christ, and her immaculate purity, place a clear line of distinction between her and all other, the holiest creatures, so as to exempt her from the conditions which surrounded the pious dead. S.

Augustine says (*Serm.* 17, *de Verbis Apost.*) that "When the names of the Martyrs are recited at the Altar of GOD, we do not then pray for them; for it is an injury to a Martyr to pray for him, since we ought to be commended to (by?) his prayers —*cujus nos debemus orationibus commendari.*" And again (*Hom.* 84 *on S. John*), "At the Table of the LORD we commemorate the Martyrs, not like others who rest in peace, by praying for them; but rather that they should pray for us that we may keep close to their footsteps." The grace of martyrdom was so wonderful, so surpassingly great, that it dispensed with all rules and all Sacraments, and brought the Martyr into such close fellowship with CHRIST, that he was admitted into the Heavenly Kingdom and the joy of his LORD without delay. Oblations were offered for them, not as if they needed the intercessions of the Church, but rather in honour of them, and as an act of thanksgiving to GOD, Whose grace had made them partakers in the LORD's triumph over death, which was celebrated in the Eucharist. The names of the Saints were recited in the Commemorations of the Dead to show that the Church claimed them as her own still; she would not relinquish her right in them, nor cease to bear witness to the grand truth of her communion with all holy beings, in whose holiness she hoped to participate.

It has been said that the evidence of the Liturgies is of doubtful value, on account of the interpolations that have been made in them, and their uncertain antiquity. No doubt changes have taken place, and some parts have been added. But in the matter of prayers and offerings for the dead we have the collateral testimony of the most ancient writers; so that, judging from what they say of the belief and practice of Christians, there is no time at which an interpolation so remarkable as Prayers for the Dead where there were none before, could have been introduced without detection and remark. S. Clement, S. Ignatius, Justin Martyr, and S. Irenæus speak, with more or less distinctness, of a state of waiting, in which souls are kept between death and the resurrection, out of which arises the custom of praying for the Departed; and Tertullian, writing about A.D. 200, mentions "Oblations for the Dead on their anniversaries," as an established observance, among other rites derived from tradition, such as the renunciations in Baptism, trine immersion, morning Communions, not fasting on Sunday, the sign of the Cross, &c. To a tradition, which had grown into an established usage by the year 200, can scarcely be assigned a later origin than the Apostles themselves, who were no strangers to the practice in the Prayers of the Synagogue. The Jews

prayed for the Dead from the time of Judas Maccabeus at the latest. They do so at this day, and certainly they did not borrow the practice from the Church.

S. Cyprian, fifty years after Tertullian, not only witnesses the continued practice of Prayers for the Dead, but shows how it was practically applied as an instrument of discipline. Inconveniences had formerly arisen from clergymen being named executors in the wills of deceased persons, and a Council of Bishops, before the time of S. Cyprian, had passed a decree that any one so offending should be excluded from the usual Prayers and Offerings for the Departed. A certain Geminius Victor had appointed a Presbyter as his executor—an office which, according to the Roman law, a man was not at liberty to refuse. The punishment did not fall upon the living Priest who accepted, but upon the dead Christian who had conferred the trust. This was an instance at once of the discriminating moderation of the Church, and of the great value which the Christians of that day set upon the Church's intercession for the departed. To have punished the Priest would have been to place him in an invidious position between conflicting duties—respect for the Canons of the Church on one hand, and for the civil law on the other; and if belief in the efficacy of Prayers for the Dead had not been deeply rooted in the minds of Christians, such a Canon as that of the Council of Carthage would have had no deterrent effect. Therefore, S. Cyprian brought the Canon to bear against Geminius: "Let no oblation be made for his repose (*pro dormitione ejus*), and no prayer be offered in his name in the Church" (*Epist.* i.).

There is an obvious allusion to the practice of reciting the names of those for whom the Church prayed or offered. A record was kept, called the Diptychs—tablets folded in two, like the boards of a book—in which were inscribed the names of the Living and the Dead for whom the Oblation was offered. At the proper place in the Service it was read out by the Deacon; and to the persons thus named the Prayer and Oblation of the Priest were applied. To have his name excluded or erased from the Diptychs, was an indication that the person so excluded had fallen from the faith, or been cut off from the Communion of the Church for some crime. The disputes about the exclusion of S. Chrysostom's name from the Diptychs of the Church of Constantinople, are well known as leading to a schism between East and West, which was not healed for many years until that illustrious name was restored to the Sacred Registers as that of a holy and orthodox prelate. Hence, to excommunicate any one after his death, was nothing more than to erase his name from

the Diptychs, and so deprive him of the Suffrages of the faithful, which, according to S. Cyprian, was a severe punishment.

The term "Oblations," which so often occurs in connexion with Commemorations of the Dead, is a word of somewhat equivocal meaning. In a general way, it signifies all things offered for the service of the Church, whether presented upon the Altar or not. In a more precise and limited sense it denoted those things which it was the privilege of the faithful alone to offer amid the Celebration of the Mysteries, whether for the service of the Altar or for the use of the Church and of the poor. In a stricter sense, it signifies the Great Sacrifice or Oblation in the Eucharist, in which CHRIST Himself is offered as a LAMB without blemish and without spot; the plural "oblations" being used because of the Two Species under which the Body and Blood are offered; 1. Oblations of Bread and Wine, in order to consecration; 2. Oblations of the Body and Blood separately consecrated. (Bona, *de Rebus Liturg. Lib.* ii. 8.) The "Oblations" so often mentioned may be understood in the twofold sense of the "Holy Oblation" Itself, and of the Alms which were offered that the departed might participate in the benefits of both through the influence of that charity which pervades the whole Body in the Communion of Saints, and the priceless virtue of the One Sacrifice which is the life of every living soul. "When we offer supplications for those who have fallen asleep, we offer up Christ sacrificed for our sins, propitiating our Merciful GOD both for them and for ourselves" (Cyril, *Cat. Myst.* V.).

"Grant that he departed with sin upon him, even on this account one ought to rejoice that he was stopped short in his sins, and added not to his iniquity; and to help him, as far as possible, not by tears, but by prayers and supplications, and alms and offerings" (S. Chrysostom, *Hom.* XLI., on 1 Cor. xv. 46, *Library of the Fathers*).

"It is not to be denied that the souls of the Dead are relieved by the piety of their living friends, when the Sacrifice of the Mediator is offered, or alms done in the Church for them. But these things are profitable to them who, when alive, deserved that these things might hereafter profit them" (S. Augustine, *De Fide et Caritate*, xxix.).

"Let us not think that to the Dead, for whom we have a care, any thing reaches save what by sacrifices, either of the Altar or of prayers, or of alms, we solemnly supplicate" (*Id. de cura pro Mortuis*, xxii.).

We are told in Holy Scripture that the prayers of the faithful avail to obtain forgiveness for others who have sinned. S. John

says "If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and He shall give him life for them that sin not unto death" (1 S. John v. 16). S. James assigns even greater virtue to the prayers of the Church, but then he speaks of them in connexion with a Sacrament, and therefore the more to the present point. "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name of the LORD: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the LORD shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins they shall be forgiven him" (S. James v. 14, 15). If the prayers of individuals do not prevail, those of the Church may. S. John says that they may not prevail for all sins. Some are of such a nature that we have no encouragement to pray for them. But on the other hand, every remainder of sin, whether in the living or the dead, is no reason for not praying, but rather a reason that we should be more earnest to help them by asking forgiveness for them. The passage above quoted from S. Chrysostom shows very clearly the belief of the Church in his time, and the undoubting faith with which Christians offered prayers and alms for departed friends. The sequel indicates the grounds on which this faith and hope rested. "Not without meaning have these things been devised, nor in vain do we make mention of the departed in the Divine Mysteries, and for them draw near, beseeching the LAMB, Who is before us, Who taketh away the sins of the world;—not in vain, but in order that some refreshment may thereby come to them. Nor in vain does he that stands at the Altar cry out, while the dread Mysteries are being celebrated, 'For all that sleep in CHRIST, and for those who make commemorations for them.' For if there were no commemorations for them, these things would not have been spoken; our service is not merely scenical, GOD forbid! It is by the ordinance of the SPIRIT that these things are done. Let us then give them aid, and perform commemorations for them. If the children of Job were cleansed by the Sacrifice which their father offered, why dost thou doubt that when we offer for the Departed, some consolation arises to them, since GOD is wont to grant the petitions of those who ask for others? . . . . Let us not then be weary in giving aid to the Departed, and of offering prayers for them; for the common Expiation of the world lies before us. Therefore, with boldness do we thus entreat for the whole world, and name their names with those of Martyrs, of Confessors, of Priests. For in truth we are all one Body, though some members are more glorious than others; and it is

possible to gather pardon for them from every source, from our prayers, from our gifts in their behalf, from those whose names are named with theirs" (*S. Chrysostom, ubi supra*).

But though the great preacher recommended the mourners to seek solace, amid their griefs for those who have departed with sins about them, by praying for them, he did not say that their prayers could alter the state of the sinner in the unseen world. For, he says in another place, that "when they are gone to Hades nought can be gained by repentance;" yet for such we ought to lament and mourn, not one day, but all our lives, because they are outside the palace with the condemned. "Let us lament for them, let us assist them according to our power, let us think of some assistance for them, small though it be, yet still able to help them. How, and in what way? By praying ourselves for them, by entreating others to pray for them, by continually giving to the poor on their behalf. This deed hath some consolation." He says this evidently as suggesting the hope that these prayers and good works may procure some consolation for the sort of persons mentioned. This appears from his reference to 2 Kings xx. 6, "I will defend this city for Mine own sake, and for My servant David's sake," which implies that the merits of the Saints departed, and the Prayers of the living servants of God may profit those, who do not deserve it on their own account. "If the remembrance only of a just man has so great power, how will it not have power when deeds are done for one," and he concludes with this striking passage, "Not in vain did the Apostles order that remembrance should be made of the Dead in the dreadful Mysteries. They knew that great gain results to them and great assistance; for when the whole people stand with uplifted hands, and that awful Sacrifice lies displayed, how shall we not prevail with God by our entreaties for them? And this we do for those who have departed in the faith, whilst the Catechumens are not thought worthy even of this consolation, but are deprived of all means of help save one. And what is this? We may give to the poor on their behalf. This deed, in a certain way, refreshes them. For God wills that we should be mutually assisted, else why hath He ordered us to pray for the peace and good estate of the world? Why for all men? Since in this number are included robbers, violators of tombs, thieves, men laden with untold crimes! And yet we pray in behalf of all; perchance they may have repentance. As then we pray for those Living, who differ nothing from the Dead, so, too, may we pray for them" (*Hom.* i. on Philip.)

On this passage we may remark, 1. That S. Chrysostom con-

sidered the Liturgies as of Apostolic origin; 2. That the general precept to pray for "all men," in his opinion included the Dead as well as the Living; 3. That the Communion which exists in the Mystical Body implies that the works and prayers of all are means of procuring good for all "in a certain way;" that is, as God pleases, or as they are capable of receiving it, a matter which the Church, while she intercedes, leaves to His wisdom and goodness, deeming it safer to err by excess of trust in the Divine mercy, if that were possible, than to fall short of the law of that Charity which never faileth.

"They rest from their labours and their works do follow them." This is true of the reprobate who never rest, and of the righteous who are in peace. Their works do follow them, either for good or for evil. No work is absolutely finished at the moment in which it is done. No word once uttered melts into empty air. Both are equally beyond the power of the actor or the speaker, and both are exerting an influence which none can calculate or control. It must aggravate the guilt and intensify the misery of lost souls, that the evil deeds they have done, and the profane and wicked words they have spoken or written, are operating with undiminished and perhaps enhanced energy, and producing an ever-widening harvest of sin and unbelief long after they have passed to their dread account. "Their works do follow them." And so it is with the righteous. Their good works do not die with them. They live on and bear fruit in the world. And may we not believe that an augmentation of their bliss may accrue to those who set this mighty influence in motion, or that the alms, which have refreshed the bodies of successive generations of the poor and the afflicted, may return, as refreshing dew, upon themselves in their unseen abodes? The wish to do something that should live after them, and be profitable to their own departed spirits was no doubt the motive which induced so many, in bygone times, "to put their property in trust with God" for the benefit of the poor for ever, on condition that the beneficiaries should pray for the souls of whose charity they reaped the fruits: and if the prayers and alms of the living go up as a memorial before God, and bring down grace upon him who offers them, as in the case of Cornelius, we cannot help hoping and believing that the perpetual alms, which are, at this day, distributed, often from the very tomb of the donor, in many a town and rural village of England, are still pleading for the departed soul, though the recipients of his bounty may have ceased to aid him with their prayers; "for alms do deliver from death, and suffereth not to come into darkness." (Tobit iv. 10). If the Living give alms in

Remembrance of the Dead from a practical faith in the Communion of Saints, the benefit of that act of love may be extended to the souls of those for whom it is done, so far as they are capable, and as GOD pleases; as sympathising in the sufferings and ministering to the necessities of living saints gains not only a future reward, but a present participation in their grace. (Philip. i. 7.) The influence of Protestantism long struggled in vain against this Catholic feeling. All through Elizabeth's reign alms were distributed at funerals; and down to a late period, long after all religious ideas on the subject had become extinct, a trace of the custom remained in some remote districts of the country, where a multitude of beggars were wont to congregate at the funeral of any person of substance, in order to share in the dole, which was never withheld on such occasions. The alms were originally given for the deceased, to benefit their souls; and whether consciously or not, the same feeling and hope may be supposed to dictate those charitable bequests, of which we have so many examples in our own day as well as in the past. Would that those who reap the fruits of their good deeds, while they revere the names of their benefactors, would breathe a prayer for the rest and refreshment of their souls, and a blessed resurrection!

There have, probably, been at all times some persons of a rationalistic turn of mind who, being unable to realize the spiritual affinity which binds all the members of CHRIST'S Mystical Body into one communion and fellowship, could not see how the prayers of the living could reach those who have been removed by death from this scene of probation; assuming, without any warrant from Revelation, that the influence of Christian prayer is bounded by the limits of the present. It seems to have been a common objection to the practice of the Church at the time S. Cyril of Jerusalem delivered his *Catechetical Lectures* (A.D. 347), for he says, "I know that many say, What is a soul profited, which departs from this world either with sins or without sins, if it be commemorated in the prayer?" And he answers the objection by an illustration, which, whatever it may be worth as an argument, shows what was the persuasion of the Church at the time: "Surely if, when a king had banished certain who had given him offence, their connexions should weave a crown and offer it to him in behalf of those under his vengeance, would he not grant a respite to their punishment? In the same way we, when we offer to Him our supplications for those who have fallen asleep, though they be sinners, weave no crown, but offer up CHRIST, sacrificed

for our sins, propitiating our Merciful GOD both for them and for ourselves" (*Cat. V. Library of the Fathers*).

It seems not to have occurred to him that the influence of Prayer and the power of the Precious Blood were bounded by any narrower limits than the Church of CHRIST. All who are capable of receiving good things from GOD are the objects of the Church's Intercession. "For all who stand in need of succour we all supplicate and offer this Sacrifice. . . . . and for all who have in past years fallen asleep among us, believing it will be a very great advantage to the souls for whom the supplication is put up while that Holy and most Awful Sacrifice is presented" (*ibid*).

The objections alluded to by S. Cyril appear to have been merely the casual remarks of individuals expressing doubts, as people will do, about a matter remote from human knowledge and experience, but without any formal opposition to the received belief and practice of the Church. But a few years later, doubt passed into another phase, and assumed the form of dogmatic teaching. The name of Aërius (A.D. 355), is connected with this farther development of the rationalistic spirit, though he seems never to have had influence enough to originate a school of thought in the Church, or to establish a sect outside of it; nor probably should we have known any thing about him, had not Epiphanius given him a place among those false teachers, whose errors he commemorates and refutes in his work on *Heresies*. Disappointed ambition, acting upon a wayward temper, seems to have led Aërius to oppose himself to the traditional system of the Church; for customs and rites of external discipline rather than doctrines were the objects of his attack; and, having all the irreverence of the Arian party to which he belonged, he assailed them with invective and with ridicule. He was a fellow monk in the same monastery with Eustathius, who was elected Bishop of Sebaste in 355. They had lived in the bonds of friendship, but the elevation of his friend filled Aërius with envy and discontent, having himself secretly or openly aspired to the dignity. Eustathius treated him with kindness and even confidence, ordained him Priest, and made him master of the Church Hospital, which soon became a scene of discord in consequence of the quarrels he fomented. Advice and remonstrance alike failed to conciliate him. He spread abroad the most scandalous reports against Eustathius, whom he came to regard as his enemy; and he quitted the Hospital, and devoted himself to the propagation of his opinions among those whom he succeeded in drawing around him.

The denial of Prayers for the Dead was only one item of his heterodoxy. Other points have brought his name to light in connexion with modern controversies. He maintained that a Bishop was in no respect superior to a Presbyter, for they are both of one Order, equal in dignity and honour, which he attempted to prove by enumerating the Offices they could perform in common. He repudiated the keeping of Easter as an adherence to Jewish fables; for now there is no need to keep the Paschal Feast since CHRIST our Passover is sacrificed for us. He ridiculed all stated Fasts as marks of Jewish bondage, alleging that, if we fast at all, it ought to be of our own free will and on days of our own choosing; hence his followers affected to fast on Sunday, to eat flesh meat on forbidden days; and, instead of keeping Holy Week like other Christians, they gave themselves up to music, feasting, and jollity. As to Prayers for the Dead, he misrepresents, while he ridicules, the practice of the Church. Of what use is it to recite, in the Diptychs, the names of the Dead after their departure? If a living man pray or give alms, what advantage is it to the Dead? If they may profit by the prayers of the living, no need is there for any man to live piously and do good works; he has only, at the close of life, to engage some of his friends, by entreaties or by bribes, to pray for him, and he will suffer no loss and incur no punishment for his worst crimes. On this last point Epiphanius answers, in substance, that nothing can be more useful, becoming, and admirable than the custom of reciting the names of the Departed at the Sacrifice; for those who are present do thereby testify their persuasion that the Dead are not annihilated, but are still alive with the LORD; and the most religious doctrine is proclaimed, that they who pray for their brethren, cherish good hope for them, as for persons gone forward on a journey. Moreover, Prayer offered for the Dead is profitable to them, although it does not blot out all their faults. We make mention alike of the righteous and of sinners—of sinners that we may entreat for them mercy from the LORD—of the righteous, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Bishops, &c., in order to put a marked distinction between CHRIST, Who alone is perfect, and all others. To Him alone do we pray; Him alone do we worship. All others we mention as having in them some remains of imperfection. As for authority, he says the Church must necessarily keep the tradition she has received from the Fathers; for Solomon saith, "Hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother;" and the Blessed TRINITY hath taught,

partly by writing and partly without writing; so that our Mother, the Church, hath her own decrees, which may not be broken; "by which circumstance alone this innovator may be convicted."

The opinions of Aërius seem to have died with him; and his followers, if they ever acquired the organization of a sect, had but an ephemeral existence, neither left any impress on the theology of their time. The belief and practice of the Church remained unaltered and unaffected for centuries. But in course of time the tendency of the Christian mind in the Western Church grew strong in the direction of developement. Men were not content with the indefinite sort of way in which the Early Church, or rather the great teachers of the Early Church, had spoken of the state of the Dead; for by no formal decision had the Church enunciated any precise doctrine on the subject, farther than it might be inferred from the terms in which she had prayed for the Departed in the Liturgy. There had always been statements going somewhat beyond the scope of those words of prayer. Preachers and writers had given reasons, varying considerably in their tenor, for the practice which every where existed with singular uniformity; but these reasons possessed no authority, but such as was inherent in themselves, or which they derived from the great names of those who propounded them. Most early writers were satisfied with saying, in general terms, that "the righteous were called away to a place of refreshment and rest, and the wicked hurried to darkness and punishment;" each sort in the place appropriated to them, there to await the Judgment of the Great Day. Beyond this they added nothing more precise than the expression of their confident hope that the prayers of the Church would obtain forgiveness of the lighter offences, with which even the righteous had passed from life; and perchance somewhat alleviate the misery of the wicked. It does not appear that the Greek Church has ever gone beyond this cautious reserve. She has adhered with characteristic tenacity to the decrees of the Œcumenical Councils, and the tradition and teachings of the great Doctors, S. Basil and S. John Chrysostom, which "they believe to be so sacred, authoritative and authentic, that it has never been lawful for any to depart therefrom so much as a hair's-breadth, any more than from the Gospel of CHRIST Itself." (Palmer's *Dissert. on the Orthodox Communion*, p. 32.)

But in the Latin Church a new feeling seemed to be coming over the minds of men about the time of S. Augustine. He

spoke as if there were a possibility that souls might be purified by suffering after this life; or he may have gone a little further, and expressed an opinion that it was not unlikely that venial sins might be consumed in a fire of transitory suffering in the unseen state. "I neither oppose nor affirm. Perchance it is true." This was all. But the chord was struck. The possible passed, by degrees, into the probable. The notion of penal suffering, by which souls were cleansed after this life, seemed exactly to meet the difficulty which perplexed men about the fate of those who departed with the root of faith, hope and charity in them, yet mixed with so many imperfections that they could not be fit all at once to see God; and though they went hence in the peace of the Church, yet it was evident by experience that sin entails a debt of evil and suffering of some sort, which must be paid, even when the sin is forgiven. This detracts nothing from the efficacy of the Precious Blood, which "cleanseth us from all sin;" for though it washes away the stain of guilt, it does not wipe out the decrees of God's Providence, which attaches evil and suffering to sin as its natural consequence. Men could not but observe this in God's dealing with His ancient people, as well as in what they witnessed in the world around them. While the Primitive Discipline continued in use, the fallen had to make satisfaction by a longer or shorter course of Penance, punitive at once and remedial. After it had ceased to be exacted here, it was transferred into the other world, or so much of it as remained due for satisfaction and the needful cleansing of the soul. This seemed to fall in with several texts of Scripture, and impart a meaning which otherwise was lacking to them; and as fire is so often mentioned in connexion with purification, in the moral as in the natural world, fire, material fire, was made the instrument of the soul's purgation—a view very different, no doubt, from the light and peace in which the souls of the pious are at rest; but far from being inconsistent with Christianity, or the Scriptures, or the Divine goodness. It would rather be an instance of the great love of God, Who had thus devised means, however severe, of drawing "His banished" near unto Himself. The great objection to it is the apparent limitation it sets to the Omnipotence of God, as binding Him down to one mode of preparing souls for the Beatific Vision, and converting a speculation into a dogma, without any clear ground in Revelation or the teaching of the Catholic Church. In the growth of this doctrine reasoning and speculation were aided by the doubtful relation of visions and supernatural communications touching

the state of souls in Purgatory, filling the minds of men with the most terrible yet sometimes grotesque images of the inexpressible tortures there endured. While the Church, in her Liturgy, prayed as of old that the LORD would "grant unto all that sleep in CHRIST a place of refreshment, light, and peace," a belief had sprung up that, for the vast majority of the departed, there was no "rest;" but that they had to endure, for a certain time, fiery torments, differing nothing in their intensity from those of Hell, except in the knowledge or hope that they would some time come to an end, and eternal bliss succeed. The popular belief did not wait for the Church to speak with authoritative voice; and when she did speak in the moderate terms of Florence and of Trent, it abated nothing of the accumulated horrors with which it had invested the abode of suffering souls. The Church militant, the Church suffering, and the Church triumphant, were the distinctions which, in the ordinary forms of speech, marked the different conditions of the members of CHRIST's Mystical Body. Prayer for the Dead was no longer practised simply on the grounds of the Communion of Saints and the duties of charity; it was held to be the correlative of Purgatory. If there were no Purgatory, there would be neither use nor meaning in Prayers for the Dead. The one was supposed to infer the other, and it was said to have been always so believed.

All this would have been tolerable, had there not gathered around it a practical system of abuse and superstition which made the hearts of all good men sad and called aloud for reformation. The doctrine was turned to account as a fruitful source of gain. Men's pity was appealed to in order to draw out alms and benefactions from the pockets of the reluctant and the fears of the dying for the purchase of Masses and Indulgences for the mitigation or remission of the pains of Purgatory. The sale of Indulgences became a trade; and the vendors of them, who went about from place to place, set forth the value of their wares with the arts of the mountebank or the quack, to the grief of the pious and the ridicule of the profane. The Council of Trent did much to correct these abuses. But the remedy came too late; a reaction had begun, which swept away in its course the good with the evil, the use and the abuse, the belief in Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead, in one indiscriminate condemnation.

It is not within the scope of this Essay to investigate the character of this reaction, or inquire whether it was, in principle, an outburst of Rationalism against the Supernatural and the Sacramental, or the recoil of earnest and pious minds from per-

versions of truth and gross abuses of practice. At first, no doubt, it partook much of the nature of the latter; but too soon it passed into the former; and, as such, has left its impress more or less upon all who took part in the movement, disguising the Rationalistic under the name of Scriptural. The Church of England, with which we are most concerned, however wide her departure in some things from the traditions of the Church, has always professed in words her extreme reverence for the "Ancient Fathers and Catholic Doctors," and asserted her desire to follow their teaching, throwing off only the corruptions with which it had been overlaid and disfigured; and in this matter of Prayers for the Dead her practice did not belie her professed principles. In her first reform of the Liturgy she rejected Purgatory but retained Commemorations of, and Prayers for the Dead in CHRIST. It would have been happy for herself and for us at this day if she had been content merely to translate the Office she had inherited into that unrivalled English in which all her Offices are composed. This would have kept the chain of Catholic Tradition unbroken, while a few necessary alterations, and these very few indeed, would have satisfied every sober-minded believer in Catholic truth. But the Liturgy of Edward's First Book, in which the Catholic element predominated and the traditions of the Western Church were preserved, gave place, in less than three years, to another, under influences strongly anti-Catholic. Prayers for the Dead, as well as general Commemorations of them, were wholly excluded. They were not condemned, be it observed, nor was their use forbidden to individuals. They were simply omitted from the public Liturgy—a sinful departure no doubt from the traditional usage of the Universal Church, and a most unhappy obscuration of the great doctrine of the Communion of Saints. But it might have been worse. Together with the popular doctrine of Purgatory, Prayer for the Departed might have been condemned as an error and forbidden as a sin. Happily this was not done; and the injury done to Catholic tradition has been, in some degree, repaired in a subsequent revision, though we have not recovered the grand Commemorations and the direct Intercessions of the Ancient Liturgies. If the compilers of the First Liturgy were really sincere, their rapid change of opinion was truly wonderful. There was certainly no fresh outbreak of superstition, no new demonstration of belief in Purgatory to account for it. It can only be ascribed to the growth of Calvinistic and Zwinglian heresy and the influence of foreign Protestants, such as Bucer, to whose "censure" the Book was submitted, and, perhaps, the predilections of the

unfortunate boy King himself, who was but a tool in the hands of the worthless people about him.

The following partial collation will show what we lost in 1552, and how much we regained in 1662.

| First Book. 1549. | Second Book. 1552. | Book of Chas. II. 1662. |
|---|---|---|
| "Let us pray for the whole State of CHRIST'S Church. "....And we most humbly beseech Thee of Thy goodness (O LORD) to comfort and succour all them which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And especially we commend unto Thy merciful goodness this congregation, which is here assembled in Thy Name to celebrate the Commemoration of the most glorious death of Thy SON. And here we do give unto Thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all Thy Saints, from the beginning of the world, and chiefly in the glorious and most Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Thy SON JESUS | "Let us pray for the whole State of CHRIST'S Church militant here in earth. . . . . And we most humbly beseech Thee of Thy goodness (O LORD) to comfort and succour all them which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity." | "Let us pray for the whole State of CHRIST'S Church militant here in earth. . . . . And we most humbly beseech Thee of Thy goodness (O LORD) to comfort and succour all them who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And we also bless Thy Holy Name for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear; beseeching Thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of Thy Heavenly Kingdom." |

CHRIST our LORD and GOD; and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, whose example (O LORD) and stedfastness in Thy faith, and keeping Thy holy commandments grant us to follow. We commend unto Thy mercy (O LORD) all other Thy servants, which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace; grant unto them, we beseech Thee, Thy mercy and everlasting peace: and grant that, at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the Mystical Body of Thy SON, may altogether be set on His right hand, and hear that His most joyful voice, Come unto Me, O ye that be blessed of My FATHER, and possess the Kingdom, which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Grant this, O FATHER, for JESUS CHRIST's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate."

"Grant this, O FATHER, for JESUS CHRIST's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate."

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The Reviewers of the First Book were more liberal in their concessions than even Bucer required; for though he objected to Commendations of the Dead and Prayers for them, he was not unwilling that to the petition, "Whose examples . . . grant us to follow," should be added something of this sort:—"That, together with these, and all who have gone before us to Thee in the faith of Thy Name, we may come with glory at the advent of Thy SON to the Resurrection of Life, and be set on the right hand of Thy SON, and hear that joyful voice, Come," &c. But they bettered his instructions, and threw out all mention of the Dead in CHRIST—an omission unparalleled in any Christian Liturgy; and, to mark the exclusion more decidedly, they inserted in the title of the Prayer the phrase, "Militant here in earth." This clause was consistent enough with the bare and abrupt conclusion of their prayer, though the suppression of Thanksgiving as well as Prayer for the Departed created a singular want of harmony between the preamble and the body of the prayer; upon which L'Estrange remarks, with quaint humour, "The preface of *giving thanks for all men*, when in the process of the prayer there is no thanksgiving for any man, was interpreted a slip in the supervisors of the Liturgy." Was it a "slip in the Supervisors" of 1662 to allow the limitation "Militant here in earth" to stand, when they timidly restored the thankful Commemoration of the pious Dead? Or did they deliberately retain it, in order to exclude Prayers for the Dead from their thanksgiving? This is unlikely. Many, perhaps most of the "Supervisors," were men who had always held and taught Catholic truth, and suffered for it; and though consideration for "weak brethren" may have led them to use reserve in a Book intended for the whole nation, divided as it was in religious opinion, it would be hard measure to accuse them of intentionally misleading, by the use of phrases inconsistent with the truth which they believed. It is possible, indeed, that the retention of the limiting clause was an oversight; but it is more probable that by retaining it in the "bidding" of the prayer, and at the same time restoring the Commemoration of the Departed, they intended to indicate the Communion that exists between the Church Militant and the Faithful who are at rest[1].

[1] In point of fact, the phrase is not necessarily *exclusive*. It occurs in the heading of at least one Mediæval form, which not only prayerfully remembers the Dead, but distinctly prays for them. The heading runs thus:—*A generall and devout prayre for the goode state of our Moder the Churche Militant here in erth.* The form appears in a Sarum Book of Hours, B. V. M., and is reprinted in the *Directorium Anglicanum*, 2nd Ed., pp. 53, 54.

Nor can it be said that Prayer for the Dead is excluded, though it must be allowed that there is a want of explicitness, as well as some ambiguity, in the form employed. But when it is said "that with them we may be partakers of Thy Heavenly Kingdom," there is a plain reference to those "who have departed this life," and a direct petition for the consummation of our common destiny—theirs and ours—at the same awful day; which surely implies that neither for them nor for us will the consummation arrive till that day. And when we pray for the consummation, we pray for all that is needful for ourselves and for them to bring us to it altogether—grace for ourselves "to follow their good example," and for them whatever is necessary in their present state, that all may obtain a blessed Resurrection and find a merciful Judgment at the Last Day; as we pray in the Litany:—"In the hour of death and in the Day of Judgment, Good LORD, deliver us;" or, as S. Paul prayed for the dead Onesiphorus, "the LORD grant unto him that he may find mercy of the LORD in that Day."

No doubt we have lost much more by the unhappy Revision of 1552 than we have regained by that of 1662; and in none of our Offices, with the exception of the Eucharistic Service, is that loss more painfully conspicuous than in the Burial of the Dead. First of all, we have lost the Celebration of the Holy Communion as an integral part of the Office; though here, as elsewhere, the loss is in the way of omission, not of prohibition. Nothing hinders the offering of the Sacrifice at funerals, only it is not provided for; no direction is given about it; there is no Introit, nor Epistle, nor Gospel appointed, as in the First Book. Yet it is a somewhat remarkable and suggestive circumstance that the "Collect" used at the Funeral Mass is retained in our present Office with its proper title, *The Collect*, which, together with its position as the last prayer, seems tacitly to suggest that a Communion might follow; and that, if it did, here was the proper "Collect." In the Latin Prayer Book, authorized by Letters Patent of Queen Elizabeth, for the use of the Universities and Public Schools, there is an office for the Communion at Funerals to be used—the Act of Uniformity, notwithstanding—"if the friends and neighbours of the departed wished to communicate." The Celebration of the Eucharist was not an invariable accompaniment of Christian Burial. By some ancient Canons, if the funeral took place in the afternoon, the Dead was to be carried out with only prayer and psalmody, on account of the stringency of the rule as to fasting. The Roman Ritual orders Mass to be said, according to ancient custom, in the presence of

the Body, if it may be; and in the old English 'Uses,' the order is similar; and whenever Mass was said, it preceded the rites of interment. For reasons which it is not difficult to conjecture, the order was changed in the new Office of 1549, and the Communion was directed to be celebrated after the body had been committed to the earth. But though the order was much less significant and affecting, the peculiar rites still have special reference to the Departed, who was commemorated and prayed for in the Office, as one still belonging to the communion of the faithful; still bound to the living by ties which death had not dissolved; still an object of that all-Redeeming Mercy which endureth for ever.

Again, we have lost those plain and direct Prayers for the Departed Brother or Sister, which so clearly expressed the faith of the Church in the efficacy of her own Intercession, as well as her own consciousness of the ever-living unity which embraces all in her maternal bosom, and binds all her members, be they living or dead, to Him who is the loving Maker and Redeemer of them all. When "earth returns to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," it is grand and consoling to hear those words of hope from the lips of the Priest, as the voice of Mother Church, consigning her child to his sweet sleep: "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, of His great mercy, to take unto Himself the soul of our dear Brother here departed," &c.: but even this seems cold when compared with the Commendation of "the soul to God, and the body to the ground" in the first Office:—"Then the Priest, casting earth upon the corpse, shall say—I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty, and thy body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of resurrection to Eternal Life," &c. There is a tone of tenderness and affection in thus addressing the departed, not speaking of him in the third person, as of one absent, but speaking to him as still belonging to us, one of ourselves, living though departed, whom we are taking leave of only for a night as it were, bidding him rest and look for a joyful re-union when morning comes.

In the Office of 1549, after the Anthem "I heard a voice from Heaven," there followed two prayers, which no longer occur there, though we have the substance of them in an abridged and diluted form, all but the individual application of them to the Dead:—

1. "We commend into Thy hands of mercy (most Merciful Father) the soul of our Brother departed, N., and his body we commit to the earth, beseeching Thine infinite goodness, to give us grace to live in Thy fear and love, and to die in Thy

favour; that when the judgment shall come, which Thou hast committed to Thy well-beloved SON, both this our Brother and we may be found acceptable in Thy sight, and receive that blessing which thy well-Beloved SON shall then pronounce," &c. (as in our present Office). And

2. "Almighty GOD, we give Thee hearty thanks for this Thy servant whom Thou hast delivered from the miseries of this wretched world, from the body of death and all temptation; and, as we trust, hath brought his soul, which he committed into Thy holy hands, into sure consolation and rest; Grant, we beseech Thee, that, at the Day of Judgment, his soul and all the souls of Thy elect, departed out of this life, may with us, and we with them, fully receive Thy promises, and be made perfect altogether, through the glorious Resurrection of Thy SON," &c.

If we place side by side the two forms in which the corresponding prayer appeared in the two Offices of 1549 and 1552, which was much the same as 1662, we shall see at once the spirit in which the alterations were made.

| 1549. | 1662. |
| --- | --- |
| "O LORD, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead, and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity, grant unto this Thy Servant that the sins which he committed in this world be not imputed unto him, but that he, escaping the gates of hell and pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the place where is no weeping, sorrow nor heaviness: and when that dreadful Day of the general Resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive this body again to glory, then made pure and incorruptible; set him on the right hand of Thy | "Almighty GOD, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the LORD; and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity, we give Thee hearty thanks that it hath pleased Thee to deliver this our Brother out of the miseries of this sinful world, beseeching Thee that it may please Thee, of Thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of Thine elect and to hasten Thy Kingdom; that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of Thy Holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in Thy eternal and everlasting glory; through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen. |

Son, JESUS CHRIST, among Thy holy and elect, that then he may hear with them these most sweet and comfortable words, Come to Me, ye blessed of My FATHER, possess the Kingdom which hath been prepared for you from the beginning of the world: Grant this we beseech Thee, O merciful FATHER, through JESUS CHRIST our Mediator and Redeemer."

It will be observed that "*the Collect*" in our present Office is similar in its termination to the prayer cited above from 1549, while in the latter Office it ends thus: . . . . . "As our hope is this our Brother doth; and at the general Resurrection in the last Day, both we and this our Brother departed, receiving again our bodies, and rising again in Thy most gracious favour, may with all Thine elect Saints obtain eternal joy. Grant this, O LORD GOD, by the means of our Advocate, JESUS CHRIST, Which," &c.

Now, to any one taking a cursory view of the Office as we have it now, it might appear that it contains no Prayer whatever for the Departed; while, on the other hand, to persons who look at it suspiciously, it might appear that if it do not contain such special prayers, its whole tendency—its general tone—is in that direction. It appeared so to the Presbyterians. At the Savoy Conference, they required that a Rubric should be prefixed, to the effect that "the Prayers and Exhortations in this Office are intended for the comfort and edification of the Living, and not for the benefit of the Dead," a request, of which the Reviewers took no notice, leaving it to be inferred that its meaning and application were not to be thus restrained. The true view of it must be from the Catholic stand-point; and to him who does so view it, it will appear full of expressions which can find no interpretation but in the great doctrine of the "Communion of Saints;" and that doctrine will not allow us to separate any one whom we call "our dear Brother" or "our dear Sister" from a share in the Prayers which we offer for the happiness of human souls, whether in this world or in the next. There is, indeed, no special or explicit petition for the particular individual over whose body the Office is said; but since it is

used by and for those who believe the Creed, by and for those who are members of the Church and Body of CHRIST, it is impossible to exclude the individual deceased from participation in the words of "hope" which are founded upon that belief, or from the prayers for future bliss, which we are encouraged and entitled to offer only as fellow-members in the same Body; and when they are offered, not for ourselves alone, but for "all who have departed this life in the true faith of GOD's Holy Name," it cannot be but that the individual is comprehended in a petition so general in its scope. It is not necessary in our prayers to GOD to individualize the persons for whom we pray, or to specify the things which we beseech Him to bestow upon them. He knows their wants and sees the secret aspirations of the heart; and for ourselves, the general expression "all those that are departed," is sufficient to direct the Intention of our prayers, while the "consummation" prayed for embraces all the steps of preparation leading up to it, of which we are ignorant, but which are known to GOD. The very expression of a "hope that this our Brother rests in CHRIST" implies a wish or prayer that he may obtain what we hope for. "Hope" cannot exist without "faith;" and where faith in the unseen and hope of our Brother's happy lot coexist, there must also be present the "charity" which prays. To believe and to hope is to pray, else would the Divine triad of virtues be defective; and when the Holy Sacrifice precedes or follows the Burial Rites, nothing is wanting by which the soul of the deceased person can be commended to the love and mercy of our Heavenly FATHER, for it is impossible, when the "Sacrifice of our Ransom" is offered, that he whose lifeless body lies before us should not be included in its benefits as one for whom the Ransom was paid, as one whose spirit lives and whose body shall arise, by the never-ceasing energy of that Life-giving Body and Blood, which he received and with which he must still have some means of communion if he be living with CHRIST.

How far any particular Church is justified in withdrawing altogether or obscuring Rites and Customs which the whole Catholic Church has observed from time immemorial, is a question not needful here to be discussed. This only we would say, that though circumstances may arise which would justify and almost compel a particular Church to veil such Rites or withdraw them from her practice, no circumstances whatever can justify a particular or provincial Church in condemning Catholic Rites and Customs as unlawful in themselves. This the Church of England has certainly not done. Spoken with

"stammering lips," she no doubt has, where men in other times spoke loudly and plainly. Obscured, no doubt, are some important truths, and disused many beautiful and edifying Rites; but no necessary truth is absolutely denied—no truly Catholic Rite is condemned. A passage is often quoted from the *Homily on Prayer*, in which this practice of Praying for the Dead is condemned on the ground that "the soul of man passing out of the body goeth straightways either to Heaven or else to Hell; whereof the one needeth no prayer, and the other is without redemption" (Part iii.). But happily we are not bound by every thing the Homilist may be pleased to say. All that we are pledged to is the admission that the Homilies contain a *wholesome doctrine necessary for those times*—that is, it must be presumed, upon the whole and in their general scope, that this Homily on Prayer does contain a most "wholesome" doctrine on the subject of which it treats. It lays down as "an infallible conclusion that whomsoever by express commandment we are bound to love, for those also are we bound in conscience to pray"—a conclusion so true, and so surely founded in Christian charity, that the arbitrary exception of the Homilist is powerless to subvert it. It would be too hard if we were bound to accept, as the teaching of the Church, every statement relating either to doctrine or practice in a thick volume of popular sermons. They may, upon the whole, be sound and "wholesome," though they may contain many misstatements both of fact and doctrine. We are not bound to believe that the Pope is Antichrist because the Homilist says it, nor to accept the fable of the Phœnix as a fact in natural history.

English Divines of the greatest name who have written in defence of Prayers for the Dead, while, with the Twenty-second Article, they condemned the "Romish doctrine of Purgatory," never felt themselves hampered either by the Article or the Homily. The Article does not condemn, nor even name "Prayers for the Dead;" and the Homily, in this particular point, would land us in a plain contradiction to Holy Scripture as well as the practice of the Universal Church. But the question does not rest upon the private or published opinions of individual doctors, which express what may be allowably held in the Church, but may possibly go beyond or come short of her authoritative teaching. The question has been argued and decided in the Ecclesiastical Courts. Let the decision be of as little value as it may, in a theological point of view, it settles the question whether "Prayers for the Dead" are, or are not

forbidden by any document of legal force in the Church of England. The question came before the Court of Arches in the well-known case of *Breeks* v. *Woolfrey* (1 Curtis, p. 880). The suit was promoted by Breeks, the Vicar of the parish, in order to have the following inscription upon a tombstone declared illegal and superstitious and in direct contradiction to the doctrines of the Church of England; "*Spes mea Christus.* Pray for the soul of J. Woolfrey. It is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the Dead. 2 Mac. xii. 46." This was the plea on the one side, which was denied by the other. The case was fully argued before Sir Herbert Jenner, who pronounced a most elaborate and learned judgment, going minutely into all the points on both sides, and showing that though the Church of England may, for good reasons, have discouraged Prayers for the Dead, yet by no Canon or authority of the Church in these realms is the practice expressly forbidden. "Therefore," concludes the learned Judge, "I am of opinion, on the whole case, that the offence imputed by the Articles has not been sustained: that no authority or Canon has been pointed out by which the practice of Praying for the Dead has been expressly prohibited."

We may lament, as we have great cause to lament, that the Church of England has, in this matter as in some others, either omitted altogether, or veiled under a cloud of obscure allusions, that which the ancient Church sanctioned by her practices, and which the private Christian, in his deepest sorrow, found full of comfort and ennobling hope. But much as we have lost, there remains enough, both in Prayers and Sacraments, by which we may hold Communion with the Dead in CHRIST—couched it may be in cautious, perhaps in obscure or ambiguous language. But it needs only the Catholic temper in the hearts of those who use our Church's Services to bring out a meaning which does not reveal itself to those who approach it in the spirit of popular Religionism. If Catholic doctrine be wrought deeply into the mind, it will find more of corresponding expression in our Prayer Book, as it is, than some are willing to see or believe to be in it.

PATRICK CHEYNE.

# Priests and Physicians.

It is often difficult, especially in subjects of a somewhat mixed character, to fix upon a title which shall convey to the mind of the reader a clear idea of the author's intention in writing upon them. Such is, to some extent, the case with the title which stands at the head of this Essay. It may be well, therefore, that I should endeavour briefly to explain its meaning, and so to indicate the scope and object of what I have to say.

I am anxious above all things to make it understood that my aim is essentially of a practical character. I desire, if possible, to extend the influence of the Priest and the Physician in their respective spheres of action, believing, as I do, that the usefulness of both would be enhanced by a closer communion between the sacred Order and the godlike Profession. The questions then which I propose to consider are, Whether the study of medicine can be made in any degree advantageous to the Parish Priest? Whether any good would result from a more intimate association of Priests with Physicians? And, Whether the study of the science of Theology, if I may so term it, might not with advantage be made, at least optionally, to form a part of the ordinary curriculum of study required for the proper education of the Physician?

In one sense I feel that it is somewhat presumptuous in me, as a layman, to propose any scheme affecting the educational, or, perhaps, I ought rather to say the professional training of the Priesthood; and some apology, I own, is due. But, in the course of my professional experience, I have so often met with cases which would have been benefited by some recognized mode of consultation with a Priest, that I venture to justify the course I am taking by reference to this fact. Moreover, it will be seen hereafter in what way it appears to me that some medical knowledge would be of especial value to those Priests whose missionary labours lay among the poor and ignorant.

I may explain that I make use of the terms "Priest" and "Physician" advisedly, on the ground of their distinctly Scriptural origin. Of the former I need say nothing, as it is sufficiently well understood to prevent mistake. But the latter

term may possibly be misapprehended, inasmuch as, at least among members of the medical faculty, it has, and properly has a very restricted meaning. So far, however, as my present purpose is concerned, I would wish my remarks to apply to every member of the medical profession. In Scriptural language, we know that the term "Physician" is applied indiscriminately to all those who exercise themselves in what is there called the Divine gift of healing; and in this large and liberal sense I desire now to use it.

Briefly epitomized, then, this is the question which I propose to consider in this Essay; *viz.* the practicability of a closer union of the twin faculties of Divinity and Physic. It is surely a not unimportant question; nay, I conceive it to be one of great and vital interest, not only to the members of either calling, but still more to the public, for whose welfare alone these considerations are suggested. There is no class or condition of life which can be indifferent to this. To the poor it must be a matter of supreme interest that he who ministers to them the Priestly office in times of sickness knows somewhat more than other men the nature of their affliction, its probable course and progress, the chances of recovery and means of gaining it, or else the probable mode of death. How vastly more sympathetic and earnest may seem his ministrations; indeed, it cannot be told how great the influence for good which such knowledge, rightly used, may accomplish in the case of the class of which I am speaking. On the other hand, there is no class of society to whom this special training of the Clergy can be injurious. I shall hereafter point out some of the possible, though I do not think probable, dangers which will require to be avoided; and it will be seen how slight and trivial they are in comparison with what I conceive are the solid advantages of the scheme.

Thus much for one side of the question.

As regards the other, it cannot be necessary for me to anticipate any objection to the proposal that the student of Medicine should have, at least, the opportunity of acquiring easily some more definite Theological training, the better to fit him for the proper discharge of his highest function. In these days, methinks, such a training would be especially advantageous to men of Science generally, and to medical men in particular, beset as they are with so many temptations against Faith on the side of Reason. And I venture to think that the teachings of Science, especially the science of life, would certainly not act prejudicially on the intellectual training of those who are destined for the Priesthood. Moreover, when we know, as from experience I do,

how close is the confidence between the Physician and his patient, how ready the latter is to open his griefs—aye, even to confess his sins, though not as sins—to his medical adviser, can it be denied that much good might result from a course of study which would enable the doctor the better to advise for the spiritual as well as the corporeal diseases of his patient?

But here, again, a word of caution, or rather of explanation may be necessary, lest it should be thought that I am advocating any lay interference with the Priestly office. As a Catholic, I need hardly say how entirely I would deprecate such a course. No one can recognize more strongly than I do the distinct prerogatives of the Clergy, the inalienable nature of their office, and the sacrilegiousness of any attempt on the part of a layman to usurp any one of their special functions. Having said thus much, it is unnecessary for me to dwell any further at present on either the advantages or possible evils of what I am advocating. I shall probably have to consider these more at length hereafter, when the reader is in possession of what I have further to say.

It will, perhaps, strengthen the position I am anxious to assume if, for a few moments, we glance at the history of the practice of Medicine, so far at least as that has any reference to the question under consideration; *viz.* the relation of the Priesthood to the healing Art. It will be seen that the relationship has been much more intimate than is commonly supposed; so intimate, indeed, was it, and so widely different to that which exists in the present day, that it is difficult, if not almost impossible, for us now to realize it. In short, it can hardly be said that these were two vocations; for the Religious Orders were at the same time the practitioners of medicine. This state of things, though pre-eminently the case in the Christian era, certainly did not originate then, for it may be traced far back into Roman and Grecian history, and was perhaps a still more marked feature in the times of the Egyptian Priesthood. At that time disease was regarded as evidence of Divine disfavour, which nothing but the direct interference of the Priest, as the special instrument of the Deity, could assuage. Many temples were erected in honour of reputed cures which were wrought in this way, their authors being extolled as demi-gods. It will suffice to mention one of these; *viz.* the Temple of Æsculapius, the father of medicine, as he is called—from whom a distinct order of Priest-Physicians took their name—the Asclepiades. These afterwards became the founders of several Schools of Medicine; one of which, the Temple of Cos, flourished in the time of Hippocrates,

about 400 years B.C. He, indeed, was one of the officiating Priests of that temple, as well as one of the greatest Physicians of his day. Yet, in common with his cotemporaries, and, indeed, for many centuries later, the practice of his art was mainly fed by the credulity of the people, encouraged as this was by the frequent adoption of religious rites, as a necessary and essential part of treatment.

Far more however was done for the science of Medicine by the Greek Physicians and Priests than was accomplished by the Roman school. In ancient Rome, the practitioners of Medicine were men of a very inferior order, from whom but little could be expected, and certainly little was obtained. There was still the same, perhaps even more, superstition on which to practise; and though some discoveries were made in anatomy, and surgery benefited thereby, the healing Art was little, if at all, advanced.

With the introduction of Christianity, Medicine entered on another phase. It is difficult for us, in the present day, to imagine what must have been the effect on the minds of men of the miracles wrought by our Blessed LORD in the natural world. His wonder-working Power of restoring the sick, of curing all manner of disease among the people, and even of raising the dead to life, by the mere expression of His Divine Will, would no doubt make men regard disease as a kind of supernatural condition, especially in an age when the whole moral world was being convulsed by the stirring events which attended the First Advent of the MESSIAH.

In like manner, when CHRIST "called His twelve Disciples together, and gave them power and authority over all Devils and to cure diseases;" and when "He sent them to preach the Kingdom of GOD and to heal the sick;" when, further, "the LORD appointed other seventy also, and sent them, two and two, before His face into every city and place whither He Himself would come," "And the seventy returned again with joy, saying, LORD, even the Devils are subject unto us through Thy Name;" the natural and obvious effect of all this would be to confirm the belief that disease was a direct intervention of Providence for the punishment of evil-doers, and that only those who were GOD'S special messengers could heal them of their infirmities. Now, although these remarkable gifts were bestowed only on a few, we cannot wonder if, under such circumstances, the science of Medicine, in the hands of those who regarded it simply as a Science, degenerated rather than improved; and thus the practice of the healing Art gradually resolved itself into the performance of certain mysterious rites

and ceremonies, there being no real and true system of therapeutics, for all cures were supposed to be due to supernatural agencies, wrought by men having supernatural powers to this end.

Hence it was that the practice of Medicine became part of the recognized functions of the Priesthood. The people knew, and truly knew, that there was a something given from on high to the Priest, which other men not so called did not possess; a something which enabled him, in the exercise of his Priestly office, to perform many wonderful things not known to the natural world; and the cure of disease they were taught to believe could not be accomplished by any natural process. The more real and earnest the faith of the people was, the more likely were they to form exaggerated ideas of the supernatural powers of the Priesthood; to believe that their ailments were less the result of some violation of the natural laws under which they lived than of some supernatural, or, at any rate, extraordinary interference with the common course of things. Acting upon this belief, they would naturally attach much greater importance to, and place far more reliance upon, any reputed curative agency which possessed a mysterious significance; something, the *modus operandi* of which should be to them invisible and incomprehensible. In their belief, it would be all the more powerful, the more it appealed to the supposed Agent of their suffering, and the closer it brought them into relationship with Him. This would be the natural outcome of a people's belief in the supernatural origin of all disease; exactly as, on the contrary, the recognition of disease as the ordinary and natural result of the violation of those physiological laws in obedience to which we live and move and have our being—though it may be we do not in all cases know of them, and therefore often offend against them in ignorance—leads obviously to confidence in the efficacy of what may be called natural remedies, and to a distrust of those reputed curative agents whose chief value lies in their non-natural and mysterious character.

Such being the popular view of disease, and the treatment, if treatment it could be called, best suited to it, clearly the proper persons for carrying it out would be those whose functions were pre-eminently of a supernatural and mediatorial kind; the latter being applicable to the popular view of pathology—the former to their idea of the province of therapeutics. Hence, it was that the Priests assumed the duties of the Physicians, being, no doubt, sincere believers in the efficacy of their medical ministrations, and convinced that the gift of healing was a special attribute

of the Priesthood. Used as they used it, no doubt the assumption greatly increased their power; and it is certainly remarkable that so many cures followed from the practice adopted. Such results, however, are by no means due to the possession of any supernatural or extraordinary powers. In all ages, and even in the present day, wonderful things have been done through the influence of powerful mental impressions. I do not, of course, include in this remark the miracles of healing which were wrought by the Apostles and their successors. These powers were given to them for a special purpose, and their acts were different in kind to those ordinarily performed in later times by the Priest-physicians of the Christian Church. No doubt, the fact that the Apostles had this power, and that they exercised it in connexion with their sacerdotal Office, while as yet the Church was in her infancy, would in later times have great weight in fixing the opinions of those who looked upon such a gift as the special prerogative of the sacred Order.

Moreover, in the time of which I am speaking—that, namely, which preceded the Middle Ages,—the Clergy were certainly the best educated men of the day; though it must be admitted that they were in no sense educated in their assumed capacity of Physicians. They really studied nothing, or next to nothing, of Medicine in any scientific way; nay, they seemed to think it above the dignity even of a science, and to be of the nature of a spiritual gift, to be exercised with special reference to another world. They believed that particular Saints presided over certain diseases, and were to be appealed to by those who were suffering from them; thus, amongst other invocations, S. Clara was supplicated by those who had sore eyes, S. John by the epileptic, and S. Sebastian by the victims of the plague.

The result of all this was that for many centuries no advance whatever was made in the science of medicine. In the eleventh century a step was made in the right direction by an enactment prohibiting any one from practising medicine unless he had previously passed an examination to test his proficiency, after having undergone a prescribed course of study. This gave a decided impetus to the cultivation of medical science and to the scientific investigation of disease—an impetus which was felt even by those who, though by no means given to scientific pursuits, were yet essentially the student class, though hitherto they had not given much of their time or attention to this special branch—I mean the Monks and Religious Orders generally.

As soon as the subject was once fairly grappled with, and

men began calmly to observe the facts in Nature, the mysterious superstructure which their fancy had created crumbled to pieces; and the utter futility of their mysterious rites and ceremonies, of their astrological observations, their reliance on charms, on the efficacy of relics, of divinations and such like, as the groundwork of their treatment of bodily diseases was demonstrated. Then they began to trust more implicitly to Nature; and, in proportion as they did this, their success in therapeutics increased, and their reputation was enhanced.

But, as the practice of medicine grew in scientific repute, it became more and more evident that the Clergy could not retain possession of it—at least if they were to continue their proper theological study. A science so vast as that of Medicine, with its collateral sciences, required whole lives of patient study, observation, and experiment, to place it in the rank which its importance demanded. This the Clergy could not give; and any thing short of it was rightly held to be detrimental to the public weal. Accordingly, in the twelfth century, an enactment was passed by Pope Innocent II. to the effect that from that time Ecclesiastics were to confine their studies to Theology, and leave the practice of Medicine to those qualified to undertake it. By this time, however, so lucrative had the practice become, that prohibitory enactments were for a time disregarded and had to be enforced eventually by the threat of penal consequences. Before this, the Clergy managed to effect a compromise by which the practice of surgery was divorced from that of physic—the former passing principally into the hands of Barbers, while the latter they succeeded in retaining for themselves.

In the fourteenth century, the class of apothecaries was amalgamated with that of grocers; and so it continued until the seventeenth century, when they became and have ever since continued a separate corporation. But even so late as the sixteenth century, the Order of Priest-physicians was still in existence, their theological degrees being regarded as a sufficient qualification to practise Medicine.

Nor was this all; for by legal enactments the Clergy still retained a good deal of power over the practitioners of Medicine. Thus, in 1511, an Act of Parliament was passed prohibiting any person from practising Medicine or Surgery, unless such person had previously been approved by the Bishop of the diocese in which he practised, or by his Vicar-General. From the preamble to that Act it appears that its principal object was to prevent the practice of Medicine passing into the hands of ignorant and unprincipled quacks, while at the same time it

recognized the propriety of a relationship between the Priesthood and the Medical profession. The preamble ran as follows —and I quote it here, as it serves to illustrate the state of the faculty of Medicine at that time:—

"Forasmuch as the science and cunning of physick and surgery (to the perfect knowledge whereof be requisite both great learning and ripe experience) is daily within this realm exercised by a great multitude of ignorant persons, of whom the greater part have no manner of insight in the same, nor in any other kind of learning; some also can no letters on the book, so far forth that common artificers—as smiths, weavers, and women—boldly and accustomably take upon them great cures and things of great difficulty, in the which they partly use sorcery and witchcraft, partly apply such medicines unto the disease as be very noisous and nothing meet therefore, to the high displeasure of God, great infamy to the faculty, and the grievous hurt, damage, and destruction of many of the King's liege people, more especially of them that cannot discern the uncunning from the cunning:"

Therefore it was enacted—

"That no person within the City of London, nor within seven miles of the same, should take upon him to exercise and occupy as a Physician or Surgeon, except he be first examined, approved, and admitted by the Bishop of London or the Dean of Paul's for the time being, calling to him or them four Doctors of physick, and for Surgery other expert persons in that faculty, and for the first examination such as they shall think convenient, and afterward alway four of them that have been so approved, upon the pain of forfeiture, &c., &c."

The Act also laid the same restrictions in regard to other dioceses.

Thus it is evident that at that time the Bishops were regarded as the proper Heads of the Medical Profession, and the principle for which I am contending was freely conceded. Whether such an arrangement was then beneficial to either profession, or advantageous to the public weal, is more than I can either affirm or deny. I know of no record of the practical working of the union tending to throw any light upon it; but it is certainly conceivable that such might be the case. On this question, however, I shall probably have more to say hereafter: at present I am only concerned with the historical aspect of it.

In the year 1518, at the suggestion of Cardinal Wolsey and the Court Physicians, a Royal Charter was granted to the London College of Physicians; and from that time the connexion

between the Priesthood and the Medical Profession was severed—not, however, altogether; for one connecting link was left, and still remains to keep up at least the semblance of a relationship between the two; *viz.* the power which the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Head of the Church in these Realms, has of conferring the Lambeth Degree in Medicine. This power, it need hardly be added, is very seldom exercised; indeed, I believe it is upwards of forty years since any Degree of the kind was granted.

For some time after the passing of the Act above referred to, there were occasional disputes between some of the Clergy and the authorities of the College of Physicians, the former still insisting on their supposed right to practise Medicine. At times these disputes became so unseemly that the College at last passed a statute prohibiting any who were in Holy Orders from being even admitted to examination, and still more from practising. Thus was completed the severance between the Clerical Order and the Medical Profession.

From the foregoing brief and, it is feared, very imperfect sketch, it appears that, from the commencement of the practice of the Healing Art, the Religious Orders, both in Heathen and Christian times, have been more or less closely connected with it. It must be admitted, however, that in its scientific development it has derived little or no assistance from that connexion; for I am not aware of any important discovery having been made by one of that Order. The connexion, indeed, appears originally to have sprung from an entire misapprehension of the nature of disease, and from a very erroneous estimate of man's power to control it by so-called supernatural agencies. There is nothing in the history of Medicine to encourage the idea that it differs from any other branch of natural Science. On the contrary, the closest observation of the functions of the body in health and disease, and of the powers of the Physician to control the latter, prove how completely subject we all are to the operation of natural laws, and how much more successful and satisfactory our work is, the more we trust to Nature and to what may be termed natural remedies.

I shall not, probably, be misunderstood when I say, that it is a matter of great importance in these days of rapid scientific development, when men's minds are being moulded as it were more by the teachings of Science than by the precepts of Revelation, that the Clergy in particular should look at this question fairly; and they will doubtless see the advantage of adopting a somewhat different tone and phraseology in regard to it. I am sure it is a mistake to say, as it is constantly said, that disease is in all

cases a special mode of God's visitation for our sins. That disease is often directly connected with sin, both in individuals and in communities, no one can deny. We may, indeed, thank God that it is. Far be it from me to doubt the special Providence of God. But surely it implies as strong a belief in His Power and Love for us individually, if we recognize the fact that, while placing us in the world for a special purpose, He has made our natural bodies subject to natural laws, as we call them; that is to say, that our bodies, like all other bodies, animate and inanimate, are subject to the universal and unvarying decrees of His Divine Will, once and for ever instituted for the government of the natural world: so that, if we, knowingly or not, do violence to those decrees, we must in the ordinary course of things pay the penalty for it—the penalty being, as far as our material bodies are concerned, the endurance of a state of disease; and in this respect, so far as we know, the punishment is limited to the time that now is. In like manner in the spiritual world, any attempt of our will to violate God's Will brings with it its own punishment, as the ordinary result of sin; but, in this respect, the penalty is not limited to this present time, but unless repented of, is felt through all eternity.

Now it is the duty of the Priest to track out from God's revelation of His Will in the spiritual world the laws relating to the health of the soul, above all it is his special function to apply the remedies for spiritual diseases; while, on the other hand, it is the special province of the Physician to discover by observation of Nature, as we term it, the laws which regulate the natural motions of the body and maintain it in the condition of health, so as best to exercise his function in applying remedies for the removal of corporeal disease. In both cases, however, the laws are but the expression or manifestation of God's Will —I trust I shall be excused for making this digression.

But to return to our subject. Assuming that no advance in Medical Science resulted from the union of the two vocations—the Clerical and the Medical—let us inquire,

1. Whether that union was productive of any evil consequences.
2. Whether any, and, if any, what advantages have followed the severance of the two; and,
3. Whether a closer relationship than at present exists might not, under existing circumstances, be established with advantage.

1. In answer to the first question, the fact that Medicine was not studied at all scientifically is presumptive evidence of grave

evils accruing to the public from the want of a definite system of therapeutics. That this ignorance must operate prejudicially is clear; for Nature cannot in all cases, even though she be allowed fair play, do all that is required. Art has her province here, or we should not have had the assurance that "He giveth medicine to heal our sickness." And surely if the science of Medicine be true to itself, it must effect the saving of human life; if otherwise, then life which might be saved will probably be lost. On the whole, then, it will probably be admitted that, in the infancy of Medical science, more harm than good resulted from the Priest usurping the functions of the Physician, on the ground principally of the hindrance which it caused to the study of Medicine.

2. In like manner an affirmative answer must be given to the second question. This indeed is implied in the conclusion arrived at in regard to the first; and history plainly shows that as the practice of Medicine passed into the hands of scientific men, not only did it gradually assume a more definite shape, but the treatment of disease was conducted on something like rational principles, in accordance with a more correct view of the nature of disease and of the normal functions of the animal economy.

3. These considerations, however, though they may help us to an answer to the third question, are by no means sufficient to settle it. It is one thing to say that the Clergy shall not be the sole or chief practitioners of Medicine, because that a science so difficult and important requires many years of patient study and observation to master its details, and cannot therefore be safely entrusted to men whose spiritual duties are already more than sufficient to occupy their whole time; but it is entirely another thing to maintain that the two vocations have nothing in common, and ought not therefore to be specially related to each other. It appears to me that we have the highest possible authority and example against such a view; an example which ought not to be without its effect upon us. Far be it from me to wish that the Clergy should, except under special circumstances, be occupied with matters only indirectly connected with their spiritual Office. I know that they have more than sufficient to do already; and it is only because I believe that they would be very materially helped to the more efficient discharge of their proper functions did they but know something of what we Physicians know, that I venture to make these few suggestions. I am sure that my professional brethren—those at least who hold the Catholic faith—will bear me out in this

assertion. There are so many questions connected with the inner spiritual life of persons, which seem at times to need the combined counsel of Priests and Physicians; and how strange it seems that these secrets, allied as they often are with sin, are told without reserve to the Physician, who can do little more than minister to them in their physical bearings; while their confession to a Priest for spiritual purification shocks the Protestant prejudices of the people.

On the other hand, I might ask the Clergy whether they have not sometimes to deal with cases of a mixed physico-spiritual character, which they do not feel themselves fully competent to deal with, and in which the advice and assistance of a Physician would be of much value, and might be taken without violation of confidence. I have myself seen instances of this mixed kind, in which very wrongful advice has been ignorantly given, and evil consequences have ensued, which might have been averted by the possession of a little special medical knowledge.

Take, again, the question of fasting. There are here many points for consideration which only the Physician is at present competent to decide. What is fasting to one may be feasting to another, and *vice versâ*. Age, bodily constitution and temperament, past medical history, habit of life, climate, season, and other circumstances, all require to be taken into account in advising as to the kind and degree of fasting fitted for any given case. By a properly selected dietary, the principle of fasting may be carried out in all its integrity without prejudicially weakening the bodily powers. To do this, however, requires not only a thorough appreciation of constitutional peculiarity, but also a careful adjustment of the chemistry and physiology of food to the wants of the system.

In all these and similar cases, I know it may be said that it is always open to a Priest, when thus consulted, to suggest medical advice; as, on the other hand, it is competent for the Physician to recommend his patient to take ghostly counsel and advice of those appointed thereto. But it cannot be doubted that if there were a full recognition of authoritative co-operation between the two advisers, the course here recommended would be accepted as both more natural and proper than under present circumstances it is likely to be. Here, then, as it appears to me, is one argument in favour of a closer union between the two callings.

Again, in localities where medical counsel is not always at hand there would be obviously an advantage, to the poor at least, if the Parish Priest were sufficiently acquainted with me-

dicine to advise in cases of emergency, and in the many small medical requirements of an outlying country parish. It is undoubtedly true, in many cases, that he who best ministers to bodily pain and suffering gets a firmer hold upon the hearts and affections of those who need it than he who merely speaks words of comfort and sympathy. Those who have laboured in Missions, both at home and abroad, know full well the power which this knowledge gives them. I am only stating the experience of those whose opinion has been formed in actual work, when I say that the conversion of the heathen is, humanly speaking, to be accomplished more by ministering to their bodily than their spiritual diseases. We cannot wonder at this, for it is human nature that we appeal to under such circumstances. And, considering the position of the heathen, whether at home or abroad—and we all know there are many at home—we can easily understand their anxiety to secure health of body, though it may be they have no desire for peace of mind, in the sense in which we use the term.

Now, there are two ways by which this Medical knowledge may be made available for the purpose in question. Either we may give those Priests who are destined for Missionary service a Medical education, making them, though in a much higher and truer sense, like the Priest-physicians of old: or we must train up a special order of Physicians, and make them our evangelizers of the heathen. Probably, persons will be guided mostly in making their choice of these two plans by the general character of their religious principles. Those who form a low estimate of the Priestly Office will perhaps incline to the view that any good Christian man, having the requisite medical qualification, will be as good a Missionary as he who has been *ordained* to any holy function and has been *called* to any Office and Administration in CHRIST'S Holy Catholic Church; while, on the other hand, those who recognize in the Priesthood the means which GOD Himself has appointed to this special end will think they are fulfilling His Divine Will if they do their utmost to the furtherance of that end in what they believe to be His appointed way.

I must confess that I am among those who hold to the latter view, and I do so on Scriptural grounds. If I turn to Holy Scripture I find that, though our LORD made frequent allusion to Physicians, showing that He recognized their profession, yet when I look to the plan which He laid down for evangelizing the world, I find no mention made of the service of Physicians. There was, apparently, no idea in His Mind, if I may without

irreverence say so, of making use of Physicians for such a purpose—and why? Because He was pleased to appoint men specially to such work; and that they might the better do that work, He endowed them, and their successors to the end of time, with a power unknown to other men; a power to be exerted, not merely over the bodies of men, but over their souls, to their eternal comfort. But, as if to teach us how we should carry on the work of converting the heathen, He added to the Gift of the HOLY GHOST that other most necessary qualification for the Mission Priest, the Gift of Healing. This is a remarkable fact, and it is one which has been too much lost sight of in later times. The reason of this lies probably in the circumstance that the Gift they possessed carried with it miraculous power. But though, in one sense, the age of miracles is past, yet the lesson still remains, and ought not to be lost upon us in the present day. Times and circumstances have changed, no doubt; but still now, as then, we can see the fitness of the association of two such gifts for such a purpose. There is still the same need of evangelization, the same human nature to work upon, the same liability to disease and sickness, the same clinging to life, the same desire to be lusty and strong—especially when we are neither the one nor the other—the same eagerness to take counsel of those qualified to cure us, and the same faith in the power, though not in the gift, of healing.

Now all this gives to the Physician, the man now called to exercise the gift of healing, the human dispenser of GOD'S good Providence to the sick, a power which would be doubly valuable in the hands of the Priest, but which he too often fails altogether to secure; a power which, rightly used, may lift the soul from earth to Heaven; a power which might indeed, as truly now as it did of old, "cast out Devils," a power which no doubt has secured, again and again, a true repentance unto life, forgiveness of sins by penitent confession, and amendment of life by holy resolution. The influence of the Physician is here at least, and especially with the poor, paramount with that of the Priest; and the good which might accrue from the latter possessing a knowledge of Medicine is, I believe, incalculable.

But it will of course be asked, how can this be? How can a Priest fitly undertake a secular calling? My answer to the latter question is, that I do not wish it; far otherwise. Perhaps I might rather be disposed to wish that the Clergy, or some of them, at least, were less secular than they are. But I do want that their work should be more ample and complete than it often is. I would like to see them more successful antagonists with the

evils which they have to encounter, exercising greater influence over those committed to their trust, and with lives more like His, Whose representatives they are. It is because they once had this power and used it for His greater Glory and the extension of His Kingdom upon earth, that I would they had it now; because, too, I know from experience how great that power may be, and what vast results they might achieve by a wise employment of it.

I do not of course desire that all the Clergy should be equally educated in Medical science; but that they should be all, more or less, trained to it, according to the requirements of their after-life in this respect. They need not be so fully qualified as to be able to pass any high Medical examination, except it be in the case of those who are destined for Missionary work. To the latter, some recognized Medical qualification should be required as evidence of proficiency. That the course of study necessary for such a "pass" is quite compatible with the proper discharge of other duties, is proved by the existence of at least one notable example in the person of the Bishop of Labuan, who has not only qualified himself for the possession of a Medical and Surgical Diploma, but has gone beyond; and, even since his elevation to the Episcopate, he has gained the highest Diploma the College of Surgeons can bestow.

There is yet another reason why I would urge upon the Clergy the study of Medical science; it is because, on general grounds, I think that some scientific training is necessary for the perfection of education. This is a question which, in the present day, is of increasing importance, and to none more so than to those who are destined for the Ministry. The broad general effect of scientific study on the mind of the student has been well pictured by a recent writer. Speaking of the many little failures and disappointments which beset the path of the scientific inquirer, he says:—

"Such a man is thus made to feel, as he can be made to feel by no other means, that there is something sacred in even the jots and tittles of natural laws; he learns to put away from himself all personal pride, and steps across the threshold of Nature with bare head and bare feet; and the love of truth becomes with him a passion. He is taught, as he can be taught by no other means, that truth not only is, but can easily be reached by a mind active and upright; he passes beyond the common honesty of the world; and reaches forward towards that perfect sincerity which is the fruit of long-continued watchfulness, self-denial, humility, patience, and care."

And again:—

"The very same qualities, of course, go far to ensure success in life, and the very same lessons are taught by experience of the world. It is the distinctive mark of science, however, and the chief token of its educational virtue, that its teachings are swift, decisive, and sure. The punishments of the world are proverbially uncertain, halting, and slow. A man sows the wind in his youth, but he does not reap the whirlwind till he is old. He casts his lies on the waters, but it is not till after many days that they come back to him. He may march from error to error without meeting a single rebuke; he may even live a life of mistakes, and die without discovering one. But no one can go wrong in the pursuit of scientific truth, without his sins very speedily finding him out. He is careless and inattentive one day, and confusion creeps over him on the morrow. He hastens to publish an unfinished research, and sees it crumble to pieces before twelve months are over. Again and again he sees men building reputations on the discovery of matters which he had caught sight of, and yet neglected years ago. Every day, almost, in some form or another, he is rebuked for his shortcomings, and made to pay penance for careless faults. The punishment may be light, but it is quick, and seldom misses its mark; and it is just this frequent repetition of little chiding blows that makes the pursuit of science so valuable as an intellectual training. Characters cannot be beaten into shape by a few heavy blows; it is by slight taps, and almost imperceptible touches, repeated day by day, and week by week, that the impulsive, careless, wilful boy is moulded into the sober, watchful, sincere, and successful man."

I shall be pardoned, I hope, if I venture on making one more quotation, as it seems to me especially apt to the subject I am considering. I shall not be accused of egotism in bringing forward so flattering a witness; the writer is unknown to me, and I assume that he is entirely disinterested. He says—

"If any one desires some outward token of the transforming virtues of the study of science, let him note the mental changes that may be witnessed every year in our medical schools and hospitals. Let him fully appreciate the roughness and rawness of the material on which science has there to work—the lads who flock up every October, uncultivated, untaught, untrained. Let him recognize the difficulties under which science labours there, catching fitfully the attention of the student, as he flies from one professional duty to another. And then let him remember, not only how many eminent men of science have

risen from the ranks of medicine and how much abstract scientific work is annually produced by the medical profession, but also how much patient inquiry, eager, wakeful observation and sound judgment is daily put into exercise for the purpose of healing bodily ills. To one accustomed to the slow and feeble influence of ordinary school education, the changes thus effected, in the midst of the most serious obstacles, must appear as scarcely less than marvellous."

I repeat, then, that apart from the immediate question which I am discussing in this Essay, the greatest possible good may be anticipated from the Clergy undergoing a course of scientific study. There never was a time, indeed, when this seemed so necessary as now, when the principal attacks upon the faith of Christendom are grounded upon so-called scientific objections to the reception of Catholic dogmata. It has always appeared to me, I confess, a very shallow supposition, that the discoveries of man in the natural world should be capable of correcting supposed errors in God's written Revelation. Surely the revelations of Nature, or the discoveries of Science, are neither more nor less than so many unfoldings of the Mind of God in the natural world, seeing that all things exist by and through Him Who is the Author of every science—so that they who investigate the causes of material things are really interrogating the Will of God in Nature, equally with those who, spending their lives in inquiring after spiritual truth amid the leaves of His written Word, are permitted to gather from them full and explicit revelations of His Divine Will in the Kingdom of Grace.

But if the study of science generally be a desirable part of the educational training, *à fortiori* is the study of medical science. By it we may learn how intimately connected are the twin sciences of physiology and psychology; how mind and matter mutually act and re-act; how intimately related sin often is to bodily derangement or physical infirmity; and, on the other hand, how morbidly sensitive and apt to exaggerate are some mental constitutions, requiring, on the part of the adviser, close observation of nervous peculiarity, accurate discrimination of the relative influence of mind and body in the production of real or supposed evils, and a careful estimate of the probable effects of any directions which may be given.

Besides all this, it is surely not enough merely to know what is. It is the duty of the Priest, no less than of the Physician, to know what has been: in other words, to trace effects to their final causes; and, as far as may be, to seek to know the origin of evil in any given case, with the better hope of being thereby

able to prevent its recurrence. All this requires a vast amount of technical, scientific medical knowledge; and how few, if any, among the Clergy have even a remote idea of it. That sin sometimes, it may be, often is, due to physical causes, I am well assured. It behoves the Clergy to know this; and they ought to be able also to discover when it is so, that the proper remedy may be applied by those whose duty it is to study such questions in their physical aspects.

It has been urged as an objection to what I am advocating, that if the Clergy were conversant with medical knowledge they would be too prone to exercise it, and might thus interfere with the practice of the Physician, to his loss and the probable injury of the public. I confess that this objection has but little weight with me; for I am not advocating, unless in rare and exceptional cases, the actual prescribing of medicines by the Clergy, but only that they should have such a knowledge of the subject as may the better enable them to advise those who seek their counsel in spiritual matters.

Another objection which has been brought forward, and it is one which, I confess, at first sight has some reason in it, is that the Clergy are already not a little addicted to the habit of dabbling in physic; and, worse still, that many of them are steady patrons of various forms of quackery. So far as this is true, it is a misfortune for all parties. But I believe that the effect of what I earnestly urge would be beneficial on this very account. Orthodoxy in medicine, like orthodoxy in any other branch of knowledge, has surely nothing to fear in competition with heterodox views or opinions; and I venture to think that sound ideas of therapeutics are far more likely to develope from correct views in physiology and pathology than the reverse. Instead, therefore, of the Clergy being, as some affirm that they are, the friends and patrons of quackery, they would in all probability, if duly instructed in certain branches of medical knowledge, become its staunch opponents.

I now wish to allude to a movement which has lately taken root in different parts of the country, and which has, or may have an important bearing upon the question I am considering—I mean the establishment of Cottage or Village Hospitals. There can be no doubt that these institutions are calculated to do an immense amount of good; and in time I hope there will be scarcely a district or group of villages with a population of 5000 inhabitants without its Cottage Hospital. There are already about one hundred of these at work, or in course of

completion, but many hundreds more might with advantage be added. And as inquiries are being made in different parts regarding their establishment, it may be well that I should turn from the immediate question before us, and occupy the attention of the reader with some practical suggestions regarding the scope and objects of these little homes for the sick poor, as they might appropriately be called.

The primary object, of course, is the providing a comfortable home, where good nursing, good diet, pure air, quiet rest, and proper medical or surgical treatment may be combined, and where at the same time the sick may receive those ministrations which the Church offers to her poor and suffering children.

I have, in the First Series of *The Church and the World*, advocated the duty of the Church to take charge of the poor in times of sickness. We know that in primitive times the poor naturally looked to the Church for help at such seasons; nor did they look in vain. And herein was one good result of the union which then existed between the Clerical Order and Medical Profession. In the present day the poor have no such guarantee. If sickness overtakes them they must make application for relief to a very different officer—one who has certainly no Divine commission; in some instances, indeed, it might be thought that he had not even a human commission—so truly inhuman is the treatment received, and so totally opposed to that which the poor are taught to anticipate, and which they have a right to expect, if the Church be true to herself and her Master's call.

The introduction of the Cottage or Village Hospital system into our rural districts will, at least in those districts, recall the Church to her duty. It is for the Clergy to impress this point upon the hearts and minds of their flocks, and to insist upon the necessity, as well as the duty, of making provision, as much for the bodily wants of the poor when sickness befalls them, as for their educational training in earlier life—remembering this especially, that it is in times of sickness that the hard heart of man is most softened, and that he becomes not only a happier, but a better man. The nearer he is drawn to God, and the higher the view he takes of life, the better will he do his duty to his fellow-men, and to those who, in God's good Providence, are set in authority over him.

If we would fulfil the law of Christ, we must learn to bear one another's burdens; and assuredly the burden which disease and sickness but too often lays upon the poor is one grievous to be borne; and we but ill perform our duty if we do not help them to bear it.

The establishment of a Village or Cottage Hospital offers a ready and suitable means of doing this. How, then, can it best be carried out? Probably, the first consideration will be that of expense. I find that the average cost of taking, fitting up, and furnishing a cottage for the purposes of a hospital such as I am considering is about 15*l.* per bed, supposing there be not less than six beds. This includes all the furniture of every kind, medical appliances, and an allowance for the usual preliminary expenses. It does not, of course, take into account any charges for repairs, alterations, or building expenses connected with the fabric. The further charge of carrying on the hospital will probably average about 10*s.* per week for each inmate, and a sum of about 75*l.* per annum will be required for the administration, including the cost of the nurse, &c. So that supposing the hospital be always full, the total annual expenditure will probably be somewhere about 225*l.*

How is this sum to be provided? Hitherto the experience of the promoters of the Cottage Hospital system is decidedly in favour of the patients contributing somewhat towards their support while in the hospital. A recent writer says on this point, "It not only seems to maintain a degree of self-respect in the minds of the patients by preventing them from feeling that they are purely objects of charity, but it prevents the hospital funds being abused." In all this I entirely agree, and would strongly urge its general adoption. The amount which should be paid by each patient is, of course, a matter for consideration; but it has been found that this source of income amounts on the average to about one-fourth of the whole expenditure. The remainder will have to be made up by annual subscriptions and donations, the donors being allowed, perhaps, to recommend persons for admission; by the offertory, and by such other means as the Committee may suggest.

It is not, of course, to be supposed that any ordinary country village will be able to maintain an institution of this kind; nor indeed is it necessary. For a hospital with six beds would be sufficient for a district or group of neighbouring villages containing not less than a total of 5000 inhabitants; and for such a district surely 150*l.* a-year is not too much to expect for so important a work. Taking into calculation the average length of time that such persons remain in the hospital, certainly not less than sixty would thus be relieved or cured every year. So much, then, for the question of expense.

As to the character of the building, any good-sized and substantial cottage would suffice. If detached, so much the better;

but it ought, if possible, to contain the following accommodation: —On the ground-floor, a sitting-room, kitchen, and scullery, larder, and outhouse for wood, coal, and straw; on the floor above, there should be one room for three men's beds, one other for two women, and a third for any special case, or one requiring an operation, or for two children, as the Committee may determine. All these rooms should be carefully ventilated; each should have a fire-place; and they should be made to look as bright and cheerful and home-like as possible. As a general rule, these can very well be nursed by one good nurse, who must have her own private room. A water-closet on this floor will also be necessary. There ought, besides, to be on the ground floor, and, if possible, detached from the building, a little mortuary chapel, which I would suggest should be the means of conveying an instructive lesson by the care and attention bestowed upon it. The walls might be appropriately coloured with grey colour; the floor should be of brick or tile; there should be a low platform or table, capable of holding one or two bodies. Some well-selected illuminated texts should be hung upon the walls, and a cross and two candlesticks will add greatly to the solemnity of the building; while some well-stocked flower-vases would help to cheer the mourner's heart, and bid him look beyond the grave with hope to a joyful resurrection.

The rent for such a house ought not, in the country, to exceed 12*l.* to 14*l.* a year. There must be a good water supply; and if possible, a small and bright flower garden.

As to locality, the farther it is from any other hospital, and the nearer it is to the residence of the Parish Priest and the Doctor who are to have the charge of it, the better.

It is, of course, of the greatest importance that the nurse should be not only thoroughly respectable, and of active habit, cheerful, good-tempered, kind and attentive, but she should have been well trained to her work in some one of the Nurses' Training Institutions. It would be of great advantage also, if some one or more ladies connected with the locality would regularly visit the hospital, to see that all is being done for the comfort and welfare of the patients.

Certain rules for the good government of the institution would, of course, be necessary: these will best be determined by those who are to undertake the management, and must necessarily vary according to local circumstances; but some general suggestions may here be offered.

With regard to the Executive, or Committee of Management, two points only I would mention: 1. That the number be as

limited as possible; 2. That it be distinctly parochial. In this way, I think, the practice which I am anxious to enforce, *viz.* that the Church should take charge of the sick poor, will be best secured. At the same time, inasmuch as charity requires that there shall be a large-hearted liberality exercised towards all, irrespective of creed or character, no restrictions of any kind ought to be allowed in regard to admissions, except, I think, in the case of infectious disease or of notoriously depraved and evil characters; the object in such instances being to prevent moral and physical contamination.

The advantage of a limited executive, say of five, including the Parish Priest and the Medical Officer, is obvious to those who have seen much of the working of Committees. Work is much better and more expeditiously done, the fewer there are to do it —provided, of course, that they are willing workers. The mere parade of a few great names is a presumptuous abomination in a distinctly Church or even charitable work; and, so long as the work be well done, the more outward humility there is about it, the better for all concerned.

Practically, no doubt, the work will principally devolve upon the Priest and the Physician. The former will of course be solely responsible for the spiritual welfare of the inmates, for the due and proper observance of all the rules, and generally for the good conduct and management of the institution. In consultation with the medical officer, he should decide upon the fitness of all cases for admission; and, inasmuch as he is probably best acquainted with the condition and circumstances of the applicants, the settlement of the amount which each should pay as a weekly instalment towards maintenance should be left in his hands.

The medical officer will, of course, visit the house as often as he may think necessary, and certainly not less frequently than on alternate days; but in all this he will be guided by the condition of the patients. He should, if possible, make his visits on stated days and at stated times; so that if needful, he may be attended by the Parish Priest, or by any ladies who may be interested in the work.

I assume that there will be but one medical officer; and, as a rule, I think this will be found to answer best. He will, of course, be glad to co-operate at all times with his brother practitioners, and they with him, in any way which may seem conducive to the welfare of the institution. I venture to hope, too, that they will recognize the distinctly Christian character of the work; and be not only willing, but anxious at all times,

to help the Parish Priest so far as they may be able, by example and precept, to impress upon the minds of the patients the lesson which sickness is calculated to teach.

There are many other points in connexion with the subject of Cottage Hospitals upon which I might remark; but my object is sufficiently accomplished if, in what I have said of them, I have shown that therein is a means of bringing about a closer union of the two callings; that these institutions may become fields of labour wherein both the Priest and the Physician may work, not merely each on his own ground, but both on a common ground for the common good of all. I can scarcely imagine that any exception will be taken to such a view of the utility of these hospitals, apart altogether from the many other advantages which they would confer on the persons directly benefited by them. I am satisfied that great good would result to the poorer classes of the community, if, in the visitation of the sick, the Clergy were more perfectly acquainted with their physical ailments—and in these little hospitals I see a means of their gaining that information, if only they and the medical officers will work together with that view. The very existence of these institutions depends to a great extent upon the hearty co-operation of the Clergy; and surely, next to the inmates themselves, they of all others derive the greatest advantage from them in regard to their official ministrations. Some of the more obvious of these advantages are well described in a recent pamphlet by Dr. Waring, *On Cottage Hospitals*, from which I extract the following.

"By means of these local hospitals, the clergyman in a large rural district, extending perhaps over many square miles, is brought into more intimate relation with his sick parishioners than he could otherwise be; and he is enabled, with little or no waste of time or bodily fatigue, to pay them, in times of sickness, an amount of attention which he could not have done had they remained for treatment in their own dwellings, and which for the most part they highly prize. By their means, whilst the actual amount of bodily exertion which the clergyman has to undergo is diminished, his sphere of usefulness is considerably enlarged; and if he faithfully avails himself of the opportunities which these hospitals afford, there is no doubt he may effect an immense amount of real good, and at the same time render more firm and enduring the tie between himself and his flock. Nay, by their means he may often gain access to certain parishioners, of whose existence he might otherwise be nearly ignorant: men, destitute of religious profession and principle, whose shadows

never darken the parish church doors, and who, in times of sickness, would rather avoid the clergyman than apply to him to visit them at their own homes.

"By means of these hospitals, also, the Clergy are enabled materially to aid the poorer class of their parishioners, to an extent and in a manner which they would not otherwise be able to do. For proper and deserving objects they will have little or no difficulty in procuring admission as in-patients, in which character they receive every requisite and many comforts, without entailing on themselves an expenditure which many clergymen are not in a position personally to defray out of their own pockets."

Reverting now to the original object of this Essay—there is one question which will probably occur to most of my readers, and to which it is desirable that I should return some answer. The question is, seeing that it is proved historically that harm rather than good resulted from the association of the Clergy with the practice of Medicine in times past, why should any one wish for its revival? And is there any reason why, in the present position of medical science, the like result would not be obtained?

I admit the proof afforded by history. I have stated why I wish for the revival; and I will here add why I do not think that a return to the evils of the past is at all a probable issue of such revival.

In the first place, Medicine is now a deeply scientific study, then it was little better than a superstition; the Clergy would now look to the medical profession for whatever knowledge they might wish to acquire, then the profession was nothing except what the Clergy made it. In the present day there is a very proper disposition to restrict the legal qualification to practise to those only who shall have passed through a lengthened curriculum of study, and have undergone several rigid scientific examinations, making it penal for others to attempt it; while, at the same time, prohibitory enactments are in force against any secular pursuit by the Clergy. In short, the circumstances of the present day are so totally different to those when the Clergy were the practitioners of medicine, that no kind of argument whatever is fairly deducible from that against what is here suggested. If the power and hardly earned influence of the medical profession of this day is not proof against any rivalry with the clerical, even under the most lavish adoption of these recommendations, then there is no security against any innovation which fancy or caprice may suggest; and the medical profession in such a case is little better

than a sham. To any such view, however, I can only express my entire dissent; and I am unable, from a recollection of the history of the past, to see any objection to the kind of medical training of the Clergy such as I have suggested in these pages. If it be undertaken simply and solely for the purposes here sketched out, being made as perfect as it can be for the objects in question, then I can see in it nothing but good; if otherwise, then it will only serve as another illustration of the fact, that between good and evil there is nothing to choose, and that the one is often in close contiguity with the other.

Now comes the question—How can the Clergy obtain the amount of medical instruction which it would be desirable for them to possess? Of course it will be understood that the acquirement of it should be altogether voluntary on their part. There are many, no doubt, whose walk in life is sufficiently known even before they enter the Priesthood, and to whom such a study would be practically useless. But, on the other hand, there are many whose aim is distinctly missionary, either at home or abroad, or who are destined for some out-of-the-way rural district, and to whom such knowledge would be a very decided acquisition. In other cases, where nothing definite regarding their future is known or anticipated, I can hardly imagine that they or any one would have cause to regret their acquirement of this special branch of knowledge.

I know of no better plan by which to gain this instruction than an attendance upon a course of lectures with, if possible, some practical experience and demonstration in the wards of a hospital. I have before me a *Syllabus of Lectures delivered in S. Augustine's College, Canterbury*, by Dr. Lochée, who, I am informed by the Warden, has gratuitously given instructions at the College twice a week for the last eighteen years. The students have also the great advantage of going with Dr. Lochée twice a week round the wards of the Canterbury Hospital, and of witnessing the surgical operations which are performed there.

Dr. Lochée, in a letter which he very kindly wrote in answer to my inquiries, says, with characteristic modesty, "As to the success attending my efforts, I hardly know how to speak; I fully believe that a certain measure of it has not been denied, and I know that several of my pupils were well qualified to act usefully in a medical capacity; nay, that many have done so in different parts of the world."

The Warden has kindly supplied me with some proofs of the success of Dr. Lochée's teaching. One missionary Priest, on his

way to Nova Scotia, "set a man's arm as he was going out on board ship;" another "prescribed largely at S. Margaret's Bay, Nova Scotia;" another, during a severe visitation of Cholera, was dispensing all day, with the greatest advantage to the Doctor of the district, who wrote that "he did not know how he should have done without him." This Priest, the Warden informs me, is now completing his study for the degree of M.D. at Edinburgh. Another "was for some time the medical adviser (after Dr. Dickinson's death) in the Central African Mission." These are only a few out of many, and are by no means exceptional cases.

The students receive the medical course of instruction during their "Senior Year." The lectures are about sixty in number, and embrace a great variety of topics; but they may be arranged for the most part under the heads of Anatomy, Physiology, Materia Medica, Therapeutics, the Symptoms of Disease, and the General Principles of Medicine. The character and scope of the lectures may be gathered from the following quotation in the Introductory Address delivered by Dr. Lochée to the students. He says, "You are not expected to become learned physicians or expert surgeons, though it is to be hoped that you may acquire a sufficient amount of knowledge to enable you to act under the peculiar circumstances in which you will be placed with safety and advantage in either capacity; and I entirely believe that this power may be assured to you, by fixing in your minds a few sound elementary principles of practice, by making you understand when and in what manner to apply them, and by bringing you practically acquainted with the properties of those substances and means which constitute our 'materia medica.' Hence, you see, that with respect to your knowledge of Medicine, you will occupy some middle point between the deeply learned and the entirely ignorant." And again, "What you will require to learn of this art is simply how you may detect the existence of a malady, and what remedies experience has shown to be most suitable for its alleviation."

This is exactly the kind and amount of knowledge which I think a vast number of our Clergy would be the better for having. They, too, in common with the missionary Priests of S. Augustine's College, ought to occupy, in regard to medical matters, "some middle point between the deeply learned and the entirely ignorant." It is this and this only for which I am contending. Persons may talk of educating medical men as missionary Priests: no doubt much good may be done by them, and on this subject I shall have something to say shortly; but, as Dr.

Lochée says to his students in regard to the labours of such men, "In many of the cases to which I have alluded, you will not fail to see how much soever a knowledge of Medicine was able to effect for those who possessed it, there was still something wanting to render them fully efficient for the work you will have in view; and *that something you will be in possession of, as ordained Priests in Christ's Church.*" The italics are my own, for the sentence exactly embodies the thought I have endeavoured to express and to advocate. It is "this combination of the sacred office with the temporal acquirements," which I conceive to be so very powerful an engine in the Church's work of evangelizing the people; and it is much to be hoped that before long, some action may be taken with the view of bringing this about. There could not surely be any great difficulty in instituting a Class of Medical Instruction, to which students destined for the Priesthood should be invited to attend. Time would soon show whether or not the scheme was appreciated, and a very few years would suffice to test its value. Earnestly believing that the verdict would be in its favour I shall confidently hope for its accomplishment.

I have already more than indirectly alluded to some of the advantages which might, I think, be expected to follow from a better acquaintance with the science, if I may so call it, of Theology on the part of scientific men; and as Physicians are of that class, and are moreover assailed by many temptations—some of them, it may be, peculiarly their own, some arising from the very nature of their studies—it appears to me that some proper and special theological training or study might, with great advantage, form a sort of voluntary appendix to their professional education.

It is not to be expected—at least, I do not expect—that the authorities of our medical schools, still less of our Examining Boards, will initiate any educational requirements of this kind. Indeed, if they were to attempt any such, it would be the occasion of much hostile criticism, and be productive of more harm than good: in short, such a measure is, I believe, wholly impracticable in any compulsory way. But surely of the many hundreds of medical students who are sent forth into the world every year, qualified to perform for their fellow-men some of the most important duties of life, who are brought into contact with men at, perhaps, the most critical moments of their lives—to many such it would be a comfort to feel that not their faith

only, but their reason, had been strengthened by the knowledge which they had gained of sound dogmatic Theology as the truest basis of Christian faith and practice. And though I have in this Essay contended for what I may call the *natural* view of medical science, I yet frankly acknowledge that I believe there is a much closer relation between the sciences of Theology and Medicine than is commonly supposed. At any rate, though we do not know how it is, yet we cannot help recognizing the fact that, between the body and the mind or soul of man, there is a most wonderful and mysterious connexion—a connexion which is being constantly obtruded upon the attention of the Physician in his bodily ministrations; more strikingly so, perhaps, if he be a careful observer, than it is even to the patient himself, and still more so than to his recognized spiritual adviser.

The Physician's proper study is man in every possible relation. He has to study man as a spiritual being, and as a mere animal; as a moral creature, and as a piece of vital machinery; as in the "image of God," and as an unreasoning brute. In considering him as a spiritual and moral being, the Physician, in common with the philosopher, trenches upon theology and moral philosophy, and is bound to study all questions thence arising in connexion with the structure, functions, and disorders of the brain and nervous system.

In all sciences there are some one or more points at which the human intellect is brought to bay by some unfathomable mystery, beyond which it seems as though it would ever be impenetrable to human ken. In the science of life this is so especially; and we Physicians, whose duty and privilege it is to track out the mysterious workings of the force we call life in the material bodies of animate things, and its relation to the indwelling spirit of man in that highest of all created things which was originally made "in the image of God," are continually reminded how little real knowledge we possess, and yet how truly great is our mission if only we be true to it. "Remember what thou art, and what thou shalt be. Thou hast been appointed by God a Priest of the Holy Flame of Life, a curator and dispenser of His highest gifts, health and life, and of the hidden powers which He has laid up in Nature for the welfare of man: a high and holy vocation! Exercise it aright, not for thy own profit, nor for thy own praise, but for the Glory of God and for the benefit of thy neighbour. Hereafter thou must render an account of thy mission." Thus wrote a celebrated German physician, Hufeland, who died in the early part of this century; and well will it be for the medical profession

if, as a body, it is true to so high a calling. But what the members are, such will the body be; and it behoves each one therefore in the accomplishment of his mission to set this thought continually before him: "To feel the full force of the responsibility which attaches to him; and yet, from a firm reliance in the truth of great principles, to be able to act under it with cheerfulness and steadiness of purpose; to be keenly alive to the sufferings of others without being himself subdued by the exhibition of them; to have a rational confidence in the resources of his art, whilst at the same time he is mindful that he can never employ them to any result but as the instrument of a higher power, seem to be the great moral qualifications of the medical practitioner." Such are the views which Dr. Lochée impresses upon the minds of his pupils at S. Augustine's College, and only by the possession of such moral qualifications can they, or can any student of Medicine, hope for real success.

How, then, are these moral qualifications best attained? and how, in the words of Hufeland, can we best educate men for this "high and holy vocation," that they may indeed exercise it aright "for the Glory of God," and the benefit of their fellow-creatures.?

I honestly believe that one means of attaining this result will be the securing of a closer union and a more intimate association between the two callings, the Clerical and the Medical. But, to arrive at this, there must be felt to be a community of interest, of thought and feeling, of mutual trust, and the inspiration of a common object. I know of no better means of promoting this, though there may be many others, than by giving medical students the chance at least of attending lectures on subjects hitherto regarded as specially limited to the province of the Priesthood. I mean, of course, lectures on Divinity—in some form—but made specially applicable to students of science, and so conducted as to bring out forcibly Hufeland's idea in the preceding quotation.

If attendance upon such a course of lectures as is here hinted at was made, as I have suggested in the case of the Clergy studying medicine, purely voluntary, an opportunity would at all events be afforded to those who have any desire thus to profit by it. And though at first, perhaps, the result might be but small; yet in time, perchance, a little leaven would leaven the whole lump, and a general upward tendency be observable in the moral and religious relationship of the medical profession and the public, especially among the lower classes. It is undoubtedly difficult at all times to watch the stages of moral

growth, even in individuals; and *à fortiori* must it be so in the case of a whole profession or community; but if the seed sown be good, and if the soil be of average value, circumstances and opportunities will, with tolerable certainty, develope a fair crop.

If this suggestion were carried out, and if at the same time such of the Clergy as wish it, were a little instructed in the science of Medicine, the two professions would naturally feel drawn together; and much good, both public and private, would result. The question of medical ethics, which has at times attracted a large share of public and professional attention, would again be brought prominently forward, and might be placed upon a broader and more permanent basis. This is a subject which is fairly entitled to be treated either by itself, or, better still, in connexion with whatever may be taught under the head of Divinity—with which indeed it seems naturally associated. At present I am not aware of any medical school in which the question of ethics is even considered; yet assuredly there is no more important subject, none which so directly affects the welfare of the Physician in his relations to his fellow-men; none in which it is more necessary that he should be guided by sound and true principles. We ought not to look upon medical education as complete, unless, to the cultivation of the intellect and the acquirement of scientific knowledge, there be added that moral and religious culture, without which all else is vain and full of danger.

There is, methinks, something strikingly suggestive in the historical fact of S. Luke, the Physician, whose praise is in the Gospel, being called to be an Evangelist and Physician of the soul; and well might the Colleges of Physicians of our day with one heart and soul join with the Church in appropriately celebrating his Festival with holy joy, and praise, and thanksgiving. We have our commemorative festivals in honour of Hervey and Hunter, as shining lights in the regions of science; why not then of S. Luke, whom the Gospel exhibits as a pattern Physician? His recognition and commemoration would surely tend to elevate our calling now, as his Divine call undoubtedly did then. May the time be not far distant when such a recognition will be the spontaneous act of a body of men as truly united in one holy bond of Faith, as they now are in works of Mercy.

ALFRED MEADOWS.

# Church Politics.

THE Pan-Anglican Synod promises to be the commencement of a new order of things in the Anglican Church. No better proof of this can be given than that of Dean Stanley's hostility to it, manifested in a very petty display of temper, by his refusing Westminster Abbey for the concluding function of the Synod. If rumour is to be credited, his pen has been in active, though futile opposition to it ever since it was summoned. This opposition is, in itself, of no importance, except as showing what is the condition to which the party—supposed to lead public opinion in the *Times*, *Edinburgh Review*, and other periodicals of similar character—wishes to reduce the Church. The head and front of the offence is that this Synod is not only wholly a spiritual one, but was convened by the Archbishop of Canterbury without any reference to the Government. The Archbishop acted solely in his capacity of Patriarch (*Alterius orbis Papa*, as Innocent III. termed Archbishop Longley's predecessor, S. Anselm, at the Synod of Bari), and not as "Primate of all England" merely. In the latter capacity he could have no right to summon any Bishops out of his Province, such as the Primus of Scotland and the Presiding Bishop of the United States; perhaps not even Metropolitans, as Capetown and Montreal; the very fact of there being Metropolitans under the Archbishop raises his position from that of the Archbishop of a Province to that of a Patriarch. The further step taken by the Synod, of appointing a Committee to consider the formation of a Court of Final Appeal in Spiritual Matters, independent wholly of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, is a second fact as significant as the first.

There are other points in connexion with the calling of this Synod, which compel us to examine the position into which the Anglican Church has entered—and, indeed, we may say, has been forced by events over which she had no control—we mean the legal decisions with respect to the Colonial Dioceses. In fact, we are compelled to examine the question in all its bearings. What *is* the present position of the Anglican Communion?

This general question must be divided into three particulars:—Firstly, With respect to the Civil Government. Secondly, With respect to the Church Catholic. Thirdly, With respect to the Protestant bodies, external to herself and the Catholic Church?

We are most of us acquainted, at least slightly, with the theories of Hooker, Locke, Warburton, Coleridge, and Gladstone, on the Union or Alliance of Church and State. Perhaps some have read the last work on the subject, Lord Robert Montagu's *Four Experiments in Church and State;* and we may also suppose that not one of us has been perfectly satisfied with the theories of any of them; though, perhaps, few could give any distinct reason for our dissatisfaction. All have failed to convince, yet we do not see why. The true reason is, because these writers have all treated the "Church of England" as if it were an entity of itself, entirely unconnected with the Church Catholic—a mere voluntary association of men for a religious purpose. Lord Robert Montagu gives Dr. Arnold's definition of the Church, that it is "a Society for putting down evil;" which he endorses. This fallacy first commenced in the reign of Henry VIII.; it is found embodied in the celebrated Statute, 24 Henry VIII., where it is declared that England is an empire, *i. e.* wholly independent, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, not subject either to Pope or Emperor, and that this State is considered as consisting of two parts, the Spiritualty and the Temporalty, with the Sovereign at the head; each having full power to determine all causes, without an appeal to any authority external to the kingdom. Hence, it is laid down that every member of the Spiritualty is also a member of the Temporalty, and *vice versâ:* Church and State are only two aspects of the same thing. This is the theory of Hooker, who illustrates this identity by the likeness of an equilateral triangle, where each side may be viewed, by regarding it from a different point either as side or base. But this is to stretch the Statute far beyond its legitimate proportions, and render it, in effect, a deliberate act, committing the Anglican community to a condition of perpetual schism. The Statute of Henry VIII. was levelled only against appeals to Rome, and was not intended to interdict communion between the various branches of the Catholic Church. But when Pius V. excommunicated Elizabeth, and forbad those who owned the Papal supremacy to communicate at Anglican Altars, then "the Church of England" became apparently an isolated entity, and has been so treated by Statesmen, and generally so considered by Ecclesiastics, since that period. Polemical

writers have done all they could to widen the gulf caused by the unfortunate Bull of Pius, and have considered it a part of Christian duty to keep up a ceaseless hatred between two portions of CHRIST's Body. It is clear that as long as this notion was prevalent, and men were brought up with the idea that what they called the "Church of England" and what they called the "Church of Rome" were two distinct and separate entities, naturally and necessarily antagonistic to each other, there could be no proper theory on the relations of the Church and State; for they treated the Church as something different from what she really is, and assigned her a position which she can never hold, consistently with her constitution as a portion of the one Catholic Church, the Kingdom of CHRIST upon earth. To understand the full extent of this mistake, we must realize the true idea of the Church, as existing before she was allied to any political body, or rather, when all States and Kingdoms were hostile to her; and then proceed to examine the process by which she became connected with the civil Government.

The Church is not a voluntary "Society for putting down evil;" she is the Kingdom of CHRIST upon earth. She is not a voluntary Society at all; the notion that she is such is a modern opinion, and may be ranked as one of the fallacies of the day. It is the parent of all those "unhappy divisions" which abound: or it may be more correct to say, that the notion was invented to suit modern circumstances, to excuse endless heresies and schisms, and to give a seeming authority to them Rather, it is more correct to say, that the existence of these heresies and schisms, and the necessity for justifying them, compelled the invention of this doctrine; for it was wholly unknown until their appearance. The Church is not a voluntary Society; she is the Body of the Elect, of those whom GOD has called and chosen out of the rest of mankind, in order to raise them from their fallen state and enable them to fulfil the objects of their creation. Our LORD, through the Incarnation and Atonement, has redeemed all mankind: out of these certain are called, elected, justified, sanctified, united into one Body, of which CHRIST, as MAN, is the Head; on these He confers Grace to recover themselves from the disastrous effects of the dominion of sin under which all mankind is born, and to them He gives power to overcome the last enemy, Death. The Greek word which the writers of the New Testament made use of to designate this body connotes this: *Ecclesia*, "the company of those called." Our LORD said to His Disciples, "Ye have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you." S. Paul addresses his Epistles to the "Elect," "called to be Saints."

In the Acts of the Apostles it is said, "the LORD added to the Church daily such as should be saved;" and, again, speaking of the Gentiles at Antioch, "as many as were ordained to Eternal Life believed." Our LORD's words are even more precise; "No man can come unto Me except the FATHER Who hath sent Me draw him." Throughout the whole of the New Testament runs this idea of election to the privileges of the Kingdom of CHRIST; that is, to the privileges which belong to the Kingdom of CHRIST on earth, including the means of obtaining the inheritance of the Saints in the Kingdom of the Future. We merely state this now; it will be more convenient to enlarge upon it when we come to consider the Church in reference to those Christians external to her.

Leaving, then, further proof for the present, we assume that the Church is the Body of those called and elected by GOD, not of persons who associate themselves in a voluntary Society; that this Body is the Kingdom of CHRIST on earth; that He, and no one else, appoints His own officers; that He confers on these officers power and authority to exercise jurisdiction in spiritual matters, to decide and pronounce what is the one Faith, and to declare what is contrary to that Faith; to admit new members into the Body, and to exclude unworthy members from it—such acts being not theirs, but His. "He that heareth you, heareth Me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me." "Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven." This Body, thus constituted and thus empowered, was in existence and in active operation three hundred years before it was acknowledged by any civil government; and, moreover, every existing kingdom or state has sprung up subsequently to the founding of the Church. All the old states, the great Roman Empire, the Asiatic kingdoms, have alike passed away, and are changed; while the Kingdom of CHRIST, the Holy Catholic Church, still stands. When, therefore, we talk of a union between Church and State, we must inquire strictly into the condition of things as existing when this union or alliance took place, as well as the circumstances which attended the effecting of that union or alliance.

We shall find them to be something like this. The Priests of the Church, as Ambassadors of CHRIST, converted to the Faith, in this and that country, those whom GOD "called;" they admitted such to the privileges of the Gospel by Holy Baptism. More and more were thus "added to the Church," until the king and the nobles also became obedient to the Faith. These latter

ordained that from henceforth this, and this only, should be the religion of the State and country. Churches were built and endowed, and "the Church" became established.

Now, in all this, the only "compact" made was the general obedience of king and people to the Kingdom of CHRIST. There was no "concordat" entered into, as between two rival powers, each dreading encroachment from the hands of the other; no jealous limiting of functions and privileges on either side; no attempt of one power to interfere with the proper functions of the other. This state of things seems to have continued during Saxon times. The Clergy and laity met together in council, and arranged and ordered all things civil and ecclesiastical. The Earl and the Bishop sat on the same bench, and administered justice in religious and in secular matters.

This arrangement has led many to suppose that the legislative and the judicial powers were a mixture of Clergy and laity; and that they together and equally legislated upon the temporal laws, and articles of Faith. But this does not by any means follow. The spiritual estate would legislate upon matters concerning religion, would make Canons, and regulate the government of the Church; to this the faithful laity would give their assent. On the other hand, the laity would pass Acts of Parliament (as we should now call them), and the Clergy would assent; and as there seems, at that time, to have been no attempt on the part of either side to encroach on the other, such an order of things could go on smoothly. Modern writers, especially when they write in order to maintain a theory, point to the fact, that Ecclesiastical Canons were passed in a Parliament composed very considerably of laymen; and draw the conclusion that, in Anglo-Saxon times, the laity legislated for the Clergy, passed Canons, and regulated Articles of Faith. Such persons judge the past by the present. They have become so habituated to the notion that the Clergy and laity form two distinct bodies with diverse interests, that they cannot understand how they could ever have been one body with a common interest: they think they must be jealous of their respective rights, that they must carry on a perpetual struggle for supremacy. Such antagonism seems to have been almost unknown in those times. Ecclesiastical Councils and Civil Parliaments were generally composed of the same persons, not because they interfered with each other's rights, but because they worked harmoniously together; and, by their mutual agreement, the interests of the Kingdom of England never clashed with those of the Kingdom of CHRIST. It is as incorrect to conclude that the laity made Canons for the Clergy, because

they sat together and voted in the same House, as it would be to affirm that the Bishops make Acts of Parliament because they sit and vote in the House of Lords.

It is tolerably clear that, in early Anglo-Saxon times, there was no appeal of any kind acknowledged external to the kingdom which comprised what we now call England. When Wilfrid, Bishop of York, in 678, appealed to the Pope against the King Egfrith, his appeal was treated with contempt by the Court, and not acknowledged by the Northumbrian Bishops; it was looked upon as an unheard-of thing, not recognisable either in the Church, or by the State. It was then evidently considered that there was full power in the country to settle all disputes. The appeal from the Archbishop was, undoubtedly, to the King; not to him sitting as an Ecclesiastical judge, *above* the Archbishop, but to rectify any mistake, or apparent abuse of power, in the Archbishop's decision; and, even then, the King did not judge in person, or by his Civil Officers, but by his Council of Ecclesiastics. And this was certainly the intention of Henry VIII., in the famous Act, *The Restraint of Appeals*, where it is laid down that each power, the Temporalty and the Spiritualty, is sufficient to decide all causes finally, each for itself. The Court of Delegates, appointed by the Crown for hearing Appeals, consisted of Ecclesiastical persons, assisted by Common and Chancery Lawyers; the latter being present, so to speak, on behalf of the Crown, to see that no Statute or Common Law of the kingdom was violated. The real Judges were the Bishops, who called to their aid the Professors of Theology of the two Universities, to give their advice on theological points; and Ecclesiastical Lawyers to do the like in questions involving Canon Law. This continued to be the Court of Final Appeal, until its abolition in 1833.

With the Norman Kings, then, arose the unseemly contest between the Civil and Ecclesiastical powers within the realm, which led inevitably to an appeal to a power external to the kingdom. In these contests the King was the aggressor. He violated the liberties, not only of the Church, but of the nobles and people. He kept vacant both Archbishoprics and Bishoprics, in order to appropriate the revenues to himself. He invaded the rights of free election, interfered with the Cathedral Chapters, and, in a word, set up himself above all law. No wonder that those aggrieved should appeal to Rome. The Pope was a power in those days, before which even Emperors trembled. But this was an innovation against which the English mind always protested. The first words of *Magna Charta* confirm the liberties of the

Church, especially in the matter of elections of Bishops and Abbots. Appeals were now taken to the Papal Court, because the King, by encroaching on the rights of the Church and Clergy, had made himself one party in the dispute, so that a higher tribunal than existed in the kingdom had to be sought. It was not so much an appeal from the King's Court to that of the Pope, as it was a carrying the case into a Court external to the kingdom, because the head of the kingdom was the aggressor.

We mention merely, without going further into the matter, the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*, to show that the Anglo-Saxon idea of Church and State, of there being full and complete power within the realm to settle all causes, still held a firm possession in the English mind up to the time of Henry VIII.; and this was the point on which the Reformation, as accomplished by Henry VIII., turned. It is asserted in the two Statutes, the *Restraint of Appeals* and the *Submission of the Clergy;* the one forbade the carrying of any cause out of the kingdom for final judgment; the other asserted the fact that the final appeal lay with the sovereign. These Acts affect the Anglican Church only to a certain extent, *viz.* so far as she is *established;* leaving still a large margin of spiritual liberty. For instance, while the one Act forbids the Clergy to "promulge" or "put in ure" any Canons without the sanction of the Crown, this restraint refers only to those made in the two Convocations, for they are the Councils of the "Church as by law established." It regulates also the summoning and dissolution of the Convocations for the same reason. But it does not interfere in any way with other Synods, Diocesan or Pan-Anglican, or the making of Canons or Regulations by them. In a word, it regulates only the Political status of the Church—not its Spiritual rights and privileges. We may also remark, by the way, that Article XXI. cannot be made to affect the Pan-Anglican Synod, inasmuch as the latter is not a "General Council;" a General Council must be a Council of Bishops representing the whole Church, Greek and Latin, as well as Anglican. It will be as well, also, to mention here how carefully Article XXXVII. limits the Royal Supremacy. It distinctly denies the right of the Crown to any "ministering, either of GOD'S Word or of the Sacraments;" consequently, of any interference with the matters of Faith and Doctrine. Sovereigns are to "*rule* (*in officio contineant*) all states and degrees committed to their charge by GOD, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and to restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers."

Henry VIII. never was, and never intended to be, what moderns understand by the word "Protestant." He died, as regards his faith, a "Roman" Catholic. Many Catholics, indeed, he put to death; not because they held the Catholic Faith, but for denying the Royal Supremacy. Monasteries and Convents were destroyed and plundered, because the inhabitants were enjoying immense revenues; were not fulfilling the purposes of their institution; and were, as a body, more favourable to the Pope than the King. Let us have an unexceptionable witness on this point—a convert from the Anglican to the Roman Communion, the late Arthur Welby Pugin:—

"To begin with England, which we all know was once a Catholic country, abounding in Ecclesiastical foundations, possessing all the means, all the materials for the preservation of the Faith, the instruction of the people, and support of religion in the greatest solemnity and order. How comes it to pass that it is no longer so? That, without invasion, or conquest, or change of dynasty, the whole has been altered, transformed, the churches plundered, the country separated from Catholic unity, and, in fine, brought to its present lamentable religious position? Who has done this? By whom has it been brought about? Is it the work of Protestantism or not? *I boldly answer, No!*

"It is a fearful and terrible example of a Catholic nation, betrayed by a corrupted Catholic hierarchy. Englishmen have been betrayed, and, what is more, betrayed by the very power from whom, under God, they had a right to expect protection and safety. It was in a solemn convocation, when England's Churchmen were assembled, a reverend array of Bishops, and Abbots, and dignitaries, in orphreyed copes and jewelled mitres. Every great cathedral, every diocese, every abbey was duly represented in that important Synod; and yet the fear of a tyrant, and the dread of losing a few remaining years of wealth and dignity, so far prevailed, that they sacrificed the liberty of the English Church at one blow, that Church whose liberties at the several consecrations they had sworn to defend, whose freedom they were bound on oath and conscience to preserve. The deed is signed. Harry is declared the *supremum caput* of England's Church: not *vox populi*, but by the voice of the Convocation; the Church is sacrificed, the people are sacrificed, and the actors of this vile surrender are the true and lawful Bishops and Clergy of England. One venerable prelate, aged in years and worn with fasting and discipline, alone protests against this sinful surrender; his remonstrance is unsupported by his colleagues, and he is speedily brought to trial and execution. His accusers are

Catholics, his judges are Catholics, his jury are Catholics, his executioner is a Catholic, and the bells are ringing for High Mass in the steeples of S. Paul's as the aged Bishop ascends the scaffold and receives the martyr's crown." (*An Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy.* By A. Welby Pugin. Dolman, 1851.)

We have quoted this passage for the purpose of showing that the change made in the matter of the relation of the Church to the King was made constitutionally in the Church herself, by her appointed rulers sitting in Synod. It was no Protestant move, nor was it affected by any act of violence. On the contrary, it was done deliberately; and they who effected it asserted at the time it was only a re-vindication of ancient law and order. This Act of Convocation was confirmed by Act of Parliament with a like declaration.

Now let this be clearly understood. The idea pervading the minds of all concerned in the passing and making of these laws was that the old Anglo-Saxon type of Church and State, with Clergy and laity sitting side by side, each legislating for his own order, was the true one. There were three Estates of the Realm, the Clergy, the Nobles, the Commons, sitting simultaneously, though in different houses, making laws for the general good. Bishops and Abbots, because they held temporal baronies, together with their spiritual rank, had seats in the House of Lords, as well as in the Convocation. Over these was the King, as Head of the State in which the Spiritualty is established, so that no Act of Parliament, no Canon of Convocation could be put in force, inflicting temporal penalties, such as fine and imprisonment, without the consent of the Crown; the principle of the Royal Supremacy being that the Sovereign alone has power to inflict or remove temporal penalties—the infliction of penalties being the duty of the Monarch, the removing of them in the exercise of pardon, his privilege.

We now arrive at the question lately raised about Jurisdiction. It was the common opinion, shared in by even the Crown Lawyers, that the power to confer Spiritual Jurisdiction lay in the Crown; that it was a part of the "Royal Supremacy." Accordingly, the Crown issued "Letters Patent" for the consecration of a Colonial Bishop, which Letters Patent were supposed to grant Jurisdiction over a portion of the Colony, which was formed into a Diocese. To the unflinching courage of the Bishop of Capetown, and the obstinate adherence of the excommunicated Bishop of Natal to the Letters Patent, we owe the exposure of this fallacy. The Crown Lawyers have themselves shown that no

Spiritual Jurisdiction resides in the Crown, and therefore none can be conferred by the Crown. A distinction, fully understood by Canonists, but apparently unknown to Lawyers, was discovered in the course of the trials between the Metropolitan of Capetown and his Suffragan of Natal, between *Spiritual* Jurisdiction and *Ecclesiastical* Jurisdiction; the common supposition being that they were one and the same thing. But there is a wide difference, which we shall proceed to point out.

Spiritual Jurisdiction implies the charge over the souls of men. It is conferred in Ordination; and, being a part of Holy Order, is indelible. It is conferred in those words—"Receive the HOLY GHOST for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of GOD, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." So also in the Consecration of a Bishop. This Jurisdiction is purely spiritual; *i. e.* it has attached to it no temporal penalties: its decrees, however, are binding *in foro conscientiæ*. With this Spiritual Jurisdiction the Crown has nothing to do. It is beyond its dominion; nay, it is antecedent to its very existence; for this belongs solely to the Kingdom of CHRIST—a Kingdom which existed three hundred years before it was acknowledged by any temporal state; consequently, a Jurisdiction which cannot be affected by the union of the Church with the State.

For those three hundred years was this Jurisdiction exercised in the discipline of Penance and Excommunication; a discipline not involving temporal penalties, but—as we may learn from Bingham—very real in its action. When the Church became *established*, then temporal penalties followed spiritual discipline. Church Courts were empowered to inflict such penalties. This is *Ecclesiastical* Jurisdiction; *i. e.* temporal penalties inflicted by Ecclesiastical Courts for spiritual offences. This Jurisdiction flowed from the Temporal Head of the State where the Church was established, since the Spiritual Jurisdiction given in Ordination does not include temporal penalties. Royal Supremacy over the Church then means, that the Crown gives to Spiritual prelates power to inflict these penalties. It recognizes the Spiritual Court, and empowers the officers of that Court to carry out its sentence in respect of the person and property of the offender.

This Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction exists in every Archdeaconry, Bishopric, and Archbishopric in England and Ireland, because the Church is *established*. Spiritual Jurisdiction exists in the Episcopate in Scotland and the Colonies, where the Church is

not established. It is inherent in the Priesthood of the Catholic Church. As a remarkable proof of this fact, from the negative side, this distinction does not exist in the Established Kirk of Scotland. That body, having no antecedents prior to the sixteenth century, has no *Spiritual* Jurisdiction inherent in it; that is, none derived from CHRIST. It has *Ecclesiastical* Jurisdiction, but this is derived from the civil power, and is conferred by Act of Parliament. A late writer, Mr. Innes, has clearly shown this. Spiritual Jurisdiction can come from CHRIST alone, and can be transmitted only by the Apostolical Succession. No congregation, no Parliament, no mere human institution of any kind or contrivance, can give that which it does not itself inherently possess. The Priesthood of the Catholic Church possesses this, because it was directly bestowed on it by CHRIST Himself.

Lawyers, and the public generally, had confounded these two Jurisdictions; and thought that, as they were both exercised in the same court, therefore they flowed from one and the same fount, the Crown. Upon this supposition were the Letters Patent always issued, when a Colonial Bishop was consecrated. They were supposed to confer Jurisdiction on the Bishop, to give him authority over a certain portion of the colony; in fact, to create a diocese. And, as long as the colony was governed from the Colonial Office, this, to a certain extent, was the case. The Crown could give jurisdiction to Ecclesiastical Courts, in the same way that it grants judicial powers to Civil Courts, with like forms and officers. But where the Crown has granted a Constitution to a colony, it has given up the power of inflicting penalties to the local Parliament. The Letters Patent of the Crown, therefore, in a Colony where there is already a Parliament, are null and void, for the Jurisdiction professed to be bestowed by them is already given away. The local Parliament alone can give power to Spiritual Courts to inflict penalties for Ecclesiastical offences. Thus, in the case of the Bishop of Capetown, when first the diocese was created, it was a Crown Colony; and the Letters Patent conferred on the Bishop Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. But when the diocese was divided into four, the Crown had already granted a Constitution to the Colony; consequently, in the re-distribution of the Sees, the Crown had no power to bestow jurisdiction. Accordingly, the Letters Patent of Bishop Gray are mere waste paper. There remained, therefore, nothing but the Spiritual Jurisdiction inherent in the Episcopate, which could be neither given nor taken away by any earthly authority.

It will, perhaps, be asked, If this be so, how could the Bishop Metropolitan depose the Bishop Suffragan, and attempt at least to deprive him of the revenues of the See? We answer, because Dr. Colenso swore obedience to the Bishop of Capetown; it being part of the compact of his consecration that he should be obedient to his Metropolitan. So with regard to all persons holding Ecclesiastical offices. Laymen, as well as clerics, are liable to spiritual censures; suspension or deposition from office must necessarily follow these censures; otherwise no discipline can be maintained. The penalties are capable of being enforced in the temporal courts, by reason of the compact entered into when every such person takes office. And this liability is not confined to the Church alone, but is incurred by every religious community. During the past year, an appeal has come from the community at the Cape, known as "The Dutch Reformed Church," to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, for final determination. The Church is declared to be, in this respect, in no better and no worse condition than any religious sect. Such an appeal is not on the merits of the case, is not an appeal from a spiritual court to a higher court of the same character; but it is an appeal *comme d'abus*, because the appellant considers that the Ecclesiastical Judge has committed some offence against law or equity in his decision; in a word, that the appellant has not been fairly heard, nor his case fairly judged. He goes, consequently, into a secular court to have this matter adjusted.

The question naturally arises, What ought to be the Court of Final Appeal in Matters of Faith and Doctrine? Is there any such court appointed by Divine authority? The answer to this is simple. Our LORD Himself gave authority to His earthly delegates to decide finally in all these matters:—"Tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven." And again, this authority, thus promised in anticipation, was formally conferred by our LORD, after His resurrection, accompanied by that which alone can give such power, the gift of the HOLY GHOST. "He breathed on them, and said unto them, 'Receive ye the HOLY GHOST. Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.'" In accordance with this, the Apostles held their first Council at Jerusalem, and decided that the ordinances of the Mosaic law were not binding on Chris-

tians. In accordance with this, the three hundred and eighteen Bishops at Nicæa determined the Catholic Faith on the doctrine of the Second PERSON of the Holy TRINITY; and their example has been followed by the other five undisputed Councils of the Catholic Church, which have for ever settled the Catholic Faith. In accordance with this, too, the determination on individual cases of heresy rests with those who have received this special power and authority from the Head of the Church, the Bishops. Each Bishop holds a court in his own diocese to judge of such cases; from him there is an appeal to the Archbishop, or Metropolitan. We do not intend to enter into any description of the various devices that were contrived to substitute something within this realm to supply the place of a final appeal to the Pope. This has been sufficiently done in the Second Series of these Essays. We would rather dwell on the proposed remedy for the anomalies now found to exist in our present Constitution; or rather, that which is necessitated by the enlargement and extension of the Anglican Branch of the Church.

The "Church of England" is no longer coterminous with the State; nor is it, geographically or ethnologically, identical with it. It is true that Colonial Bishops, even Metropolitans, are in subordination to the See of Canterbury; but the Scottish and American Prelates are not; yet are they in the closest Spiritual communion with us. It is found desirable, if not necessary, that there should be some common authority to decide Spiritual cases finally, which decisions shall be accepted of all. To argue upon such a tribunal as this was one of the great purposes of the Pan-Anglican Synod, and well has it performed this duty. The Report of the Committee stands as follows:—

"Your Committee further recommend, subject to any regulations that may be made at any future Conference of the Anglican Communion:

"That as it is a Tribunal for decisions in matters of Faith, Archbishops and Bishops only should be judges; his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury being President.

"That each Province in the Colonial Church should have the right of electing two members of the Tribunal; and that all the dioceses of the Colonial Church not associated into Provinces should collectively have the right of electing two. That each Province of the United Church of England and Ireland, should be requested to elect two members, but that the Province of Canterbury should elect three, in the event of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury not acting as president. That the Episcopal Church in Scotland should have the right of electing

two. And (as it appears probable that the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States, would avail itself of such a Tribunal), that Church should have the right of electing five members. These members to be elected by the Bishops alone, and to continue members of the Tribunal for life.

"That, before the assembling of the Tribunal for the hearing of an Appeal, the President should nominate as Assessors three theologians, and three persons learned in the Law, who should be present at the trial, and should answer any questions as to theological learning and Law put to them by the Tribunal, through its President, in writing; and who should be at liberty to tender in writing to the Tribunal, through its President, their opinion on any point of theological learning or Law which may arise; and that the Tribunal should be bound to consider such opinion before coming to its decision.

"That no sentence should be passed without the assent of two-thirds of the Judges present during the trial."

It would be difficult to devise a more satisfactory Tribunal than this, nor one in which faithful Churchmen would have more confidence; and, surely, we may look forward to the time when our Bishops will be both Theologians and Canonists, and capable of grasping questions respecting the Catholic Faith. But even as it is, even under the present system of Episcopal election, there seems to be a controlling Power guiding the acts of a Council assembled in CHRIST's Name, a fulfilment of that promise of His, where two or three are gathered together in His Name, there will He be in the midst. No one can read the published accounts of the *Acta* of the Pan-Anglican Synod without confessing the Divine guidance. Compare the Address of the United Episcopate, the Resolutions agreed upon, the Epistle to the Eastern Church, and the Reports of the Committees, with the utterances of certain individual Bishops, in charges delivered since the Synod: mark the utter contrariety of the opinions of these Bishops, speaking individually, to the united voice of the whole Episcopate; and are we not compelled to confess that the Bishops in Synod were guided by the HOLY GHOST; that, in that body, gathered together in the Name of CHRIST, He was indeed in the midst of them—while, on the other hand, when individual members of that Synod, relying on their own individual judgment, guided by their own personal prejudices, or possibly, influenced by popular clamour, committed their opinions to paper, they departed very far indeed from both the spirit and the letter of the Synodical decree?

The present condition of affairs in England, both in Church

and State, compels every thoughtful person to consider two contingencies: 1st. The probability of dis-establishment; 2nd. The equal possibility of the Parliament passing laws about the Church, which the Church cannot accept or comply with, without violating a responsibility higher than that which she owes to the State.

The dis-establishment of the Church is, in the eyes of those leaders of popular opinion—writers of newspaper articles—becoming daily more and more probable. These writers like to speak in an offhand way, as if nothing could be easier than to break the lifelong connexion between the State and the Church. Those who have studied the history of England know well that the life of the State is so interwoven with the Church, that a divorce between the two would be a disruption extending into every corporation, municipal or parochial; nay, we had almost said, into every family in the country. It would require, not the repeal of a few Acts of Parliament, but of many; not the passing of one Act, but the amendment of hundreds. Dissenters, who have voluntarily formed themselves into a congeries of religious corporations, think that it is only necessary for the Church to do the like, and the whole matter is settled. They see it so done in America, and in most of the British Colonies, and they think that it would be as easily done in this country. There is, however, a very great difference between these new countries, where there are, so to speak, no antecedents, where all has to be begun *de novo*, and an old country like England, whose whole constitution is made up of ancient laws, customs, and precedents. In the one there are few religious Endowments, no legal establishment; in the other there are both, and these two are interwoven into the constitution of the country.

Again, these writers assume—it need hardly be said, without the slightest proof—that these Endowments were originally grants by the State to the State religion, which the State is at any time competent to resume, when it thinks it can apply them to a better purpose. The falseness of this assumption is best answered by asking when and where the State made any grants to the Church? History tells us that Endowments were the gifts of private persons to the Church, in order to maintain the worship of God, according to the Church's order; and to supply men to teach the Church's faith. Endowments are not in any sense property belonging to the Nation, granted by Parliament to the Church for performing certain functions, as money is voted to maintain our army and navy, to defend the country; but are the property of certain persons, who are tenants for life,

on the condition of the performance of certain specified duties. The Endowments of a Rectory or Vicarage are not the common property of the Church, which can be redistributed at the will of the Corporation; but they are the freehold of the tenant for life, who is not bound to render an account to any one of his manner of expenditure, provided he performs the required duty of his office. The Parish Church is the Rector's freehold, he holds the keys of it, and can forbid access to it for any other purpose than that for which it was built. Neither Parish Churches nor Cathedrals—nothwithstanding the Dean of Westminster's opinion—are national property, in the sense that the Government of the country can use them for any purposes other than that for which they were originally intended. In a word, they belong to the Ecclesiastical holders of the benefice, in a far more individual manner than do Dissenting Meeting-houses belong to the sect for whose benefit they were built. The alliance of the Church with the State does not imply a giving up of the property of the Church to the State, but rather a legal security for holding such property.

Again, these writers would have us believe, that Endowments were assigned to the Church, because the majority of the nation then were members of the Church; and, if the majority are of another "form of Religion"—as is the case in Ireland and Scotland—then they should be handed over to the Religion of the majority. This notion rests upon two assumptions, both of which are absolutely false: 1st. That Endowments are national property, in the sense that the revenue of the country is national, and at the disposal of a majority in Parliament; 2nd. That there is no such thing as objective truth in Religion, but that truth is really only the popular opinion of the day; and that what was true in one century may be false in another, supposing that popular opinion has changed; *e.g.* it was certainly the belief of Parliament and of Convocation, in 1662, that the Church of England was the true Church of CHRIST, in these realms; otherwise we should not have the Act of Uniformity. Modern reformers tell us that this is not true now, but that any one and every one has a right to form his own Religion, and his own Church, as he pleases; and consequently, that what the majority of to-day decides to be true is true until another change in popular opinion takes place. Or, to put the case in another form, that is the true Church which has the greatest number of adherents, not that which CHRIST founded and constituted; in other words, that a majority in any nation can reverse the institution of CHRIST, and change the ordinance of GOD. It is only necessary to

state the fact clearly, in order to perceive its elementary absurdity.

Let us hear the words of one, who takes a more Erastian view of the Church than any writer we are acquainted with; and who is, consequently, the most impartial witness we can call into court. We must modify one statement of his—that about tithes; they were originally a free gift from the landowners to the Parish Priests, in like manner as were endowments of land; when thus given, they were secured for ever to them by the State. We quote again Lord Robert Montagu's *Four Experiments in Church and State*:—

"It has often been asserted that the Church of England is a National Church, because it is maintained by the nation. This is a very common error. The Church in England is not supported by votes of money from the State, as the Presbyterians are in Ireland. The Endowment of the Church of England consists of property which it has inherited and held for as many centuries as England has been a nation. Her Endowments were originally the gifts and donations of certain persons, who were prompted by piety or superstition. The Episcopal and Chapter lands were never granted by the State. Tithes were granted by law, it is true. Centuries, however, had passed away since tithes became a prescriptive right. Church-rates are not a property; they are of a different nature. They arise out of the right and power which every parish has, like a free republic, to tax itself, and to impose political duties on its own inhabitants. It is not by reason of its funds that the Church of England is a National Church; but because the laws of the Church are part and parcel of the law of the land, because they are inextricably interwoven together. . . . . The parish is not more an ecclesiastical than a political institution. The Churchwardens are secular officers, elected by the parish, to look after every thing that is for the common welfare of the parish. . . . . The whole parish has the power to make a bye-law to tax itself for any object which the parishioners consider to be for the general good. The tax is levied on the parishioners, not as professors of this or that religion, but as possessors of some of the property of the parish . . . . The Legislature even cannot put a tax on a parish. It can be effected only by the supreme will of the parish; a bye-law must be made by the parish. A Parish is, in fact, a free republic. England is a federation of republics."

This is taking the purely political view of the subject; but, as such it has its value, partly as showing how intimately the State and the Church are bound together, and partly as giving a view

of the case peculiarly fitted for our modern Reformers, one which they can understand and appreciate, when they cannot understand or appreciate the existence of the Church of England as a part of the great Catholic Church. The following warning should make political Reformers pause and reflect whether the carrying out of their own principles would not defeat the very purpose they have in view:—

"Now observe the result which must ensue if this purely political power of the parish were abridged. The Church and [the] State, being so intimately entwined must be equally affected. Vestries would fall into desuetude and be abolished. All that wholesome exercise which is obtained in discussing the affairs of the parish would be at an end. With the fall of the Vestries, the security for the influence of the people would be destroyed; the key-stone of the co-operation of the Clergy and laity would be taken out. The 'secular' affairs of the parish would be handed over to some central board, or bureaucracy, with its paid presidents, and vice-presidents, and its salaried officers, and its supercilious public functionaries—all of them not a bit responsible to the parishioners. In a word, self-government would be exchanged for centralization, on the 'secular' side of the question. We should have centralization also in the Church. The Ecclesiastical affairs would fall exclusively into the hands of the Clergy. The parishioners would have no Vestry, and therefore no voice in them."

We quote the above chiefly for the purpose of showing the immense difficulty there would be in disuniting the Church from the State, as seen and described by one who takes a mere statesman's view of the subject; and, we may add, that such disruption would tend, not only to make the Church independent of the State, but to make the Clergy independent of the people; the *congregation* would take the place of the *parish*. The parishioner, whether Churchman or Dissenter, would have no claim on the Priest to baptize his child in the Parish Church, or to bury his dead in the Parish Churchyard. In all matters connected with religion, he would be a stranger sojourning in a strange land, an alien in another's country. Lord Robert Montagu points out, truly enough, that the present cry for total abolition of Church-rates, raised by persons who generally, in political matters, prefer a Republic to a Monarchy, is really the destruction of the oldest republic in the world, the English Parish. Already Poor-rates are taken out of the hands of the Parish Vestry, and are centred in the Board of Guardians. Highway districts are being every where formed, which will centralize

Highway-rates. Only Church-rates remain; when they go, the Vestry goes; and the Churchwarden's office becomes a mere shadow, of which the substance has departed. It is curious to note that those who are most anxious to retain these republics are the Conservatives, upholders of the monarchy; those who are trying to subvert them are Radicals, who prefer the nearest approach to a republican form of government to any other. In their unreasonable desire to destroy the influence of the Clergy, they are taking the very surest means to increase their power, by making them independent of the people. In their endeavour to throw down what they consider an aristocratic institution—that of the Bishops and Clergy—they are really doing their utmost to put an end to the Parochial Republic.

However inconsistent this may appear, it is a fact that there is great probability that the divorce between Church and State will be accomplished. It may be many years hence; but it is most likely to take place within no long period. The Church should therefore prepare for it, and take care that when the separation comes it may cause as little confusion and loss to herself, either in a spiritual or a temporal point of view as possible. There can be no doubt that the fact of the Church being established by law does give a very strong *prestige* in her favour. There is a dignity in her position that attracts a certain class of minds, which are unable to comprehend her spiritual character. The "Royal Supremacy" is a part of their political creed, and is an article of their religion. This is seen very strongly when such persons sojourn in Scotland. They profess themselves to belong to the Church of England; but they think it their duty to attend the Presbyterian Kirk, because it is "The Established Religion." This is Dr. Colenso's strong point; he is the "Queen's Bishop." The good people at the Cape, and some at home, look with horror on the fact, that the law courts have decided that the "Royal Supremacy" has ceased to exist in Colonies where there is a legislature. To them it is the severance of communion with the Church of England. Such notions, however erroneous, such prejudices, however misplaced, should not be rudely shaken. They are the effect of a deficient education, rather than of any perversity of will; they are the hereditary Tory doctrines of the last century. In country parishes, there is also a large number of farmers and cottagers who respect the rector, pay their Church-rate, bring their children to be baptized, their dead to be buried, and themselves to be married in the Parish Church, because they look upon all as a State institution. They like the importance of the proceeding;

they see a legal security about the whole thing that gives them satisfaction, and carries with it a certain respectability which suits their tastes.

In Ireland this feeling is carried so far that it becomes almost an article of faith. "The Established Church" is spoken of in a way positively painful to English ears. The lineal Apostolical descent of the Episcopate from S. Patrick is most strenuously upheld and believed in by the Clergy generally, not because the Apostolical Succession is that which alone confers on them spiritual power and authority to act as Priests of the Most High, but because it seems to give a legal title to the buildings, glebes, and tithes of the ancient Irish Church! For those who uphold the "unbroken succession," are, many of them, men who do not scruple in pulpit and on platform to denounce the Catholic doctrine of the Apostolic Succession as a "Popish figment." Truly it may be said of them, "Ye seek Me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled."

Setting aside the peculiarly Irish idea of the Established Church, we would wish to preserve the English idea; at least, not rudely to dissipate it. It is, at any rate, a stepping stone to something higher. "Honour the King," stands, in the Apostle's teaching, very near to "Fear God." Under proper instruction, the true idea of the Catholic Church might be developed out of this degraded notion of a State-made Church. In accordance with this system, we should be sorry to see Church-rates abolished and voluntary collections substituted. The question of Church-rates is too large an one to be here discussed. Their future position is now under the consideration of Parliament; and hence it is useless to enlarge upon abstract principles, or supposititious applications in detail. Most strongly, however, do we deprecate the scheme, lately noticed with much favour in some quarters, of making the repair of the fabric compulsory, and leaving other matters to voluntary offerings. We do so for the following reasons:—If we make the repair of the Parish Church compulsory by Act of Parliament, we then give the appearance, at least, if not the reality, of surrendering our buildings into the hands of the State. The Rector would no longer have the control of the church and churchyard; a Government Inspector would have authority over both. This would be one step, at least, towards throwing open our churchyards, if not our churches, to any ministrations which the Government might allow. Besides, it would keep up the most objectionable feature of the present law, the taking of unwilling parishioners into a magistrate's court, to be compelled to pay a

rate for repairs. We do not see the necessity for it; for, in most cases, it is not a very difficult matter to get the parish church repaired, or even restored, by voluntary subscriptions. Let us look at the Report of the Church Building Society for 1867, and learn from it what was being done last year. "New churches, thirty-eight; churches rebuilt and enlarged, twenty-two; churches restored, seventy-three; total, 133." In the forty-nine years of the life of this Society, we are informed that nearly *seven million pounds*, for more than *five thousand parishes*, have been expended in the like work. This sum does not by any means represent all that has been spent in building and restoration; it only covers that which has been raised in connexion with the Society, and does not include those restorations where the aid of the Society has not been asked for; and amongst such exceptions may be reckoned cathedrals, and many parish and district churches, wholly built or restored by private munificence. Of this number, 970 were so built or repaired in the first fifteen years, before 1835; that is, previous to the great Catholic Revival. Since then (thirty-four years), 4208 have been so built or restored, of which 2828 have been restored, exclusive of those so done without aid from this Society. With such figures before us, we ask, would it be wise to make the repair of the fabric compulsory on the parish? May we not fairly calculate that, before the end of this century, all the parish churches, and all the cathedrals, will be restored by voluntary means?

The question of the establishment or the dis-establishment of the Church in England does not rest only on the point of Rates, voluntary or compulsory. It enters into the whole matter of endowments, and of the "State Religion," properly so called. On the latter point, much need not here be said. The "State Religion" differs in different countries. In Scotland it is Protestant, in Malta it is Roman Catholic. If it is painful to Protestants in England to witness the supremacy of the Anglo-Catholic Church, it is equally painful to Anglo-Catholics in Scotland, and in England too, to hear of the Queen attending a Protestant Conventicle in Scotland. It may, however, be reasonably supposed that, if the Queen were to spend a winter in Malta, the "Court Circular" would duly chronicle the fact that Her Majesty prostrated herself at the Elevation of the Host in the Roman Catholic Cathedral there, in order to keep up the true Establishment doctrine. We need not go further into this matter, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act; the admission of Jews, Protestants, and Roman Catholics into Parliament leaves very little room for the supremacy of the "Established

Church." Anglo-Catholics are not the men to insist very pertinaciously on the State-Church rights. All they desire is to bring strongly into operation the spiritual rights, privileges, and powers of the Church Catholic.

The question of endowments stands on a totally different footing. There is no necessary connexion between an established Church and endowments. The Church may be established by law, yet may possess no property of her own—land or tithes—as is the case in France and Spain; or she may be wholly free, yet possess considerable endowments in land, as is the case in the United States of America. In England, land and tithes were originally voluntary gifts, and were afterwards secured by law. They belong, therefore, to the Church; yet not to the Church as a corporation, but to individual ecclesiastics, who are tenants for life of certain specified endowments. This is a very important distinction, and one often overlooked; the glebe, or the tithe, was granted to the Priest of a defined portion of the country, to enable him to perform certain equally well-defined functions. It is not the common property of the Ecclesiastical Body. We except, of course, the property now in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners[1]; for their tenure is only a temporary, and, it may be added, a most abnormal provision, for a re-distribution of certain estates, which, when accomplished, will become once more what they were intended to be, property of ecclesiastical tenants for life. Members of the Liberation Society, and many Dissenters, would have us believe that all these endowments are grants by the State to the Church; and, consequently, that the former ought to exercise such a control over these grants, as to re-distribute or alienate its gifts when it pleases; that the holding of such property depends solely on the continued connexion of the Church and the State; so that, if the Church were divorced from the State, the former would necessarily lose her endowments. There is also another vague notion floating in the minds of these Church Reformers; that, at the Reformation, the Church property was taken from the Catholic Church, and given to the Protestant Church, by the State; and on this assumption rests another right of the State, to take this property from the Protestant Church, and—do some-

[1] In speaking of the Ecclesiastical Commission, we wish it to be distinctly understood that we are not approving of its proceedings generally, of its enormous cost, its reckless waste of Church property, its sales of tithes, and of a hundred other abuses. We are only pointing out that in its *principle* it is a redistribution of Church property, not an acquisition of new property given by the State.

thing else with it, they do not exactly know what. In accordance with these assumptions—for there are many before they come to their conclusion—they are now deliberating on what they consider a *corpus vile*, the Irish Church. They are all perfectly agreed that the Clergy should be robbed of their endowments; but, it seems, they cannot agree as to the share of the plunder. To let Roman Catholics and Protestants share it on equal terms with Anglo-Catholics, they will not consent; for this would only be to uphold the principle of "State endowment," against which they are banded together to protest. We may wait, therefore, until they have settled this matter among themselves, before we pursue the subject further. With regard to the assertion that the endowments were taken from the Catholic Church, and given to the Protestant Church, we challenge our opponents to tell us where and when this took place? Under what Act of Parliament? When were the "Catholic" Bishops and Priests turned out of their dioceses and parishes, and "Protestant" ministers put in? On the contrary, the Reformation—to use a vague general term—was effected by Convocation, the Synod of the Church; and, as if to leave no doubt of the fact of the identity of the Reformed Church with the Unreformed, the ancient Canons and customs all continue in force in the Church to this day, except where individually repealed.

This is not the only fact that would make disendowment of the Church unjust. There are others; among which one of the most important is this: that immense sums of money have been bestowed on Cathedrals, Parish Churches, and endowments of Parish Priests, since the Reformation; what is to be done with them? Take the seven millions of voluntary offerings made to the Church within the present century, for Church-building and Church restoration alone. Is the Church to be robbed of the sum? Take the voluntary endowments of new Parishes by laymen giving up their tithes or land to have a Parish Priest in a certain district? Are these to be taken away? But we may pause, only asking two questions more:—Are Dissenters willing to give up their meeting-houses and endowments, when the Church is robbed of hers? And, when all is given up, what is to be done with the property?

Leaving the question of Endowments, we may come to the far more important ones of Doctrine and Discipline; *e.g.* supposing that "Public Opinion" should, by means of Parliament, pass an Act, altering the Prayer Book in any point involving doctrine or discipline, tampering with the Baptismal Offices or changing the Ordinal, or introducing a Vestment Bill—

what are Priests to do? What course are we to take? We answer at once, the course which the Apostles took when they were forbidden by the State to teach or to preach in the Name of JESUS of Nazareth. We must obey GOD, and not man; and we must be content to suffer any inconvenience and loss in doing so.

Before we proceed further, we must clear up a matter which is obscured by using the same terms in two senses. When we say that the State may attempt to coerce the Church, we seem as if we were asserting that the Church and the State were two distinct bodies in the country, which might be, and possibly are to some extent, antagonistic. In this form of speech we are not using the term "Church" in its general meaning, as embracing all the faithful, but we restrict it to signify those in the Church who have the government of it. We speak in the like way of nations, when we say, "France does this, Italy does that;" *i.e.* the French or Italian Government has determined on a certain course of action. And when we say, the State may coerce the Church, we mean that it does not allow the Church liberty to legislate for herself in Synod, but enacts laws relating to the Church in Parliament without consulting the Clergy; or gives a legal decision on matters of Faith in Council, irrespective of those who alone have a Divine commission to bind and loose. When the State does this, it simply acts *ultra vires;* and its laws or its legal decisions have not the slightest authority *in foro conscientiæ.* When the Privy Council gave judgment in the Gorham case, and reversed the sentence of the Court of Arches, the Clergy generally ignored both the Judgment and its authority, and still taught the Catholic Faith. The Bishop of Exeter refused to institute him who had been declared by the Court of the Archbishop of the Province to be a heretic, and even summoned a Diocesan Synod to re-affirm the Catholic Faith. In all such cases, the State is taking upon itself to act beyond its authority; and so Churchmen simply, but decidedly, ignore its sentence. Should the like happen in any similar case or in any case touching essentials in Divine Service, should the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council declare those things to be unlawful which the Catholic Church has always allowed, Catholics will again simply, but decidedly, ignore the Judgment, and continue to use them. The State has power to punish for disobedience, but it has no power to alter the law or practice of the Church. It may coerce individuals, but it cannot reverse Church law.

To return, if a "Vestment Bill" be passed—than which nothing seems at the present less probable—we must continue the

Church's order, and follow her command. We will render to Cæsar the things that belong to Cæsar, and to GOD the things which belong to GOD; but we must refuse to the death to render to Cæsar the things which belong to GOD. Such Bills may be brought before Parliament, but we do not anticipate the calamity of their ever becoming law. These subjects are not fitted for the discussion of Houses composed of persons of all classes of belief, and of all shades of unbelief. Neither is it right that the time and patience of Parliament be taken up by such matters; they belong to Convocation, not to Parliament. We do not wish to see the absurdity of the Ecclesiastical Titles' Bill acted over again. Were the Bishops who sit in the House of Lords true to the principles of their office, no such contingency would be possible; they would at once come forward and declare that that House was not the place for such subjects, nor was this the proper time for discussing them. Unfortunately, our Bishops are not all of this mind. There are some who would willingly support those who introduce Bills of this nature, and would be content to see the State overthrow Church order. Such conduct is only explicable on the supposition, that those Prelates, having been nominated to their position by the Prime Minister, think they owe a higher obedience to the State than they do to CHRIST. Should—to suppose the worst—should Bishops be found ready to barter their sacred character as Priests of the Most High for that of "Ministers of the Establishment;" to prefer the smiles of the Court, the flattery of the *Times*, and the applause of Radical newspapers, to faithfulness to CHRIST; still we need not despair. Such a betrayal of their sacred trust should not make us forsake our principles, or lose our faith. There have been in past history instances of a far worse state of things in the Church than we are likely to see. There was a time when the unworthy sons of the first Christian Emperor set up Arian Prelates in the place of Catholics; when Court favour promoted heresy, and laboured to banish the Catholic Faith; when even a Council, professing to be a General Council, adopted an Arian Creed; when it was *Athanasius contra Mundum.* All this may happen again. Let us learn a lesson from the past, and let no man's heart fail him. Look at the bright examples of faithfulness, which the trials of the Fourth Century produced. Those saintly men did not desert their post because the Government of the day was against them, because that Government proscribed their faith, because consecrated Bishops upheld Government heresy, and cringing Priests submitted to Government order. There were men who rose to the

emergency; danger and trial only increased their faith, and made them value the truth the more. They confessed the truth; and they suffered for confessing it; and they counted it a privilege, not a disgrace, to do so. Others patiently awaited, in prayer and fasting, GOD's good time, when the storm of heresy should cease, and the Sun of Truth again shine forth. Read the glowing pages of Gibbon's grand but infidel history, where there is contrasted the noble figure of the great Athanasius—great in his throne at Alexandria, greater in his numerous exiles in the West, greatest in the solitary deserts of Egypt—with the degenerate sons of Constantine, surrounded by a crowd of Arian parasites, vainly trying to subdue the Kingdom, not of this world, with weapons of steel and brass. Contrast the faith and patience of S. Athanasius and his band of Confessors, with the faintheartedness of men now, who have neither the faith nor the patience to wait for the issue of the great Catholic Revival of our age; but must desert their Mother in her time of need. Let it be remembered, that at the time of S. Athanasius, it was the Church that seemed to fail. Bishops apostatized, Priests submitted to Court influence, and chose the popular Creed—yet S. Athanasius never wavered, never deserted his post, never seceded; but, during his whole life, he ever asserted the Catholic Faith, and defended her Creed. And S. Athanasius and his faithful companions in the end prevailed.

II. These considerations naturally suggest the next question, What is the position and duty of that body which we call the Anglo-Catholic Church, with respect to the whole Catholic Church?

Happily, the question is answered by the Pan-Anglican Synod; "Lastly, we do here solemnly record our conviction, that unity will be most effectually promoted by maintaining the Faith in its purity and integrity, as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils." This declaration is not a mere flourish of words, not an elegant peroration, by some excited speaker, but the solemn determination of seventy-six Bishops, assembled from all parts of the earth, in Council. It is, in fact, a reaffirming of the sentence of the First General Council. Whatever was believed by the Church previous to the Great Schism is the Faith of the divided portions since. Nothing that any section of the Church has done since that time in its own individual capacity, can change that. No Pope, no Patriarch, no Council of a portion

of the Church, can alter one hair's-breadth the Decrees or the Faith before determined. Until another Œcumenical Council —composed of Bishops of the three sections of the Catholic Church, the Orthodox, the Roman, the Anglican—is convened, and speaks, there can be no change, no alteration. If any apparent changes have been made by any section of the Catholic Church, and any attempt made to force such changes on us, we refuse to obey; we take our stand on the principle laid down; or, in the words of an inspired Apostle, "We have no such custom, neither the Churches of GOD." When individual Bishops, who have set their hands to the above declaration of the Pan-Anglican Synod, come down to their dioceses, and there, *ex Cathedrâ*, tell their clergy, directly or indirectly, that the Divine Order of the Ministry, instituted by CHRIST Himself, accepted, acknowledged, recognized, every where enforced by the "Primitive Church . . . . and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils," is not essential to the being of the Church, we can only express our inability to comprehend how the hand which penned the one passage should have signed the other. Charity forbids us to suppose that the "Charges" were written for the purpose of conciliating popular opinion at the expense of personal integrity. We, therefore, can only conjecture that the writers of the Charges have neglected the study of Ecclesiastical History; and, if we may venture to offer our advice, we should recommend the Right Reverend writers of the Charges to make the history of the Primitive Church and of the undisputed General Councils their special study in the interval preceding the delivery of their next episcopal utterances. We think, also, that it is due to the Church at large, and to their own Clergy, as well as of importance to their own personal reputation, to explain by what process of reasoning they reconcile the manifest contradiction between their published Charges and their published signatures to the Pan-Anglican Resolutions. If, however, the study of early Ecclesiastical History, and of the "undisputed General Councils" is too great a labour for the Right Reverend Prelates; it is not too much to ask for a careful examination of the Preface to the Ordinal in the Book of Common Prayer, an office of the Church in yearly use by them. Pending this examination, we can only most thankfully acknowledge that, by the overruling Providence of GOD, these writers have given us the means of refuting their own individual opinions in the public act of setting their hand to the Resolutions of the Synod.

It will not be out of place for us to examine to what this

Declaration of the Bishops assembled in Synod really commits those who signed it. Speaking generally, the Declaration endorses all that the Church, up to the end of the Seventh Century, at least, when the last "undisputed General Council" was held, believed, and taught. At that period there were many things believed and practised which have fallen into desuetude in these latter days of the Anglican Church; amongst which, to mention only a few, will be found the Seven Sacraments; the Eucharistic Sacrifice, with Lights, Vestments, and Incense; Prayers for the Departed, including a doctrine of Purgatory, such as was taught by Clement of Alexandria; the Primacy of the See of Rome; the infallibility of General Councils; and many others, which Protestants now repudiate. To all these is that community, which we designate the Anglican Church, formally committed by the Declaration of the Pan-Anglican Synod.

Seeing that such is the case, we are bound to meet the question. Suppose that the Provincial Synod of Canterbury or York were to declare a doctrine, or condemn or abolish a practice, clearly allowed by the "Primitive Church," and the "undisputed General Council." What is the Anglo-Catholic to do? We answer at once, He is bound to pay no attention to it. Such a proceeding is *ultra vires* of a Provincial Synod, and can in no case be binding on the conscience. To take the least improbable eventuality; supposing Parliament were to pass a Bill forbidding the use of Vestments, Lights, Incense, in the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and this Bill were to be sanctioned by the Convocation, what line of action should Catholics take? There are three courses open to them: 1st. Obedience; 2nd. Disobedience; 3rd. Secession. Of these three we say, most decidedly, Disobedience to the decree of the Provincial Synod; because to obey it would be disobedience to the Catholic Church; and to disobey the Provincial Synod would be obedience to the Catholic Church. Secession and Obedience are equally out of the question. Providence has placed us in that portion of the Catholic Church where we now are, and nothing can make it our duty to desert our post. If our rulers fall into error, our duty is not to *desert*, but to protest; to use every lawful means in our power to reverse the error, and re-establish the truth. If it be but a few against many, we need not despair. It was once *Athanasius contra Mundum;* and—*Athanasius prevailed.*

The Provincial Synods of Canterbury and York are both subordinate to the General Councils of the Church; and our obedience is *conditional* on their agreement with the Common and Canon

Law of the whole Catholic Church. To illustrate this by example: when the last Reform Bill was passing through Parliament, two amendments were proposed: first, that no one should have a vote who could not write his name; second, that every one should be disfranchised who had been convicted of drunkenness within three years. We need not say that both these amendments were rejected by Parliament. But suppose a Mayor and Town Council, zealously inclined to promote education and morality, were to pass a bye-law that these two things should act as disqualifications at the next election, would such a bye-law really disqualify an inebriated elector, or an illiterate householder? Would not the Imperial law of England set aside and make null and void the well-intentioned, but futile enactment of the Local Town Council? It is well known in the army that no General of Division, or Council of Officers, can order soldiers to act contrary to the army regulations; and that no court martial would convict an officer of disobedience, if he disregarded such orders as were contrary to the general regulations. So in the Church; no Priest is bound by any order of his Bishop, or by any Canon, regulation, or decree of the Provincial Synods of Canterbury or York, which is contrary to the Common or Canon Law of the Catholic Church. So far from obedience to such being a duty, it becomes an absolute duty to disobey; and more, all personal loss, inconvenience, or persecution must be endured rather than obey such an order.

III. We now have to consider the position of the Anglo-Catholic Church with respect to the Protestant bodies which surround her. That we may come to a right understanding on this point, we must investigate the fundamental differences between ourselves and these communities—which differences turn chiefly on the constitution of these bodies as compared with the Church. In this way only can we understand the essential principles of Dissent. In the majority of Churchmen, there is much ignorance on this point, and consequently a total misapprehension of the causes of separation. At the late Church Congress at Wolverhampton, papers were read, and speeches made, on the subject of the Reunion of Dissenters with the Church. Throughout the whole discussion neither writers nor speakers ever touched upon the fundamental question at all; nay, we are confident that not one of them knew what the fundamental principles of Dissent really are. They seemed to think that the Church and Dissent agree on all essential principles, and differ only in what they consider minor details;

and that the altering of a few expressions in the Formularies of the Church will satisfy the scruples of Protestants, which would be followed by a large influx of Nonconformists to the Church; and if to this were added the severance of the connexion of the Church with the State, all objections would be removed—Dissenters would be entirely satisfied. No mistake could be greater. Such changes, if made, would utterly fail to satisfy Protestants; they would leave untouched the fundamental question at issue. The experiment has been tried in America, and it has not succeeded. In the United States there is no connexion between the Church and the State; and the Prayer Book has been modified to suit Protestant prejudices. Yet, so far from this having had the expected result, Protestants are as bitterly hostile to the Church in America as they are in England. Let us see then what the fundamental differences are.

It must be borne in mind that there are considerable varieties in the Protestant bodies; with much in common, there are many differences. There are, first, the old Nonconformists; the descendants of those who separated from the Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, &c.; and there are the various communities of Methodists, who separated in the eighteenth Century. These all agree in denying the Catholic doctrine of "One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church;" that is, that there is one Visible Body, instituted by CHRIST as His earthly Kingdom. With them "the Church" is a congeries of independent democracies or oligarchies, not necessarily in communion with each other, possibly even hostile. They hold that *Christianity* is Divine, not the visible Church; they believe in a Divine *Religion*, not in a Divinely organized Kingdom. These various communities are voluntary associations of men, who exercise their private judgment in making choice of the body to which they intend to join themselves. These independent communities contain in themselves, without reference to any other body external to them, the whole of what is requisite to form "a Church." Of these Churches there may be any number, with any kind of constitution.

Contrast this with the doctrine of the One Catholic Church, and we shall see the irreconcilable difference between Catholic and Protestant principles. The Catholic doctrine is that the Church is a visible body, instituted by CHRIST; that it is not a voluntary association of men, but that CHRIST calls into it whom He will; that His Ministers admit members into this body by a Sacrament, which has at once an outward sign, and an inward grace: that this inward grace transforms those children of wrath,

whom He calls, into children of God: that this inward grace, which always accompanies the outward sign, changes the condition of the baptized, by translating him from the kingdom of darkness into the Kingdom of Christ.

Then again, with respect to the ministry of the visible Body. The Protestant does not believe in the Sacrament of Holy Order at all; that is, he does not believe that the laying on of hands by the Bishop gives any Divine power or authority to execute spiritual functions. With him a man becomes a minister of self-consciousness only; he has a desire to execute the office; he feels his own capacity to do it; after trial and examination by those in authority in the body, he is admitted to be a minister. The form of laying on of hands is gone through; but under the distinct understanding that such does not really confer any power or authority, but is only a decent outward form to certify the internal fitness of the man, who is already a minister through his own self-consciousness. The governing bodies differ considerably from each other. The older Nonconformist Associations are, generally speaking, democracies; all power residing in the congregations, and each congregation electing its officers, elders or deacons, and minister, who are servants of the congregation, and deposable by it. The Wesleyan Methodist body is an oligarchy; all executive and legislative power residing in "the Conference;" this "Conference" being a body of one hundred ministers, elected by themselves; that is, vacant places are filled up with new ministers chosen by the old.

Contrast this, again, with the Catholic doctrine of Holy Order. As Christ, the Head of the Church, elects into that Body whom He will; so, also, He calls to the Ministry of the body such as He chooses. They hold their office from Him, they receive power and authority from Him, they are sent by Him, bearing His commission. He may, for purposes beyond our knowledge, choose unworthy men to the office of the Priesthood, as well as those worthy (but after all, who is really worthy?): He chose Judas Iscariot to be an Apostle, as well as S. Peter and S. John ("Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?"). He may commission the unworthy as well as the worthy to preach the Gospel, and to administer the Sacraments, even as He sent Judas Iscariot as well as the others to preach, and empowered him, as the rest, to work miracles. All these, worthy and unworthy, He calls, commissions, and endows with the Spirit of power and authority to act as ambassadors from Him to the Church and to the world. This power and authority, which we generally call mission and jurisdiction, are given in the Sacrament of

Holy Order. To the Bishops, as rulers of His Church on earth, He gives an absolute right to reject any from ordination; but, when once ordained, a *character* is conferred which never can be obliterated. The Church may depose a Bishop, or prohibit a Priest from exercising his spiritual functions, but she cannot deprive either of the gift of power which he receives in Holy Order. It is CHRIST's gift, and man cannot deprive him of it.

We shall give our readers an extract from the *English Independent*, the organ of the Congregationalists, to show that we have fairly stated the case as between Protestants and the Church. After laying down that "their fellowship has respect to two supreme objects—the development of individual Christian life, and the definition of that life," which is, in effect, denying that there is any one visible Church founded and commissioned by CHRIST, the writer thus continues:—

"By this doctrine Independent Churches define and constitute themselves. They, and they alone, among English Protestants [this is hardly the exact truth, for both Baptists and Presbyterians would agree to acknowledge this definition, with only slight modification] have a doctrine of the Church; *and to them that doctrine is every thing. They stake their all upon it, they live by it, and they live for it.* There is only one other doctrine of the Church which has any standing ground, any organized force, any Divine pretensions in modern society. That is the Romish doctrine, which is now adopted by the so-called Catholic party of the English Church. According to that doctrine, the Priesthood constitutes the only Church in which, irrespective of all moral and spiritual qualification, the living Spirit of CHRIST permanently abides; and through which, and at whose pleasure, He gives, by the supernatural grace of the Sacraments, spiritual life to the laity. Against this doctrine of Priestly caste, which is the sole organ of the Spirit's grace, there is but one doctrine to confront and conquer it. It is the doctrine which Independents hold, *viz.* that all who have living faith in CHRIST are by that faith made Priests unto GOD, and are summoned to fulfil the ministries of Christ's Church in this world."

The writer goes on to say, most truly, "The Evangelicals have no doctrine of the Church. . . . . Methodism does not profess 'to be a Church.' Presbyterianism would answer to this description, only it owns a 'State Fabric;' and the Free Kirk 'welds' the separate congregation 'into a structural unity, which gives no play to the individual life of the Churches. . . . It accepts our doctrine, but stultifies it" (*English Independent*, Jan. 18, 1868).

It is a very common notion among Protestants, that mission and jurisdiction are given to a Bishop or a Priest on his institution to a bishopric or a rectory, by the person who elects or nominates the Bishop or Priest to his charge; and this mistaken notion constitutes one of the principal objections to the union of Church and State. Equally common is the notion that the Crown confers jurisdiction on Bishops, because it nominates the individual Priest, who is to be consecrated to that office. Further, that lay-patrons have received from the State their authority to nominate a Priest to a particular charge. There is no doubt that this is the case in the Establishment in Scotland; all jurisdiction comes from the State, and the Free-Kirk-man is right in maintaining that nothing but disruption would deliver him from this condition. But, in the Church, mission and jurisdiction come from the Bishop, given in Holy Order, irrespective of union or disunion of Church and State; for, as we have above shown, this power resided in the Church before there was any alliance with the State. The mode of election of an individual Priest to a bishopric or a parochial charge is a matter of local arrangement, and varies in different portions of the Church. For instance, to keep within our own pale in England, the Crown really, the Chapter only nominally, elects to a bishopric; in Scotland, America, &c., the Diocesan Clergy. Ecclesiastics or laymen elect to a parochial charge in England; in Scotland, America, &c., most commonly a body, called the "Vestry," has that privilege. But, even in all cases, there is power in the Church to refuse institution into a charge, provided due cause for such refusal can be shown. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Armagh and Dublin, can each refuse to consecrate any Priest, elected to a Bishopric in their Province, provided he can show just and lawful cause for such rejection. So each Bishop of a Diocese can, in like manner, refuse induction of a Priest into a parochial charge. Very few Dissenters are aware that it is the Bishop, in a solemn form, and not the patron, who inducts the Priest into his charge. It would be a reform of a very important nature if this induction were publicly executed before the face of the congregation of each parish, and not done in secret in the Bishop's library.

Proceeding from the Priesthood to the Sacraments, we see the impassable gulf between the Catholic and the Protestant. The Catholic looks upon the Sacraments ministered by the Priesthood as the means of communicating Grace and Salvation to fallen man. The Protestant regards them as mere outward acts which can become means of Grace only to such as are in a proper

frame of mind; that such Grace is no part of the Sacrament; that it is not the Institution of CHRIST, but the faith of the recipient which makes a Sacrament a means of Grace.

The above will give us a fair idea of the fundamental differences betwen Catholics and Protestants—between the Church and Dissenting communities: we say fundamental, for there are many minor differences which we do not think it necessary to enter upon. From what we have shown, we shall easily see that the notions that filled the minds of the Wolverhampton "Reunionists" were a baseless fabric, built upon no foundation of truth, or even of probability. No alterations in Formularies, no modifications of Sacramental doctrine, would have any effect in bringing over Nonconformists to the Church; nothing would satisfy them, short of the rejection of all that constitutes the Church, and a setting up of a new scheme in its stead.

We may pass over the rest of these matters for the present, and consider the former as the most important—the alteration in the Offices of the Church. As far as we can understand the proposals made at the Church Congress, the changes were to extend to an eliminating of all distinctly Sacramental teaching. Regeneration was not to be predicated in all cases as the Grace of Holy Baptism; the Real Presence was to be left an open question; Authoritative Absolution was to be changed into a mere Declaration of Pardon to the penitent; Holy Order was to be relegated to a bare outward form; the Burial Office was to be amended[1]. We are further told that these alterations will not in any wise affect the teaching of the Church—that they only remove obstacles which prevent hundreds from joining in common prayer and worship; that for the Church to act thus, to remove language which may be and is misunderstood, is only to follow the example of the early Reformers, who amended the Book of 1549, and made that of 1552, appending to it the Declaration that they intended no change in doctrine, for they believed that the Book of 1549 was compiled by the help of the HOLY GHOST; but that such alterations were expedient on account of weak brethren; and that, while the expressions in the Prayer Book are protestantized in order to catch Protestants, Catholic Priests are to be permitted to teach Catholic doctrine.

[1] On the subject of the Office of the Burial of the Dead, we wish to express our opinion, without entering into particulars, that a change in the wording is most desirable. Like all other changes, to be satisfactory, it must be a return to the ancient type—prayer for the departed. Alter the words of *hope* into *prayer for mercy*, and the rest of the Office may stand. The language of prayer is suitable alike for the saint and for the sinner.

To this we say that we have the greatest objection to imitate the proceedings of the unprincipled Ecclesiastics who conducted religious matters in the reign of Edward VI. No really honest men could deliberately declare that there was no essential difference in the two Books of 1549 and 1552. It is morally impossible that those who compiled the Book of 1552 could believe that the Book of 1549 was compiled with "the help of the HOLY GHOST;" just as it would be morally impossible for honest Catholics now to consent to protestantize the Prayer Book, with the reserve that they will continue to teach all Catholic doctrine, which they have deliberately eliminated. Providentially, we are not bound by the so-called Reformation of 1552, nor are we in any way committed to the opinions and acts of those Ecclesiastics, who were content to sacrifice Catholic truth to please a Protestant Court. We are bound to the principles of the Counter-reformation of the seventeenth Century, carried out, as far as the times would permit, by learned and Catholic-minded men. We beg leave to express our deliberate opinion to all those who advocate the excision of dogma from the Prayer Book, in order to allure Protestants into the Church, that such an act is dishonest and immoral, so long as the Church holds the Catholic and Primitive Faith; and that this is more glaringly the case since the Declaration of the Pan-Anglican Synod [1]. It would be in effect to say thus: The Church holds all the Catholic Faith; her Priests teach it: we know that there is much of this Catholic Faith which you do not believe, so we will keep the doctrines you disapprove out of sight; they shall not appear in our Formularies: then, if you will only join the Church, we will take care that you are not required to subscribe to all that the Church teaches —only so much as you like. Is not the proposal thoroughly dishonest? Would not Anglicans deserve the contempt of the whole Catholic and Protestant world if such a course were actually carried out?

But even taking the lowest ground—expediency—would expediency justify such a proceeding? If we were sure that the whole body of Methodists, or the greater part of them, or the older Nonconformist communities, would be gained by doing this, of course something might be said in its favour. But are we sure of it? Have we the least intimation of its probability from any

[1] When we speak with thankfulness of the Pan-Anglican Synod, we wish it to be distinctly understood that we do not endorse all that it has done and said. We rejoice in the assertion of the *principle* of the Synod, its purely spiritual character, its independence of civil government; but we do not approve of all its resolutions.

authentic source? Has the Wesleyan Conference given in any assurance to that effect? Have any of the leading Methodist preachers intimated as much? Nothing of the kind. On the contrary; the leading publications of both older and later Nonconformists have declared the very opposite. It is the mere unsupported assertion of a few persons belonging to a certain party in the Church, who do not themselves believe the Church's doctrines. But these men have never counted the cost of such a step. They do not realize the fatal result of such an unprincipled compromise: the disgust, perhaps complete alienation of the largest, the most learned, section of the Church, and the most zealous men, Clergy and Laity, within her pale; a disgust to be followed, under certain circumstances, by a large secession from her ranks. Yet, on the mere speculation of alluring a few Protestants, now outside the Church, within her fold, there are men ready to run the risk of losing thousands of her most faithful members! The folly, the infatuation, to say nothing of the dishonesty, of such a course, would seem incredible, did we not know, by woeful experience, that party-spirit is ever driving on its votaries to sacrifice truth to prejudice. Yet the same experience should teach us the inevitable failure that must follow. Did the concessions made by the Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries to Protestant prejudices satisfy the Puritans? Did they not serve only to increase their demands, until Church and Crown were both sacrificed?

Look at Ireland of the present day, and the condition of the Irish Church. There the doctrines and the worship of the Church are protestantized, as far as possible, by men who are obliged to use the Prayer Book. Has this course succeeded in alluring the Presbyterians of the North into the Church, or in "converting" the Roman Catholics of the South? On the contrary, has it not only resulted in making Roman Catholics despise the Church as Protestant, and in rendering all Catholic principles and the very name of the Catholic Faith hateful to the ears of Churchmen? So much so that earnest-minded people are leaving the Church, and becoming Roman Catholics or Presbyterians. Look, again, at America: there the Book of Common Prayer is bracketted and altered to please Protestant tastes, yet there is no country in the world where Protestantism, in all its varied forms, from sincere belief down to utter infidelity, flourishes in greater luxuriance; and the very sects whom these alterations were expected to propitiate, continue, to this hour, as hostile to the Church there as they do to the

Church in England with her un-amended Prayer Book. Neither does the miserable system, practised in some of the Scottish Dioceses, of "mollifying," succeed any better. It is all a false, unreal, dishonest scheme for gaining members at the expense of truth. But this is one of the great shams of the day which ought to be exposed and opposed at every turn. The World worships numbers. Public opinion is the one test of truth. The comprehensive scheme is popular, because it will produce numbers. Thus, we have compromises of all kinds proposed, all giving way a little here and a little there, so as to satisfy this man's and that man's prejudices; while all the time the great principles of Eternal Truth are disregarded and violated; and all for what? to gain the grudging assent of those who are determined to maintain their own opinion. Does the Church want such unloving children as these? Is the army of CHRIST stronger because it contains a "mixed multitude" of undisciplined camp followers? Is the household of Faith more Apostolic for having its chambers full of half-religious servants? No! better, a thousand times better, for the Church to have a few faithful servants, a few loving children, a small, but well-disciplined, army, than numbers whom she can neither trust nor love! "Except the LORD build the House, their labour is but lost that build it! Except the LORD keep the City, the watchman waketh but in vain!"

Then, again, there is the plea of conscience. Do not offend against conscience. Respect conscientious scruples. The doctrine you believe may be true, but do not force it upon another. So long as he condescends to worship with you, do not inquire too closely what he believes, or what he refuses to believe. In other words, be content with outward show, and never mind unreality. Keep the surface smooth and polished, but do not expose the rottenness and corruption within. Let us, however, inquire a little further into the plea of conscience.

Conscience is the faculty which judges between right and wrong, between obedience and disobedience. For conscience to act, there must be a law; conscience is to approve our obedience to that law, and to condemn our disobedience to it. But conscience has nothing to do with the judging of doctrine, whether any particular tenet be true, or whether it be false. The judging of this belongs to another faculty. When a man pleads conscientious scruples against accepting any doctrine of the Catholic Church, and refuses compliance with what the law of the Church requires, he is not following the dictates of conscience; on the contrary, he is violating them, for he is setting

his opinion above law, instead of obeying it. When, for instance, a man pleads conscience to justify his refusal to have his child taught the Church Catechism, because it lays down the Sacramental doctrines of Baptismal Regeneration and the Real Objective Presence, which doctrines he in his wisdom condemns as erroneous, he is deceiving himself, and misleading others, by employing false terms. What he is doing is this: he first sets up his private opinion against the voice and law of the Church; and then calls upon every one else to give way to his judgment, as being alone right and true. It is solely his private opinion, no matter how he has formed it, that he is right, and the whole Church is wrong; conscience has no part or share in leading him to form this opinion. As a member of the Church, conscience would lead him to obey the law of the Church, and to listen to her voice. If he sets up his opinion against the Church, he is violating conscience rather than following it; for conscience teaches obedience to every law, unless a higher law supersede it.

Conscience, again, deals with moral questions, not with abstract truths. It has nothing to do with making laws, or defining the Faith. It deals with obedience or disobedience to laws when made. Conscience would lead men to obey the rule of the Church, not to disobey it; to accept authority, not to question it. It is private opinion, not conscience, which leads men to question lawful authority, and to disobey it. When authorities clash, or are antagonistic to each other, then conscience must decide which is to be obeyed. When the King of Babylon ordered the three Jews to worship the golden image, their conscience forbade them, for there was a Divine law forbidding idolatry. Conscience, then, told them to obey the Divine law, and to disobey the human: Church law is Divine; but, supposing it to be human, what law does the Protestant set up against it? His own private opinion. He cannot plead that his conscience commands him to obey a law of his own making, and to disobey one made by authority, even though that authority be merely human. The Protestant must show a Divine law above the law of the Church, and setting it aside, before he can plead conscience for his excuse. When our civil rulers would force upon the Clergy what they call a "Conscience Clause," they are exceeding their powers, as well as wholly misleading mankind, by employing a false set of terms. They do not want to force a "Conscience Clause," but a *private opinion* clause, a *private judgment* clause, upon the Clergy. It is not the *conscience* of the Dissenter that they respect, but his *private opinion*. In one sense, however, it is a conscience-clause, for it does very materially affect the conscience of the

Parish Priest, by compelling him to violate it. Each Parish Priest promises, at his ordination, to undertake the following obligations, as expressed in the question put to him by the Bishop: "Will you give your faithful diligence always so to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the *Discipline* of CHRIST, as the LORD hath commanded, and as this Church and Realm hath received the same, according to the commandments of GOD: so *that you may teach the people committed to your care and charge, to keep and observe the same?*" "Will you be ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to GOD's Word; and to use both public and private exhortation, as well to the sick as to the whole, *within your cures*, as need shall require, and occasion shall be given?" The so-called Conscience Clause requires every Parish Priest, who accepts a grant from the Government, to violate both these ordination promises. While, therefore, it professes to consider the conscience of the Dissenter—but, as we have shown, it only considers the Dissenter's private opinion—it deliberately calls upon the Parish Priest to violate his conscience; for it compels him to break his promises, and to disobey the law under which he was ordained. The clause should be called "The Parish Priest's Conscience Violation Clause."

Again, according to the Protestant notions of the day, conscience is looked upon as an infallible authority, which no one ought to question; it is the ultimate court of judgment, from whose decision there is no appeal. In this case, then, we must believe that conscience did not share in the consequences of the fall; and that there can be no such thing as abstract truth. Truth can be only what each individual believes, even though his belief be the exact opposite of his neighbour's; in which case the creed of the sincere Unitarian must be equally true with that of the thousands who, every Sunday, recite with equal sincerity the symbol of Nicæa. But here again, it is opinion, not conscience, that is meant.

This last consideration, as well as those that we have mentioned before, will help us to form a proper judgment as to what the attitude of the Church should be towards the Protestant bodies outside her pale: certainly, not one of hostility, or of hasty condemnation, but of forbearance, of charity, and of gentleness. Let us never forget that the conduct of our forefathers in the last Century, if it did not cause, at least consummated, the great Methodist schism. And even in our days, we are not free from blame. Have not the Clergy, as a body, neglected most grievously to instruct their flocks plainly and fully in the Catholic

Faith—or even to teach them what the Catholic Church is? Have they not allowed young and old to grow up with the notion, and under the impression, that all that is Protestant is right, and all that is Catholic is wrong? Have they not driven earnest souls from their churches by their cold, formal, heartless services? Have they not chilled anxious spirits by their unsympathizing sermons? With all this amount of sin lying at our door, can we consider ourselves justified in using the language of virtuous rebuke and reproof? Have we a right to charge others with a fault in which we have shared? Let us first remove the beam from our own eye, before we think of motes in the eyes of others. Our duty now is—and woe be to us if we neglect it—to teach the whole Catholic Faith in its unmutilated fulness, and to call upon the whole Protestant world, as well as Catholics, to believe and receive it. It is our duty, it is the obligation which the exigencies of the times demand of us, that we exhibit the worship of the Church in its full beauty and reality; that we show to unbelieving men the truth of the Sacramental character of the Church, by her Sacramental worship. Wherever this has been done—and we are thankful to say it is done in thousands of our parish churches—there have ever been attracted towards us, not only the most devout of our own communion, but the most sincere and earnest of all bodies of Dissenters. As the *English Independent* most truly says, the struggle now is, and will be, between the Divine authority of the Church, and the internal consciousness of individual man; between a Priesthood and no Priesthood; between Sacraments and no Sacraments; between the Catholic Faith and private opinion. There is no middle course; there is no middle stand-point; Low-Church, Broad-Church, Methodist Oligarchy, Presbyterian Combination, must come between these two mill-stones, and be ground to powder by them; and then they must try their strength on each other. Can we doubt for a moment which will prevail? We have only to ask which has the Divine promise. "I will build My Church upon a rock, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."

There can be little doubt that a crisis is approaching, when the fidelity of the Church to her LORD and Head will be severely tried. It seems inevitable that the authorities in the State will try to impose their will upon the Church. We are promised a Vestment Bill, an Education Bill, and perhaps the Ritual Commission will recommend some other Bill. In none of these contingencies should we see cause for alarm, if we were assured that

the Bishops dared to act faithfully. But we cannot forget that there were eleven Bishops, who went down to the House of Lords with the deliberate design of betraying their sacred trust, by voting for proceeding with the Vestment Bill without first consulting Convocation; that there are others, who, with equal deliberation, advise their Clergy to accept a scheme of education which compels every Parish Priest to violate his ordination vow; that, in years gone by, when S. George's-in-the-East was given up, Sunday after Sunday, to a blasphemous and sacrilegious mob, there was not one Bishop who dared to lift up his voice in Parliament to call upon the Government to enforce the law of the land. With traitors like these in high places, we have cause for apprehension; we may well tremble; but if we tremble, we also hope, and more than hope, when we see springing up on all sides of us a large and increasing band of Clergy and laity, who are ready to do or to suffer for the faith and integrity of the Church. Outside this body we have nothing to expect; but we believe that there is enough of power within it to counteract, at least, the threatened mischief. From Parliament we can look for little, except that members will refuse to have their time taken up with matters which do not properly belong to the civil legislature. Church questions, however, have a political aspect as well as a religious one. There are Church politics as well as State politics, which no statesman can disregard. Of the three theological schools in the Church each is, in a political point of view, of sufficient importance to arrest the attention of the statesman. For religious thought is a power in the State, and has before now overturned governments and effected revolutions. The statesman must consider religious, as well as political parties; and, naturally, will ally himself with that section, or that school which will give him most support or cause him least trouble. Equally is it to be expected that he will oppose, or, at least, discountenance, that school or party which he can neither control, nor bend to a course of action in Church matters which he considers politically expedient.

The statesman fears a school of Churchmen who have well-defined principles and an equally well-defined organization. What he tolerates and encourages is a school which has no dogma, and no organization. That school which has no faith in the visible Church, and does not regard the external framework of the Church as of Divine appointment, but is content with *Christianity* (after its own form) as a theological and philosophical system only, can give the statesman little anxiety. It will not interfere with his plans, it will accept his legislation,

and be content, so long as it is left at liberty to promulgate its platitudes and its sentimentalities. The Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith alone, or the Calvinistic doctrine of Election, or any "peculiar view" of the interpretation of Daniel's weeks, are matters of no concern to the mere statesman. He, therefore, can afford to disregard the Low Church school. The Broad Church, with its "view" of the Church as a department of the State, or, at least, as always bound to obey the State, he cordially sympathizes with. But the Catholic—with his dogma, which will not bend itself to popular opinion—with his doctrine of the visible Church; with a Divinely appointed government; with a ministry ordained of CHRIST Himself, over which civil goverments have no control—this Catholic school is a power, and has an organization, which the statesman well knows may thwart him in his plans.

It is one of the natural propensities of all those in power to continue unsatisfied until they obtain authority over every one and every thing with which they come in contact. A Statesman, therefore, feels that he is not governing the country unless he has supreme control over the Church. For the Church to claim any kind of independence, over either the religion or the education of the people, he cannot endure; she is a Mordecai, ever sitting at his gate, who will not bow down to him; he can never go out without having this hateful humiliation thrust before his eyes. He practically rules empires, one-seventh of the globe, one-eighth of the inhabitants of the globe; "but all this availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai, the Jew, sitting at the King's gate;" and Mordecai the Jew would bow down to him, were it not for the Catholic school in the Church.

This state of the case will explain much of the policy of modern statesmen. It will expose the whole line of conduct with regard to religious matters in Ireland and in England. Statesmen do not believe that Dissenters have a conscience, any more than they believe that Catholics have a conscience; but it is good policy to appear to think so. The Conscience Clause was not forced upon the Council by any pressure on the part of Dissenters. It was an invention of the Home Office, and was intended to counteract the influence of the Parish Priest. But, the more the Catholic principles extend, and the greater the influence the Parish Priest obtains, the more will the mere statesman seek to stir up a counteracting power in the country, and, if possible, in every parish. He does not consider whether such a course tends to the spiritual well-being, or to the spiritual injury, of the

Church at large, or to individual members of the Church; he only considers it to be policy necessary to the maintenance of his own proper position, and that of his party; so, to keep this position, and to preserve this balance of power, he thinks it is good policy to conciliate the Dissenter, to set him up as a sort of rival to the Churchman, to make him a political tool to keep down the influence of the Parish Priest.

For the like reason, the statesman opposes the increase of the Episcopate, though he knows that such increase is demanded by the growth of population, of churches, of Parish Priests. In his private capacity he would advise an addition of Bishops, but in his public capacity as a statesman he opposes it, because any such increase would also add to the influence of the Church; therefore he will not consent to it.

The like is true of Ritual; it is the outward and visible sign of spiritual authority and of Catholic principles; both of which he fears; for this Ritual has not yet acquired that amount of support among leading men to make it safe to countenance it. Besides, the balance of power must be kept up. Whether this line of action be really politic, we shall not undertake to say. It has certainly had the effect of very considerably modifying the political principles of Catholics. At the commencement of the Tractarian movement, the promoters were disposed to adopt the principles of the Caroline divines, in maintaining the Divine right of kings. Loyalty was almost a part of their religion. Had the Conservative Ministries acted on the constitutional principles, as laid down in the Statutes of the Realm, from Magna Charta to the present Century, it is probable that there would have been no body of supporters more thoroughly to be relied on than the High Church Clergy, with an immense political influence in the counties. But Conservative Ministries have failed to support the Church, overawed, perhaps, by Liberals and Dissenters. They would not allow the Church fair play. They checked as far as they dared the action of Convocation. They give no countenance to the increase of the Episcopate. And they impose the iniquity of the so-called Conscience Clause on Church Schools. In a word, the Church was allowed no greater liberty under the rule of a Conservative Ministry than it enjoyed under that of a Liberal one. When, further, the Queen of England, who allowed herself to be addressed, during the *furore* of the "Papal Aggression" panic, as "Head of the Church," openly attended the worship of the Presbyterian Kirk, the great majority of Catholics were completely disgusted with Politics in connexion with Religion, were alienated from the party

to which they had traditionally belonged; and, in most cases, separated Politics entirely from the Religion. Whether this result is a gain to the Conservative party we shall not stop to inquire, but we are sure that it has been a great gain to the Church. We see the contrary in Ireland, where "Protestantism" is a political, far more than a religious principle with the majority of the Clergy; and we may be thankful that in England we are not fettered by that heavy chain. We may rest assured that the emancipation of the Catholic School from political thraldom is one of the most powerful causes of the wonderful hold which the Clergy are now obtaining in the manufacturing districts. The same cause is equally at work in gradually breaking down the barrier which hindered the return of the Dissenter to the bosom of the Church.

It were well if the mere statesman were the only person whose specious policy leads him into collision with the great Catholic Movement. Unfortunately, there are obstacles far nearer to the Parish Priest. At the last meeting of Convocation, there came a melancholy wail from the Upper House that the fatherly counsels of the Bishops had proved powerless to arrest the rolling flood of what they termed "Ritualism." They complained bitterly that they had lost their proper influence with their Clergy, and that their wishes were breathed in vain. The charge is a serious one, especially when we remember that reverence to the person of the Bishop, as well as to his office, was one of the leading principles of the older Tractarians. We must inquire into the cause of this, for we cannot deny the fact. The fault lies either with the Bishops or with the Priests. We have no hesitation in saying that by far the greater weight of blame rests with the former; so much so, that they have no right to charge the latter with undutifulness in the manner they did charge them; and we venture to call upon the Bishops respectfully to take the following facts into consideration before they next animadvert so severely on the conduct of their Clergy. They cannot expect that the Clergy can allow such accusations as they brought against them to remain unanswered.

We ask, then, Is it not an acknowledged fact, that every improvement made in the Church during the last thirty years, has been accomplished, not only without the consent of the "fatherly counsels" of the Bishops, but often in direct opposition to them? and that, if they recognize them now, it is only since they became popular? Take Sisterhoods, for instance. Who does not remember the storm of puritan hatred and malice that assailed Miss Sellon—a storm to which even the venerable

Bishop of Exeter succumbed? The storm has passed; the battle for Sisterhoods was won in the hospitals of the Crimea. The *Times* acknowledged their necessity. Now the Bishops patronize them. Take all matters connected with the worship of Almighty God, Restoration of Churches, Abolition of Pews, Frequent Celebrations, Daily Service, Surpliced Choirs, and such like; is there any of us who can remember a single member of the Episcopate, who had the moral courage to come forward and take the lead in bringing about these improvements? There are men living now, who had to carry out each of these in direct opposition to the "fatherly counsels" of their own diocesan. Then look at the "fatherly" conduct of the Bishops in respect to the great men who originated and carried out these mighty works. Take Dr. Neale, the greatest theologian and ecclesiastical writer of the nineteenth Century, how has he been treated? No Church preferment, no Canonry, was ever offered to him; the miserable pittance somewhat equivalent to ten shillings a week—and even that not bestowed upon him by any Bishop—was all that was his share of one of the best endowed Churches in the world. Take, again, the saintly Keble; no Bishop dared to honour him while *alive*—they had pleasant Rectories and rich Canonries for their sons and relations; but the author of the *Christian Year* was indebted to a layman for Hursley—yet, when *dead*, after a Presbyterian Magazine and the irreligious *Times* had chanted his praises, then the Bishops discovered that he was worthy of their notice, and honoured his lifeless corpse and his memory.

Time and space would fail us to tell of such men as the Vicar of Frome, sacrificed by one Bishop to a political outcry; or Mr. Bryan King, sacrificed by another Bishop to the howling of a London mob. The heart sickens to call to mind the "fatherly" conduct of Bishops to Mr. Poole, of S. Barnabas, and to Mr. Nihil, of Manchester. Verily there are some fathers who give a stone when children ask for bread, and a scorpion for an egg! Yet these are they that are complaining so bitterly that their "fatherly counsels" are disregarded! Had there been one spark of true honesty, justice, and truth, nay, of real English manliness, we should never have had our indignation roused by such speeches as were uttered in the Upper House! Yet these very Bishops return to their Dioceses, attend the reopening of Churches, and head processions, with banners, chants, hymns, and surpliced choirs, and celebrate choral Eucharists—things which a few years ago they held in abomination, but which have since become popular. Can any one, can the Clergy, respect such as these? Can they patiently hear one Bishop after another inveigh that his

"fatherly counsels" are set at nought? Common sense, common honesty, common consistency revolt at the very expression, and cease to respect the utterers of it!

Look again, how the last Session of the Convocation of Canterbury was spent in the Upper House: in barren talk against Ritualists, while the great Natal scandal was shamelessly shelved! The *Times*, and other members of the sceptical London Press, denounce Ritualism and uphold Colensoism. The Upper House is content to follow suit. Turn to the Northern Convocation, the like features appear in lengthened discussions about Ritualism, while a beneficed Priest in the Diocese of York is preaching his blasphemies unchecked, almost within hearing of the Chapter House where the Convocation was sitting! These be thy spiritual fathers, O English Priest, before whom thou art to bow down, and from whose lips proceed the law to which thou art to yield unquestioning obedience!

In spite of all this, we do not hesitate to say that the prospect is cheering. No doubt the ship of the Church is amongst breakers, and the clouds hang black and heavy over her; but there is more than one ray of hope piercing the darkened horizon, and pointing out the harbour of safety. The presence of danger foreseen and known is, in itself, a cause of hope. *Mergas profundo, pulchrior evenit,* is a truth, to which all ages testify. "Woe unto you, when all men speak well of you" is a saying too much forgotten. Let no man's heart fail him. The seeming confusions that surround us are only the heavings of chaos, out of which the Church will emerge purer and more fair. The roaring waves of the World are only bearing up the Ark to float her to her rest on the Rock of Ages.

EDWIN L. BLENKINSOPP.

# Art and Religion.

CHURCHMEN, like every other class of persons, may be divided into two classes; namely, those who do and those who do not care for Art. The latter may generally be described as having an imperfect education. Their case will be considered in the concluding remarks to this Essay. The former wonder why Art has not revived in a like manner as Religion has revived of late years; and complain that, with greater scientific and mechanical aids, we are still far from producing results equal to those produced in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

These people forget that there is a great difference between a Religious and an Art revival; that, whereas it is possible for the Religious revival to be of comparatively quick growth, the progress and decay of all phases of Art have always been very slow; while the culmination is generally correspondingly short.

Again, a Religion never suddenly creates a new style of Art; on the contrary, it uses the contemporary Art, and insensibly modifies it. Thus the Early Christian Church was content to avail itself of the Art of Imperial Rome; and not only the Art, but even some of the more innocent myths, such as the figures of Orpheus in the Catacombs. It took several centuries before we arrived at the complete Byzantine work, and still more before we attain the culminating glories of Paris, Cologne, and Westminster. In fact, there is a clear chain of development in the Art of the Western Church, beginning with the Catacombs and ending at the first half of the fifteenth century. Then came a revival of the old Pagan Art; such a revival as the world had once before seen, when the Architects of the Ptolemies set themselves to revive the Art of the Pharaohs.

For three centuries the Pagan revival has run its course, and now we have travelled far into another revival, *viz.* that of our National Mediæval Architecture. The question is, How have we succeeded? Perhaps, in mere servile copying we have succeeded better than has been the case in the other revivals. We have had more books, greater facilities for travel, new processes of reproducing our drawings, improved machinery for striking off the

plates; and, lastly, all the wondrous aid of photography, by which both the artist and the machinery are superseded. But, somehow or other, we have not been very successful, either in our copies or in our own efforts. If we copy, the thing never looks right, however servilely the mouldings, *e.g.* may have been imitated. The same occurs with regard to those buildings which do not profess to be copies: both they and the copies want spirit. They are dead bodies; they don't live. We are at our wit's end, and do not know what to do. It is bad enough to see our faults, and to know how to correct them in future work; but there is probably no more depressing sensation than to feel the presence of faults and not to know how to correct them. The fact is that we have separated the Arts instead of making them mutually assist one another.

What is vulgarly called good taste is not to be taught. It is partly a gift and it is partly to be acquired by the greater or less study of all the Arts, and more especially those which have nature for their basis—as painting—the first steps of which are the study of form and colour. If we examine the Architecture of any epoch prior to the tenth century, we shall find that in every building of importance all the Arts were brought into use. Thus the Pagan temple was decorated with sculpture, and emphasized with a peculiar system of painting. It was not painted all over; but colour and gold, often in thin lines, were employed to bring out certain portions, and to take off the glaring whiteness of the marble or of the white plaster, wherewith they covered the coarse stone which did duty for marble when the latter material was not attainable. The same system was pursued in the Pagan house. The very meanest tenement at Pompeii has its painted walls and its pictures—very often badly executed, but the composition doubtless copied from some popular and well-known picture.

If we go on to the Mediæval times we still find the same intimate union of the three Arts. It is true that the climate forbade exterior polychromy on an extensive scale; but those parts in any degree shielded from the weather, such as, for instance, the portals of the cathedrals, received all the adornment that it was in the power of the painter to give them. In the interior we meet with a new element of decoration in the shape of historiated windows, like mosaics, an almost indestructible method of working. Some buildings, like the Sainte Chapelle at Paris, are so constructed that the walls themselves appear to be suppressed, with the exception of a few pillars, and to give place to a gorgeous tapestry of living and imperishable colours.

Even the village church had its stained glass and its paintings; although, in this case, the brilliant colours of the one are toned down into a grisaille, and the paintings become almost monochronic. So with the houses. The walls of the citizen's house, it is true, were very far from imitating the splendour of the Painted Chamber at Westminster, but still they had their figure-subjects; though they might be like those described by the poet, only

> "Old portraiture
> Of horsmen, haukes, and hounds,
> And hurt deere full of wounds."

What is the case in the present day? How many of our churches have paintings and sculpture; and how many of our houses have wall figure-subjects? And yet we wonder that the Arts do not advance. What few scupltures we have are not part of our buildings, our pictures are mere pieces of furniture, and our architecture is built only for a term of years.

Another reason why the progress of the Arts is retarded will be found in the many phases of Art practised at the same time. Our ancestors practised only one phase at a time. They were contented with it; they thought it the best; and, as a general rule, they looked down on what had been done before. The Art of Architecture is the principal sufferer under the present state of things; but of course the other Arts suffer, although in a somewhat less degree. An architect is expected to be perfect in all styles; to design Grecian, Roman, Byzantine and Mediæval Art with equal facility, and upon the shortest notice. I say nothing of the so-called Victorian architecture, which may be described as a violation of all canons of good taste, combined with a total disregard to the just principles of construction. It would, probably, not be so very difficult to design in this as in the other styles, considering how much more prone human nature is to evil than to good; but whether the power of so doing is a desirable accomplishment is rather open to doubt. Now, although all the great styles have certain principles common to all, the mode in which they apply those principles, to say nothing of the details, are totally different; and yet an architect is expected to know all these, besides being able to practise as surveyor, valuer, and agent. Of course he does not know all these styles, and in a majority of cases he does not even know one perfectly, besides having had no time to obtain a knowledge of the sister Arts; so that if by any chance he obtains a large building to execute, he is satisfied to put plaster ornaments

on the ceilings and flock-papers on the walls, without taking any trouble about either painting or sculpture.

This state of things holds good, not only in places devoted to business purposes, such as banks and railway stations, but it also obtains in rich men's mansions and in club-houses; the very places indeed where money is often a secondary consideration. Had Art been more common in our domestic architecture, there would not have been the same unreasoning opposition to it in our Ecclesiastical edifices. On the other hand, had circumstances allowed it to have been more freely used in our churches, it would have extended in a greater degree into our domestic life.

But the great hindrance to Domestic Art is the law of leasehold, which is simply a premium to build as badly as possible, provided the edifice will only stand the requisite number of years. A man may naturally object to spend money which will eventually benefit somebody else than his own family; but how much more will he object to the expense of mural painting, which will equally go to the same destination; so, if he loves Art, he buys easel pictures, which he can always carry away or sell. But it will be said that the rich man's house and the Church are very rarely leasehold. This is true, but still we, Englishmen, are an imitative race—we do what we see others do; and we do not like to go out of our way to do what others are not doing; above all, we do not like to be called queer, or peculiar, or crotchety. Hence, the rich man's house is very much like his neighbours, of a lower rank, only it is larger, and there are more easel pictures and nicknacks about it —there is seldom any more Art.

Again, the law of leasehold has the tendency to accustom people to spend as little as possible on any given object. They get into a habit of expecting large results from small sums. The greatest possible strength with the least possible quantity of material was the great axiom of the first half of the present century. The consequence is, that that particular half-century will count as a blank both as regards Architecture and the other Monumental Arts. Even when large sums are spent, they have generally taken the form of extras and additions not contemplated in the first instance. Hence such buildings, after all, look mean, and show no result adequate to the expenditure. All this is very hard upon the Architect. We can only hope that his worst troubles are over; certainly now he is hardly expected to build a church, at £3 per sitting, as he was some thirty years since, if not much later. Luckily, churches thus built are so poor and so

thin, and have such bad constitutions, that very few will probably survive the present century.

Lastly, there is no public Art—as there was in the times of Greece and Rome, when you could hardly walk through any part of the great towns without meeting some *chef d'œuvre* of Sculpture or Architecture; or, in the Middle Ages, when every church was more or less a museum. Florence is probably the only city where we can obtain a glimpse of such a state of affairs, where the grand square teems with sculptured figures, and where every painting in the many churches has its history in the pages of Vasari.

How different from the London of 1868; where we are ashamed of our public statues, where our churches are nearly all locked up, and where our works of Art are only to be seen in Museums, at certain hours on certain days, and utterly dissevered from the buildings with which they were once connected.

Were our churches open all day, and had not private prayer so much superseded public prayer, as it has with the mass of the people, they would very quickly be crowded with works of Art; but it is hardly to be expected that people will contribute largely to decorate edifices which they only enter once a week. If our churches were thus made the recipients of our best Art, as they have a right to be, we should very soon see a change of opinion as regards Ecclesiastical Architecture. At present the first qualification of a piece of Ecclesiastical Architecture is that it should look "pretty." Accordingly, Architects, whenever they have a little money to spend, throw in crockets, pediments, and pinnacles; or else columns, chamfers, incised stones and mosaics—the two latter generally out of place—for they put the incised stones, which are intended for pavement, on the walls; and mosaics, which are only imperfect pictures and consequently to be used at a certain elevation, they place immediately over the Altar. When, however, Churchmen in particular and the public in general shall become more educated, our Architect will come to the Pythagorean Y; he will have to make his choice either to become an artist or to remain a surveyor and valuer. Certain it is that pinnacles, chamfers, coloured brickwork, tracery, and uglinesses generally, will cease to be received as a substitute for Art or Knowledge.

The public, on its part, will have to learn that money is only a secondary concern in the production of first-rate works. It is true that such works cannot be produced without money; but, on the other hand, money cannot stand as a substitute for either knowledge or time. In fact, three things are necessary for the production of all works of Art—money, time, and an artist; and

if the work be an Ecclesiastical one, I should add as a fourth condition, a strong living Church.

I now propose to take a short review of some of the Arts connected with Religion, showing their progress during the present movement, and their actual state, with a few suggestions for their future advancement.

## ARCHITECTURE.

Styles of Architecture seldom die a sudden death; on the contrary, they linger on, often in out-of-the-way places, long after they have been supplanted by others. Thus, Mediæval Art, or what is commonly called Gothic Architecture, did not finish at the Reformation. Doubtless, that event was a great blow to Ecclesiastical Architecture, still we see how much the contemporary Church-work in France partook of classic details, and we have no reason to suppose that England would have been behind in the fashion. In France the change first shows itself after the Italian war of Charles VIII., in the details of the Architecture, not in the masses, which remain Gothic; and it is not until the end of the reign of Francis I. that we meet any really Italian buildings in France. In England the change was far more gradual. Bishop West's chapel, at Ely, is a very good example of the transition, while, as late as the reign of Queen Mary, we find Trinity College Chapel, as far as its architecture goes, pure, although very tame, Perpendicular. This love of our old style never thoroughly died out, and a chain of examples might be cited which would bring us down to the present day. Some of these examples, as might be expected, are very debased in character, as the arch in Old London Bridge, which was finished in what the scribes of the time called the "Gothic taste." Such are the towers of Westminster Abbey, and such the repairs to the beautiful south portals. Such the works at Oxford; although these latter, if any thing, are better than the others. The Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, drawn by Inigo Jones, is a most curious specimen; for in the tracery, which is mainly Perpendicular, he has shown a tendency to the adoption of Geometrical Decorated features. Probably the worst of all the Gothic works of the last century is the one which was most fashionable, but which did the most to induce a more perfect study of the style. This is Strawberry Hill; built, as every body knows, by that prince of letter-writers, Horace Walpole, whose *Castle of Otranto* paved the way for the more natural romance of Sir Walter Scott: and it is by no means

an uncommon opinion that the partial revival of our old style owes more to the latter writer than to any one else.

The great difficulty in the revival was, of course, the want of the principles upon which the old architects made their designs, and the details they employed to carry them out. The difficulty was this. Mediæval Architecture proved to be exceedingly elastic; a column in one place was long, in another short, according to the requirements of the case: it was evidently an architecture requiring an artist for a designer. On the contrary, the prevailing Classic style had become a question of diameters and modules; and people talked glibly about the temples of Ancient Greece, being totally ignorant that they differed in their proportions, and were referable to feeling, almost as much as Gothic Architecture itself.

Rickman was the first to reduce things to order. He divided the works of our ancestors into certain styles, to which he gave the somewhat grotesque names of Norman, Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular. He described the characteristics and the details of those styles, besides pointing out the most notable examples in each county. The Perpendicular style was selected by him as best fitted for modern use: it doubtless recommended itself, both as being more regular, and as capable of being better reduced to a system than the others. The next impetus given was the competition for the Houses of Parliament, in which the National style was made a *sine qua non*; merely to the disgust of the architects of the Classic school—some of whom relieved their feelings in pamphlets, in which Pagan Art, somewhat comically (to us in the present day), was compared to a beautiful flower which required planting, and the obnoxious style to a vile weed, which should be grubbed up with all dispatch. Luckily, the choice of the judges fell upon the most qualified architect of his time, the late Sir Charles Barry; and if the Houses of Parliament do not satisfy the Art requirements of the present day, we should remember how very difficult was his position, and how few his opportunities. In the first place, he was required to be—what, in truth, he was—a good architect. Secondly, he was required to have a perfect knowledge of a disused style; that qualification, it is needless to say, he had, in common with nearly every one of his brethren, only imperfectly; however, he secured the help of the best man of the time in this respect, and we have not much right to quarrel with the details. Thirdly, he had, as a complete architect, to superintend the sculptors, and make the stones alive with figures. This, alas! was what neither he nor Pugin, nor the late Mr. Thomas, could do—in fact, it was not in

the age. Fourthly, he had to be something of an antiquarian; here, again, he failed, although in a less excusable manner—as may be seen in the costumes of the Royal statues, and some of the heraldry.

Of late, the question has arisen, "How far is the credit of the Art portion of the building due to Sir Charles Barry or to Pugin?" It appears to me that this is a question that should never have been mooted. In the first place, there is really no fine monumental Art of the highest class at all in the building; and from the state of things at the time, it was almost impossible that there should have been. In the second place, in such circumstances, this law is axiomatic, that when one man assists another for remuneration (unless a special agreement is made to the contrary), the credit of the work always goes to the employer.

However, it is useless to deny that Pugin was a wonderful man; and that his works (especially the *Contrasts and True Principles*) had done much to advance the movement. One man, however, can do but little, compared with the combined efforts of a body. These combined efforts were furnished by the Cambridge Camden Society; and, month after month, the common experiences of the Society appeared in the *Ecclesiologist*. As in every movement which has any pretensions to earnestness, ridicule was employed equally with instruction. The consequence was, that the Society had nearly as many enemies as the author of the *Contrasts*. However, by degrees, the architects got taught; and he must have been a very dull fellow who could not design a church after the recipes of the Camden Society. The great triumph of the Society, however, was in the competition at Lille—where the English architects were fairly pitted against the French, and when the two first prizes, to say nothing of others, were carried off by members of their society. It also got rid of another great fallacy, which in consequence of the conversion of Mr. Pugin to Romanism, and to a certain degree his writings, had taken hold of the public; *viz.* that the effectual revival of Mediæval Art could only take place in the bosom, and under the auspices of, that form of faith. The *coup de grâce* to this fallacy was finally given by Mr. Ruskin, in a somewhat severe criticism on Mr. Pugin, which will be found at the end of the third volume of the *Stones of Venice*.

But if the Camden Society, by its influence and teaching, had arrived at the result of teaching architects to build decent churches by recipe; on the other hand, it had, to a great degree, neglected to insist upon beautiful art.

At this juncture Mr. Ruskin took up architecture, and called

our attention to the beauty of the details of Italian Mediæval work. Instead of profiting by the principles and the art views of the eloquent critic our young architects took him literally, and insisted upon inserting details into their works, which, however well they may look in marble and beneath the kindly influence of a Venetian or Florentine sky, could not but be failures when executed in coarse Bath stone, and exposed to the fogs and damps of Cheapside. In the mean while, the architectural world had gone through nearly all the phases of Mediæval Architecture. It has been before observed that Rickman advocated the Perpendicular, probably because it was more amenable to rules than the other styles. The architects of the Peel Churches, on the contrary, cultivated the Early English, because, as Mr. Beresford Hope has well observed, it was supposed to bear more starvation than the other styles. The Camden Society advocated Geometrical Decorated, and the Lille competition was the means of inducing the study of the more masculine French architecture of the first half of the Thirteenth Century. That wonderful monument of human knowledge and human industry, the *Dictionnaire d' Architecture* of Violet le Duc, doubtless helped the movement in this direction, which, as far as I am enabled to judge, appears the best, if not the only escape from our present difficulties.

Another school which flourishes wonderfully at present should not be forgotten. This is the Original and Ugly School. Its disciples want to be original; so they begin by altering the details, and doing all sorts of things which are very obvious, and require but very little original thinking—the only objection being that the good taste of our ancestors put them aside as being unworkable, and above all ugly. It should be remarked that the practitioners of this style are never artists; and that their proceedings are about as reasonable as would be those of a man who, failing to write a poem, should claim originality by trying to alter the orthography of a language. We now-a-days find ourselves in the face of at least four different styles. There is the English style—(Decorated or Early English); the French Thirteenth Century style; the Italian Gothic style; and the Ugly style.

Now let us see the process of erecting an ecclesiastical building—say a moderate-sized church—in the present day; and how the ideas of false economy left us by the last great war combine with the general ignorance of Art to render the whole affair illogical, inartistic, and faulty in construction, more especially as regards the future. Thus, a church has to be built; a Committee is formed to collect subscriptions and to carry it out.

They either name an architect; or, as is but too often the case, they cannot resist a competition. In the latter case, the chances are still more against them than in the former, as the competitors naturally wish to show how much can be done for the money, well knowing that if they went to work honestly they would have no chance against their unscrupulous adversaries.

The next move is for the Committee (if there is not a competition, and they have chosen an architect) to say how much money the new edifice is to cost. In days gone by—say some thirty years ago—a distinguished architect is said to have assured the then Bishop of London that no church ought to cost, or need cost, more than 4*l.* the sitting; and churches were actually built for this sum, and, I believe, are occasionally at the present day. Very luckily, they cannot last long, and may therefore be dismissed from consideration. At least they have enabled us to experimentalize. But suppose the Committee gives a larger, or what is even considered a munificent sum, say 10*l.* a sitting, how does the architect go to work? He designs a building with nave, aisles, and chancel. The mass of the money is spent upon the nave; and the aisles are often built so slightly that they may be considered as thrown into the bargain. Yet he seats nearly as many in them as in the nave. This is especially the case in town churches, where the light is interrupted, or where the aisles are windowless, owing to the adjacent houses. The light in such cases must come from the clerestory, and to obtain it, the nave must be carried up high. As, however, high and thick walls cost money, and the Committee want a "pretty" church, and consider the best architect to be the man who covers the most ground in the most ornamental manner, and whose idea of construction is the greatest strength with the least material, he builds a tolerably high nave, with very low aisles. The roof, of course, is an open one of a high pitch, only it has very thin timbers and is beautifully stained and varnished. An old, high-pitched roof would have been boarded inside, or have had a flat ceiling, thus forming a ventilation chamber between the interior and exterior. The modern roof has none of this; but, on the contrary, is hot in summer, and correspondingly cold in winter. If a roof anciently was open, it either belonged to a hall; or, if in a church, the pitch was comparatively low. An examination of the examples given in Brandon's wooden roofs will show that even the flat-pitched ones had two layers of boarding, one on the upper and one on the lower sides of the rafters. Our church is completed with stained and varnished thin fir stalls and seats, and some cheap finery in the shape of Minton's tiles, or

perhaps, a bad stained window. In fact, every thing, except the walls, will probably want repairing in fifty years.

It is true that the details are carefully copied from old ones, but even the delicacy which distinguishes the details of the English Gothic are against their employment. Those small, delicate mouldings are speedier choked up with soot, and quicker destroyed by the acids of the London atmosphere than bolder work would be. Had our ancestors been obliged to build in modern London, they would certainly have adopted a larger and broader treatment in these details than they did. The same observations would apply to crosses, pinnacles, and elaborate tracery, all of which combine to make a modern building pretty, and to waste money that would be better spent upon the construction. Incised stone inserted in the walls, where paint would do equally well, is another extravagance. Some persons object to paint upon the walls, so the architect lines them with various coloured brickwork instead of with plaster—also an expensive expedient. To such an extent has this been carried that drain-pipes have actually been used as small shafts—the expense of which, from the difficulty of making them straight, has actually been the same (it is said) as if they had been executed in marble.

We do not find much figure-sculpture in our modern churches; for to say the truth, there is hardly any body capable of doing it well, except under careful direction; and the architect, in nine cases out of ten, is unable either to sketch what he wants or to give directions. But all the capitals are carved, often with what those penny-a-liners, who describe the churches in the newspapers, designate as "lilies, ears of wheat, vine leaves, and other appropriate foliage." On the other hand, the pulpit, the font, and the dossel gleam with great balls of marble or fluor spar, reminding us of the eyes of the monsters that Schiller's Diver beheld when he plunged into the whirlpool. Sometimes we see other pieces of brightly polished marble inlaid into the dull stone, like the cloth of gold sewn on to the cloth of frieze; and of late there has been a rage for mosaic Altar-pieces. Now an Altar-piece is the place where the most careful and delicate work should be placed, because it is the eye or centre of the church. To such mosaic as we see in the "Opera" at Florence, where each tessera is of microscopic minuteness, there can be no objection, for it is nearly as delicate as the most finished painting. But to the ordinary mosaic (at a cost, say of 3*l.* a foot), there is a very great objection; for it is very coarse, and meant to be seen from a distance and upon a comparatively high wall.

Another error is the employment of veined marble or alabaster

in highly moulded works. These substances are decorative in themselves, and require no subtle lights or shades to show them off. If we look at old work, we shall find that veined marble or alabaster were almost always confined to columns or slabs; and where alabaster was used for effigies and sculpture, the great care of the workman was to select specimens with as few veins as possible. If, however, money is wasted upon moulding veined marble, the same thing cannot be said respecting wood-work; here we have almost the extreme of parsimony. In spite of all our blunders and all our faults, the present revival has produced several good churches, but it has not yet given us a set of stalls such as those of Amiens, with their great masses of wood and deeply hollowed mouldings; with those marvellous series of figure sculptures in the misereres, the elbows of the stalls, the ends of the desks, and in the dusky recesses of the tabernacles. On the contrary, I have seen modern stalls in conspicuous buildings and designed by popular architects, which look as if they had been made of cardboard instead of honest wood.

To conclude our survey of the modern churches, we may remark that they are all more or less alike; that there are no works of art which would induce a stranger to enter them; and that what little painting and sculpture they may possess has no life, and is hardly worth seeing, except as a warning not to do the like. In fact, when we have surveyed the outside, there is no occasion to go inside, except for the purposes of devotion.

This state of things, it should be observed, is not confined to one communion; it seems equally applicable to the Roman communion and to the Dissenters, who, by the way, now erect most undissenting-looking chapels. In the former case, we find a little more sculpture; but it is not one whit better and is equally dead with that in our own churches.

This being the case, the question arises, "How are we to amend this state of things?" The future of Ecclesiastical Architecture appears to me to depend especially upon three classes of persons—

1. The Clients, or those who command the work. They must be taught that if they want really good Art, they must be prepared to give its value; and in those cases where money is not forthcoming, they must be content to do one part well, and to wait for the rest.

2. The Architects, who must learn to have the courage to tell the final and honest cost, and not profess to do every thing for nothing. The attempt to execute the greatest possible amount of building at the least possible cost, fostered as it has been by

the system of competition, has been a death-blow to good construction and to good architecture. The architect must also think a little less of surveying, and a little more of Art.

3. The Clergy. They must get into the habit of keeping their churches open all day; they will then discover that people will take more interest in what they see every day of their lives, than in what they see only one day in the week. It is also most desirable that some sort of Art education should be made compulsory at the Universities.

Generally, we want a distinct style of Architecture—grand and severe, and in accordance with the great size and scale of our modern town buildings. The Early Thirteenth Century French art, combined with a careful study of the best Greek work, would probably fulfil these conditions better than any other. The French details will be found most suitable to our present smoky atmosphere, while the Greek work will refine our taste generally. The study of the human figure will also help to the same end. As regards our town churches, we must try and reduce the aisles to their office of vomitories, or else suppress them altogether. A town church should be solid, high, and have plenty of light, and overtop the surrounding buildings: the roof should, if possible, be vaulted, or, perhaps still better, domed. A high marble dado below, and mosaics above, would form an imperishable decoration, and one which might defy the gas, which is now so unsparingly used almost everywhere: for, however well paintings may stand in country churches, they are unable to resist our gas unless they are glazed.

The same style should be carried into our domestic architecture, with the necessary modifications; for it is useless building a church in Mediæval Art and then erecting street upon street of Pagan houses. It is thus that the results of the present revival have been completely swamped in London. Could all the churches, schools, and parsonages executed during the last thirty years be collected in one quarter of the town we should have a wonderful result. As it is, we meet with a church in this street, a parsonage in that square, and a school somewhere else; the consequence is that the whole result is lost. We all can form a fairly correct idea of the interior of a Mediæval church, but we find it much more difficult to realize the interior of a Mediæval house, with painted walls, its illuminated ceilings, its partially stained glass windows, its embroideries and its furniture, historiated in colours and gold. We have done one or two splendid churches; but none of the houses built in the Mediæval style give us the faintest idea of the glories of a Thirteenth Century domestic interior.

I wish I could praise the Houses of Parliament on this head, but I cannot. In fact, the Mediæval interior, or, rather, the interior founded upon Mediæval Art has yet to be done.

### PAINTING.

The Painting of the Middle Ages may be divided into three heads: Wall Painting, Furniture Painting, and Miniature Painting.

Wall Painting was of two kinds—1, the fully coloured paintings, generally upon a dark blue or gold background, and such as in those in the Painted Chamber of S. Stephen's Chapel (now, alas! destroyed), and those that we now see at Assisi, Sienna, and in other Italian towns; 2, the paintings in black, red and yellow ochre, such as once obtained in every little village church in England. There was also a still more inexpensive mode of decoration, which consisted of what is generally called the brick or stone pattern, but which is really a diaper; the lines are in red, on a white ground, and the centres of the squares have often a grey ornament upon them. The separations of the spaces are effected by means of bands of red foliage.

Of the Furniture Painting very few perfect specimens have come down to us; but it may be remarked that almost all the portable pictures of the Early School have, at some time or other, formed parts of pieces of furniture or of Altar-pieces.

The Ecclesiastical Miniature Painting was employed in devotional books for the congregation, and on the more elaborate volumes for the Altar. No one who has ever visited Sienna Cathedral can forget the vast number of manuscript choral books which are ranged round the beautiful sacristy.

As far as we can learn from the anecdotes related by Boccaccio, Sachetti, and Vasari, the Italian painter was, if employed from home, boarded and lodged at the convent where he worked; a bargain was driven beforehand between him and his employer, and, in certain cases, the latter found the more expensive colours. (See the well-known story of Perugino securing the waste ultramarine by continually cleansing his brush.) In the city, however, the painter had his shop, and worked in it surrounded by his pupils. Sachetti describes Giotto sketching out a subject, and giving it to one of his pupils to paint and finish.

In our own country, the Wars of the Roses appear to have had a very disastrous influence upon the Art of Painting, and the architects to have tried to render themselves independent

of it by the practice of covering the interior of the more extensive buildings with small panelling.

No greater contrast can well be imagined than that between S. Stephen's Chapel and that of Henry VII. The interiors of both were covered with panelling, but in the one case the panels were large enough to contain pictures—in fact, they were the picture frames; whereas in the latter we have nothing but the frames themselves.

We hear a great deal of the destruction practised either at the Reformation or during last century; but nothing has ever equalled the destruction of S. Stephen's Chapel. There was enough of the original remains, and enough of careful drawings to have afforded authority for the most complete restoration. But, unfortunately, this was not to be; and, as Englishmen, we must always regret the loss of our "Sainte Chapelle;" not that it ever contained reliques equalling in importance those contained in the work of S. Louis, but it must even have surpassed it in architectural and pictorial splendour.

Since the Reformation, most of our Art has assumed the form of easel, or, as our ancestors would have called them, table pictures. Almost the sole Ecclesiastical ones are those in the dome of S. Paul's, which nobody cares to look at, even if they could be seen. Devotional painting appears to have been almost dead, up to the late revival, its last effort being the works of West. Indeed, at the present day, the walls of the Royal Academy exhibit annually but a very small amount of religious paintings, as compared with secular; and yet many churches are built every year, and a large proportion of these ought to require painted dossels; but, from the want of Art education, the Clergy, who ought to have a great say in the matter, prefer compositions of incised stone, fluor spar, knobs, and marble inlays, to good painting, which would speak and have life.

At the time when devotional painting seemed most dead amongst us, there arose the Pre-Raphaelite movement. The head of this was G. Rossetti, as his name imports of Italian parentage; who, although he had never visited Italy, gave us little pictures, which in colour and sentiment rivalled those of the best Italian painters of the Middle Ages. He had several followers, some of whom appear to have had a predilection more for the ancient German than for the Italian school. At all events, both the chief and his followers were agreed in one course, *viz.* to copy nature carefully, to use pleasant bright colours, and to give sentiment to the figures. I need scarcely say that the new school received the most strenuous opposition, both from painters,

who had neither the industry nor the ability to be Pre-Raphaelites; and from the general world, who did not care to have its ideas upon Art disturbed. But the work went on; and it is perhaps not too much to hope that, in twenty years' time, we may begin to have a school of Ecclesiastical painters. Unluckily, men go abroad and consult the Old Masters; and they find it is much easier to imitate Titian and Giorgone than it is to imbibe the spirit of Giotto. The consequence is, that one or two of our best painters have given us beautiful works, but unsuited to the place they have to occupy; for instance, the Altar-pieces at S. Paul's, Brighton, and that at Llandaff Cathedral. Again, the paintings in the Houses of Parliament, with the exception of the "Moses" of Mr. Herbert, are totally unfitted for their places. None of them fulfil the requirements of wall paintings; and they afford only another proof that the decorations of a building should be under the absolute control of the architect—which they were not in this case.

As to our stained glass, up to the few last years nothing could be worse. If a good window were executed, it was only by chance. So bad, indeed, was the state of things, that the late Mr. Weston, after declaring, in the bitterness of his heart, that all the stained glass was designed by glaziers' and architects' clerks, deliberately advised that the most important work of the age, *viz.* the windows of Glasgow Cathedral, should be obtained at Munich, because at least there would be a chance of obtaining decent drawing; and to Munich the committee went, although the result has hardly justified them in so doing[1]. In fact, a greater mistake can hardly be made than going to Munich for glass destined to be placed in an ancient building.

However, artists have now began to work for stained glass, and we accordingly see a great improvement in the drawing, and when a coloured cartoon is furnished, in the colouring itself. Foremost among these artists we must place Mr. Burne Jones, a pupil of Rossetti. To him we owe the beautiful windows at Christ Church, Oxford, and Waltham Abbey. Mr. Marks began his career by working at stained glass. Mr. Westlake devotes himself entirely to it, and Messrs. Poynter, Rossiter, and Holiday have all more or less made cartoons. On the other hand, the stained glass manufacturers themselves have begun to find out that the brightest coloured glass does not produce the most satisfactory

[1] A very full criticism of these windows will be found in the *Ecclesiologist* of 1864, and a wood-cut of three of the figures in the *Illustrated London News* of 1862. If we may judge from these latter, the style of drawing and treatment is exactly the reverse of what was required at Glasgow.

effects; that certain colours, notably blue backgrounds, require to be subdued, if the bright colours are to show upon it; that it is better to have few colours, and to vary their tints, than to have many colours all mixed together; and finally, that the effect of a window in the workshop is no criterion for the effect in a church.

So much for stained glass—which it is to be hoped will perhaps make some progress, now that the manufacturers have begun to obtain the aid of competent artists. On the other hand, it is much to be hoped that the latter have also on their part begun to see that it is better to make a settled income by means of cartoons, paintings on walls, and little pictures on furniture, than to paint laborious easel works, which run the risk of being rejected at the Academy; and, whenever bought, of being secluded in a private collection, and never more seen by the public. Very often indeed modern pictures are bought by people who care nothing at all about Art, but who view them simply as an investment, and take the chance of the reputation of the artist increasing, and consequently the value of their purchase. On the other hand, certain pictures are painted for certain classes of purchasers. If we look at the catalogue of the Royal Academy, it is easy to pick out the domestic artist, the dissenting artist, the archæological artist, or the historical-incident artist, all executing framed pictures upon speculation, when they ought to be historiating walls or drawing cartoons.

Three reasons hinder wall paintings being executed in our houses:—1. The fashionable upholsterer, with his wretched papers. 2. The law of leasehold, which rarely permits a man to be the owner of the house he lives in. 3. The use of gas, which is destructive to our eyesight, our paintings, our bookbindings, and to a variety of other things.

Luckily we have not yet got to the use of wall papers in our churches, although occasionally we see diapers so misused that the effect is but little better. Also, we do not use easel pictures in our churches—why, it is difficult to say—possibly because we see them in churches on the Continent, and we wish to be as different as possible. The consequence is, that our Ecclesiastical edifices are left unpainted. The time will, however, it is to be hoped, arrive, when our churches will be open all day, and public prayer be more common than it is at present. Then will come the question how the whitewashed walls should be decorated. It is to be hoped that we shall resort neither to papers nor to easel pictures; but that the examples given us, *inter alia*, by Mr. Lestrange, at S. Alban's, Holborn; by Mr. Leighton, at

Lyndhurst; and by Mr. Gambier Parry, at Highnam, will be followed out, until a whitewashed church shall be the exception, not the rule.

It must not be understood, however, to be desirable that every church should contain such highly coloured and finished paintings as the above. On the contrary—as a general rule, the richness of the work should correspond with the importance and beauty of the architecture. There are many means of varying the gradations of the painting: There is—1. The decoration with lines, diapers, and borders. 2. Figures in red ochre, yellow ochre, and black, all shaded, such as we so often find beneath the whitewash of old churches. 3. Figures in black outline, with the shading of the drapery only in colour. 4. Figures in camieu, or shaded in grey, on a coloured back ground (very often blue). 5. Figures shaded in terre vert—a low-toned green—also on a coloured background. 6. Fully coloured figures on a blue or gold background. There are plenty of artists, who, with a little study, are perfectly capable of executing all those styles, in what the French call a monumental manner. The architect, on the other hand, should be able to tell the painter what he wants, and how he wishes the subjects arranged, with regard to the lines of his building. At present, the ignorance of the architect is one of the great stumbling-blocks to the revival of wall-painting—he very often knows nothing, either of the arrangement of his subjects or of the decoration necessary to lead up to them. He seldom knows how to draw the figure, and is therefore unable to make such sketches as shall induce his client to undertake the work; and he is therefore but too glad to get the edifice finished, and to say nothing about the other Arts, which are almost as essential as Architecture itself to produce a perfect building. In fine, it ought to be as disgraceful for an architect not to know the figure, as it would be not to be able to design a piece of tracery.

### SCULPTURE.

There is very little to be said respecting the Religious Sculpture of the last two centuries. It is true that we occasionally do find some few figures in connexion with Architecture, as in the west front of S. Paul's Cathedral; these latter, however, are so utterly obscured by the thick coatings of soot that it is almost impossible to form an idea of their merit. The sculptors proper—highly-educated (artistically) men—worked in marble, and spent their time in executing busts, or pagan divinities; and if they ever did any work for Ecclesiastical purposes, it took the

shape of those deplorable monuments which we now find so much difficulty in ejecting from the high places in our churches. To descend a little lower, the carvers were expert in producing Corinthian capitals, swags of foliage, and chubby cherubs' heads. I once had the opportunity of carefully examining a specimen of the cherub's head which had been turned out of S. Michael's, Cornhill; it could only be compared to a very bad antique comic mask. The best marble work of last century will be found in the chimney pieces so common in the large houses of the period. Much of the work in them is very good and carefully done; but it is doubtful whether the majority were not either importations from Italy or executed by Italian workmen in England.

When the revival of Mediæval Art took place, the carver (often only a clever mason) was considered good enough to execute what little statuary was required. This statuary, it should be said was, for the most part confined to label heads; for although architects were fond enough of inserting unnecessary niches in their buildings, there was hardly any one who dreamed of putting them to their legitimate purpose of housing a statue. It is needless to say that the label heads were often exceedingly rough work. But as things advanced, pulpits and fonts, the latter especially, began to show little figure subjects, often imitated from the gates of Florence. With this exception, the sculptor or carver had few models for study, and was consequently much left to his own resources. It is true that he was occasionally a clever fellow; but then too often his talents were neutralized by the effects of high wages and his want of education, both general and artistic. Thus it was not unfrequent to find a man in this position, who had begun life as a mason and worked his way up to figure sculpture; content with gaining his former wages by working two or three days in the week, to obtaining the double by working six days. Suffice it to say that the three days on which he did no work were *not* occupied with study. But, after all, he had comparatively little work to do, if we except the label and corbel heads; with an occasional font or reredos.

The Clergy were afraid of figures; so were the people—although both Clergy and people spent a great deal of money over very bad stained glass; and, lastly, the architect did not particularly care about sculpture, because it gave him much trouble in its supervision, for which he got no adequate remuneration. So he contented himself with empty niches, and with the excuse that it was no use putting in bad figures; and, as it was difficult, if not impossible, to get good ones executed, it was better to have none at all. There is a church in Westminster which presents

us with a niche containing a figure of the period under consideration, which almost makes us thankful that more of them were not filled in a similar manner.

At present there is a much greater demand for Sculpture. The sculptor is now separated from the carver; he is higher in the social scale, and gets better paid. The Architectural Museum, the South Kensington Museum, and the dissemination of Photographs from Chartres, Rheims, and elsewhere, have done much to educate him. He has not yet got into the Royal Academy, but we may expect to find him there in the next generation. His draperies are generally good, and, to a certain degree, resemble those of Mediæval Art; but there is too often a great lack of expression, both in the faces and in the pose of his figures. In fact, the traces of the sentimental school, with its straight noses and smoothly-brushed hair, derived for the most part from German prints, have not yet disappeared. At the present moment our best architectural sculptors are Mr. Philip, who has executed most of Mr. Scott's work, and Mr. Nicholls, who has worked for the architectural profession generally. Mr. Armstead is also engaged, as also is Mr. Philip, upon the marble figures of the Albert Memorial. But if it is difficult to find a good sculptor in stone, it is far more rare to meet with one who can carve in wood. Very little wood figure-sculpture has been produced, if we except that employed by upholsterers on large pieces of furniture, but which, I believe, are often imported from France. Under the direction of Mr. Scott, the canopies of the stalls in Ely Cathedral have been filled with figure subjects. I am ignorant whether we owe these to Englishmen; certain it is, that at the Malines exhibition, a group in wood, destined for Ely Cathedral, was to be found, executed by M. Abbeloos, a pupil of the late M. Geerts, to whom we owe the figures on the stalls at Antwerp. We have, however, amongst us another pupil of Geerts; *viz.* Mr. Phyffers, who is, perhaps, our best Ecclesiastical wood-carver, and who likewise works in stone.

The future of Ecclesiastical Sculpture eminently depends upon the architects, for they must find the place for the statue before the statue can be ordered from the sculptor. If, however, the architect cannot draw the figure, he will naturally shirk its introduction in his drawings; and thus, in many cases, we shall have no figure at all. It is evident that, if a strong, severe style of architecture be adopted, crockets, pinnacles, tracery, and the other usual prettinesses, can only be sparingly used. Interest must, therefore, be imparted to the building, (1) By its propor-

tions; (2) By its beautiful but sparing ornamentation; and (3) By its sculpture. All these should be subjects of most careful consideration to the architect. Of course, it is neither asked of him, nor is it desirable, that he should produce full-sized drawings for the sculptor, for this would only confuse and trammel the latter; but he should be able to draw small figures, say two inches in height, which will be found large enough to indicate the story he wishes told, and the combination of the lines of the figures with the lines of the architecture. As above observed, it almost entirely rests in the hands of the architect whether we are to have more sculpture, and better of its kind than we have had up to the present time. It is true that to design and to direct it takes more time and trouble than to design and to direct the combinations of alabaster, serpentine, fluor spar, marble, and incised stone, which now so often do duty instead; but then the sculpture will be more or less a work of the brain, whereas the above combination is only a work of the fingers and compasses.

### THE DRAMA.

The Drama (of course I do not speak of the ballets, &c.) in the present day is very different from the Drama of Wycherley, Congreve, and Sheridan. It has, to a very great extent, ceased to be immoral; and is now simply dull, improbable, and unnatural. But yet, to read the critiques in the journals, the dramatic art must be in a most flourishing state; for it is very seldom that a piece is pronounced to be bad, or an actor to be indifferent. It is true that our fathers tell us that there is nothing in the pieces, and that we have no real actors. How is this? If we ask questions, and set ourselves to investigate the matter, we shall find that the dramatic critics are very often dramatic authors (or rather, translators); and also that managers, authors, and actors have got so much into the habit of being continually praised, that any hint of matters not being positively right is most promptly resented on all hands. One architect, Mr. E. W. Godwin, a year or two back, in a provincial city, actually had the courage to express in the journals his opinion upon the actors, the scenery, and the costume of the local theatre. Instead of being grateful for the remarks, and taking advantage of what they might have been taught, the manager introduced his critic into the bills of the pantomime.

As to the Religious Drama, it is utterly extinct, except in the well-known instance in the Tyrol. In France religious subjects are occasionally acted by the Marionettes at the country fairs;

and, a few years ago, a piece founded upon the story of the Prodigal Son was brought out at Paris, and, in a modified form, even made its way to London; but these are only the few exceptions. The Religious Drama is dead. Many (though by no means all) amongst the boldest of the most advanced party, either in Art or Ritual, would probably deprecate any attempt to revive it. Yet it may, perhaps, be fairly questioned whether it might not, if properly conducted, be a better means of touching the feelings of certain classes in our great towns, and in the Black Country, than City Missionaries, Sunday Schools, or Penny Readings. We are all much too apt to forget things which are not presented to our eyes; and when the great doctrines of the Faith are omitted to be taught in a visible form, they occasionally, to some minds, fail to make distinct impressions; and other doctrines are either substituted or put upon an equality with them. Mr. Baring-Gould, in his *Myths of the Middle Ages*, gives several instances in which the popular doctrines of Protestantism approach the old Religion of the Druids; *e. g.* the belief that, after death, the soul to be saved becomes an Angel.

Should any thing like a revival of the Religious Drama ever be attempted, the best machinery to the purpose would probably be a Confraternity consisting of persons in Holy Orders. The time, however, has hardly arrived even for the discussion of the subject.

### THE MINOR ARTS.

A great deal might be written concerning the state of the minor Ecclesiastical Arts, such as goldsmith's work, iron, brass, and bronze work, or embroidery; but the same story holds good for all.

During the last few years a great quantity of objects comprised in the Minor Arts has been produced, and a great deal of money has been spent upon them, but very little real Art has entered into their composition. People were satisfied with raw and glaring enamels in their goldsmith's work, to say nothing of the most miserable apologies for figure engraving. Candlesticks were turned out with spikey crestings round the bowls, and, *mirabile dictu*, even round the knobs, so that every facility was afforded for wounding the hands and fingers. The feet of some of these candlesticks were even more curious; they were actually supported on small dormer windows. Elaborate specimens of iron and brass work were produced, of which the complicated details could be taken to pieces with a screw-driver, and some times

with the fingers, for they were screwed, not rivetted. While, as to bronze work, it was and now is almost impossible to get a small bronze statue cast in England at any thing like a moderate price. Did an architect want such a thing, the only alternative was to have an electro-type, which, as it was very thin, and of soft copper instead of hard bronze, hardly possessed the elements of durability. One very ingenious expedient deserves special notice. Some statues were executed in stone, and then a thin coat of copper was deposited upon the stone itself.

Did an architect study any of the Minor Arts, it was charitably hinted that he could not possibly know any thing of the practical portion of his profession; so all the lucrative work was handed over to the surveyor, or to the architect who was ignorant of such matters, and had never wasted his time in mere study. This explains why the Minor Arts have advanced so little, in spite of the great demand for them, to say nothing of the enormous prices often obtained by the manufacturers. This state of things is beginning slowly, but very slowly, to change. It is gradually being found out that a knowledge, whether of the Great or of the Minor Arts does not necessarily imply that an architect must be ignorant of the important parts of his profession. Occasionally it is even remarked that when such an offender has had the opportunity of erecting a building, the said building has often some piece of sculpture, some painting, or some stained glass, to view which it is worth even paying the pew-opener; though why he should be paid, or why he should be permitted to exhibit a thing in the making of which he has not had the least hand, it is almost impossible to imagine.

It has also been discovered that good sculpture, good stained glass, or good painting will repay a second visit. There is generally something to be learnt from it; perhaps to imitate, perhaps to avoid; whereas we never wish to see again the glazed bricks, the drain-tile columns, the incised stone bands, the fluor spar balls, and that acmé of ugliness and bad taste, the straight-sided arch, the favourite resource of the architect who does not trouble himself with Art.

## CONCLUSION.

The question now arises, By what means we may reasonably expect to advance Ecclesiastical Art. The following appear to me to be some few out of many:—

1. A Professor of the Fine Arts (monumentally considered) in either University. By this I mean that he should not only instruct his pupils to distinguish between a Raphael and a Rem-

brandt, but he should tell them something about the principles of Wall Painting, as practised by Giotto and his followers; to say nothing of Pompeii on the one hand, and the Loggie of the Vatican on the other. It would be a question whether attendance at these lectures should not, in certain instances, be compulsatory. By this means the higher classes and the Clergy would, at least, learn something upon subjects which are sure to crop up in their future career. These lectures would also form an excellent commencement for the student who might wish to make any of the Arts his future profession.

2. A revised method of education in the Schools of Design for the tradesman (I mean the Art tradesman) and workman. A careful study of the human figure should be made the basis of all the teaching.

3. The more careful education of the Architect, who should be separated from the Surveyor.

4. Encouragement of the Arts by the Church. This would doubtless follow the Art education of the Clergy, who would do well to remember three things. Firstly, that if a church is shut up all day, people will take very little interest in what it may contain; whereas if it is open all day the congregation will no more like to see it lack its proper ornaments than they would their own drawing-rooms. Secondly, that the desire of finishing every thing at once might well give place to a little faith in the future. Thirdly, that Art demands both time and money. There are no bargains in Art. A good thing will always command a high price. To do a thing cheaply, is often to do it in vain; for, as Art knowledge advances, the cheap thing will be thrown aside to make place for something better, and money and labour will thus have been wasted. The fountains in Trafalgar Square are an instance in point. Some fine day they will be swept away; to make place, it is to be hoped, for fountains rivalling those of La Place de la Concorde, at Paris. Nobody praises the present things; and yet our rulers had not the courage to pay down a proper sum in the first instance, or at the present day to retrace their steps. We must wait until their successors shall have had an Art education at Oxford or Cambridge.

5. The knowledge that Art consists neither in prettinesses nor uglinesses—with which it is often confounded in the present day—but in beauty and feeling. When any thing has to be made, it should be the object of all concerned to make it as beautiful and as well constructed as possible, so as to be worthy of its destination, more especially if it be an object for Ecclesiastical

use. Thus, beauty no more depends on crockets, pinnacles, foliage, and encaustic tiles, than it does upon violently coloured bricks, the straight-sided arch, or drain pipes instead of marble; and although most people know that these latter are not beautiful, but only singular and ugly, yet they often make mistakes about the former.

Lastly. It is possible that much might be effected by co-operation—such as the establishment of Guilds for the adornment of churches. By them we might hope to see the vacant niches of our cathedrals gradually repeopled with statues; the walls and windows of our City churches glow with colour; our Service-books and Church plate tell the great Christian stories in miniatures and enamels. It is true that all this would cost money, but how much is actually collected by Societies having far less results for their object. A chalice or a pulpit would not be the worse in taking two or three years for its execution; on the contrary, greater opportunity would be given for criticism if the work were exhibited at certain periods when in progress. The Guilds would eventually discover that while adorning the Church they had been benefiting themselves; their taste would have been improved, and their Art education extended; and, perhaps, in one or two generations, we might hope to have a domestic architecture of which we need not be ashamed, while the King's Daughter by that time would indeed have become glorious.

WILLIAM BURGES.

# The Natal Scandal.

"In the Name of God, Amen. We Robert, by Divine Permission Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan, do hereby make known that . . . . . we, in the exercise of our jurisdiction aforesaid, do hereby sentence, adjudge, and decree the said Bishop of Natal to be deposed from the said office as such Bishop; and to be further prohibited from the exercise of any Divine Office within any part of the Metropolitical Province of Capetown." [Dated Dec. 16, 1863.]

"In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We Robert, by Divine Permission Metropolitan of the Church in the Province of Capetown, in accordance with the decision of the Bishops of the Province in Synod assembled, do hereby, it being our office and our grief to do so, by the authority of Christ committed unto us, pass upon John William Colenso, D.D., the Sentence of the Greater Excommunication, thereby separating him from the Communion of the Church of Christ, so long as he shall obstinately and impenitently persist in his heresy, and claim to exercise the office of a Bishop within the Province of Capetown. And we do hereby make known to the faithful in Christ that, being thus excluded from all Communion with the Church, he is, according to our Lord's command, and in conformity with the provisions of the Thirty-third of the Articles of Religion, 'to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as a heathen man and publican.'

"Given under our hand and seal, this sixteenth of December, 1865."

Are these two solemn sentences, pronounced by Christ's Bishop on earth, ratified by Christ Himself in Heaven? If they are, what duty do they impose on us?

These questions have shaken the whole Anglican Communion, and are still shaking the Church of England to its centre. No question of equal importance has been asked for the last three centuries, nor has any controversy arisen involving principles so vital and issues so grave. The principles at stake are the very foundation doctrines of Christianity and the

spiritual authority of the Church. The issues involved are, whether one, whose heresies are flagrant and notorious, is still within or without the Church; and if without it, whether we, of the Church of England, hold to his communion, or to the communion of the Church of CHRIST.

We are not yet at the end of the controversy, perhaps only at its beginning. The rapid development of events continually adds new features, and the ultimate issue cannot be clearly foreseen. But undoubtedly, of all Questions of the Day, affecting both the Church and the World, this is the most urgent and the most momentous. Not only naturally, therefore, but necessarily, it claims a place in the present Series of Essays.

But this question can only receive a place totally inadequate to its merits. A considerable literature has already grown out of it, and is constantly receiving large accessions. It is a vast picture, in many portions, crowded with incidents and characters legal and ecclesiastical in no little confusion. To present it as a whole in the *carte-de-visite* size of a single Essay is impossible, and to attempt it would be foolish. The time will surely come when it will be collected on one canvas, with all its proportions duly preserved and faithfully represented. On the present occasion nothing can be done or attempted beyond giving a tolerably clear outline of its main features, so as to bring before the eye the essential facts and the essential problems, with their solution. We shall have enough to do with these. All non-essentials must be allowed to stand over. This is the whole object of the following Essay.

The subject will fall naturally into three divisions:—

I. An historical summary to the present time.

II. An examination of the objections alleged against the validity of the acts of the South African Episcopate.

III. A statement of the present position of the controversy, and of our duties in regard to it.

## I. HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

In the year 1852 the Bishop of Capetown was the only Anglican Bishop in South Africa. Finding a diocese nearly three thousand miles in length more than he could efficiently superintend, the Bishop came to England to arrange for its division. Funds were raised, and the whole English Episcopate and all Colonial Bishops then in England being summoned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the invitation of the Crown, resolved that the Diocese of Capetown should be

divided, and that the Bishop should become Metropolitan of a Province. The Crown concurred; and, to facilitate the consequent legal arrangements, the Bishop of Capetown resigned his see into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Nov. 23, 1853, one week before the consecration of the Bishops of Grahamstown and Natal. At their consecration, the last-named Bishops took the oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop of Capetown as Metropolitan, and to the Church of Capetown as a Metropolitical See. The legal settlement was not strictly coincident; the Bishop of Natal's Letters Patent bearing date Nov. 23, the Bishop of Capetown's Dec. 8 in the same year. In due time the three Bishops went to their several dioceses.

On the whole, all went fairly well to the end of the year 1860, though some uneasiness was already felt in the diocese of Natal as to the complete orthodoxy of their Bishop. In June, 1859, the consecration of the Bishop of S. Helena added another suffragan see to the Province. In December, 1860, the consecration of Archdeacon Mackenzie raised the number of suffragans to four; though, on account of the peculiarity of the case, the new Bishop's territorial charge was not strictly defined. The district had to be explored as well as evangelized. On the death of Bishop Mackenzie, Dr. Tozer was consecrated in his stead, Feb. 2, 1863; and at the same time Dr. Twells was consecrated first Bishop of the Orange Free State, with a clearly-defined diocese. Both Bishops took the oath of obedience to the Metropolitan Bishop and Church of Capetown. The South African Province then consisted, as it still consists, of the Metropolitical and five suffragan sees, the area of one diocese being, for special reasons, as yet undefined.

While the Bishops were assembled at Capetown for the consecration of Archdeacon Mackenzie, the evident change in the Bishop of Natal caused great anxiety to his brethren. Six months afterwards he published his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans;* and at this point the present controversy may be said to have definitely commenced. The book seemed to the Metropolitan and Provincial Bishops to contain seriously unsound doctrine, especially with regard to the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, the Atonement, and Eternal Punishment. The Metropolitan, after vainly endeavouring to persuade the Bishop of Natal to withdraw the work, felt it his duty to submit it and the correspondence rising out of it to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Suffragans, for advice as to what should be done. This took place in November, 1861. In the following May the English Bishops met to consider the subject, but did

not adopt any formal or corporate resolution with regard to it. Other circumstances bringing the Bishop of Capetown to England about that time, he applied to the Bishops for their individual opinions, and received from nearly all of them strong condemnations of the book. The Metropolitan's arrival in England was followed very speedily by that of the Bishop of Natal, who was about to publish the first part of his work, *The Pentateuch Critically Examined.* This publication, of course, aggravated the scandal exceedingly; and the excitement became so great that the Bishop of Capetown saw that, as Metropolitan, he must be prepared to take some decided action.

External pressure caused the Archbishop of Canterbury to summon all the English and Irish, with such Colonial Bishops as were at home, to a solemn conference on the case. The results were the removal of the Bishop of Natal from the Vice-Presidentship of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, his inhibition from officiating in most of the English dioceses, and an Epistle signed by forty-one Bishops calling on him to resign his see. Strong opinions were expressed that judicial proceedings should be taken against the Bishop of Natal; and the present Bishop of London, in particular, was especially urgent on this point, complaining of the Metropolitan of Capetown for having been so long quiet.

The Bishop of Capetown answered that he could do nothing in England; that if charges were made before him at the Cape, he would not fail to do his duty; but that he was at that time hampered by some undecided legal questions as to the value of the Letters Patent, which were then being discussed before the Privy Council, in the case of Mr. Long. In the mean time, as the inculpated books had been published in London, the Bishop of London was told by some of the Prelates that he could move in the matter, so as not to throw the whole responsibility on the feeble Church of South Africa. But the Bishop of London remained perfectly passive.

The scandal was, however, now fairly afloat, and it was manifest that it could not rest where it was. Petitions poured in upon Convocation, and after a long and elaborate examination by a Committee of the Lower House of Parts I. and II. of the work on *The Pentateuch,* the Provincial Synod of Canterbury condemned the book as "involving errors of the gravest and most dangerous character, subversive of faith in the Bible as the Word of God." The Bishops, expecting that proceedings would shortly be taken by the Bishop of Capetown, "declined to take further action in the matter at that time."

Before the issue of this condemnation the Bishop of Capetown had returned to his Province, having, while in England, endeavoured in vain to obtain definite and authoritative advice as to how he ought to proceed. The circumstances were too novel, and the uncertainty of the legal questions too great. He felt that he must act as well as he could, and on his own responsibility. Matters were brought to a climax by the Dean of Capetown and the Archdeacons of Grahamstown and Georgetown delivering to him as Metropolitan formal charges against the Bishop of Natal. This left the Metropolitan no choice except as to the mode of proceeding. On this point he took legal advice, feeling uncertain as to the validity of his Letters Patent, the Judgment of the Privy Council in the "Long" case not having been yet received at the Cape.

For a clear understanding of the case I must here say a few words on the precise nature of the difficulty. The Bishop of Capetown, in common with other Home and Colonial Bishops, was invested with a twofold character, one ecclesiastical or spiritual, the other legal. He was not only a Bishop and a Metropolitan in the Church, but he had accepted Letters Patent from the Crown, professing to endow him with a certain legal status and with certain legal functions and authority. It was no doubt intended (and was certainly believed by the Bishop) that these two characters should be not only compatible but harmonious and mutually supporting. His aim, therefore, was to exercise each in a way strictly conformable to the requirements of the other. But grave doubts had of late been thrown on the supposed agreement. It had become doubtful how far his legal powers extended, and whether the support which they gave to his spiritual authority was not exceedingly limited, if not altogether illusory. Till these points should have been decided by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council it was impossible to feel sure what his legal position really was, and how far it could be brought to the support of his spiritual authority in a case like that of the Bishop of Natal. Hence arose the difficulty.

When the Privy Council Judgment was received, it established several important points. For example: (1) That the validity of the Letters Patent of 1847 absolutely ceased on the Bishop's resignation and the issue of the new Letters in 1853; (2) That the Letters Patent of 1853, being granted after the Cape had received a Legislative Constitution, were invalid so far as they professed to give legal coercive jurisdiction; (3) That the Bishop had therefore no jurisdiction over any one who had not consented to acknowledge it; (4) That "no Ecclesiastical Court

was expressly constituted by the Letters Patent, nor was power given to the Bishop to establish one" (*Ecclesiastical Judgments*, pp. 295-6); (5) That the Privy Council had "not to deal with the Bishop's authority in spiritual affairs," but only "in temporal matters[1]" (*Ibid.* p. 311).

It appeared, then, that the Letters Patent gave the Metropolitan no original jurisdiction over the Bishop of Natal; but it was thought that by the actual consent of the Bishop, and his recognition of the Bishop of Capetown's Metropolitical authority, the necessary "consensual jurisdiction" might be established; and, no judgment having been pronounced against the validity of the Letters Patent in other respects, it seemed probable that the legal and spiritual authorities of the Metropolitan might still work together. It was determined, therefore, to adhere in the impending trial as closely as possible to the line marked out in the Letters Patent.

The constitution of the Court was another difficulty. The Letters Patent neither constituted a Court, nor provided means for its constitution[2]. The legal power of the Metropolitan being undefined, he fell back on his ecclesiastical authority. Two modes of proceeding seemed open to him; *viz.* to try the cause either (1) as Metropolitan with Assessors; or (2) in Provincial

[1] The Bishop of Capetown, in his official letter to the Churchwardens of Mr. Long's parish, in reference to this Judgment of the Privy Council, expressly upholds the independent spiritual powers of the Church. "If there be such a thing as the Christian Church, all spiritual power within it must be derived from CHRIST. Neither Kings, nor Parliaments, nor Civil Courts, can confer it. It has been given by CHRIST to the Bishop." "I have to inform you that I have, with the advice and concurrence of the majority of my assessors in his [Mr. Long's] trial, formally restored him to the exercise of spiritual functions in the parish of Mowbray. But in doing this I desire to guard myself against any recognition of spiritual authority in the Judicial Committee as regards this Church; and I therefore feel bound solemnly to protest —as, in cancelling my spiritual sentence I have protested, and here again protest—that, in accepting their judgment in a matter of law, I do not admit the claim of the Court, if such a claim be involved in the decision, to set aside a spiritual sentence of a Bishop of the Church in Africa. In that case I repudiate the asserted right. I hold myself free to give or to withhold spiritual powers, let the sentence of temporal Courts be what they may" (*Guardian*, September 30th, 1863).

[2] They merely say, "We will and grant to the said Bishop of Capetown and his successors full power and authority as Metropolitan of the Cape of Good Hope and of the Island of S. Helena to perform all functions peculiar and appropriate to the office of Metropolitan within the limits of the said Sees of Grahamstown and Natal, and to exercise Metropolitan jurisdiction over the Bishops of the said Sees and their successors"—the mode of exercising it being left undetermined.

Synod. To obviate every possible objection, and partly because the Letters Patent seemed to him to imply that the Metropolitan should be the sole judge, he determined to combine the two; "because," as he says, "I was perfectly well aware that if we condemned in Synod only, as the more canonical method, I should have been told that I ought to have done so, not in Synod, but in Court; and if I had delivered judgment in Court, and not referred the matter to the Synod—that the Synod and not the Metropolitan was the proper authority in such a case" (*Statement*, p. 36). Therefore he held both Court and Synod, the former to comply with the possible intentions of the Letters Patent, the latter to satisfy the fullest requirements of the Church. And to secure perfect co-operation between the two, he summoned all the members of his Provincial Synod to sit as Assessors in the Court; Court and Synod thus being made to consist of the same individuals.

The Province consisted, as has been said, of the Metropolitan and five Suffragans, *viz.* the Bishops of Grahamstown, of Natal, of S. Helena, of the Orange Free State, and of the Central African Mission. Omitting the accused Bishop, four Suffragans were all that could possibly be present, together with the Metropolitan. All these were summoned; but, by reason of distance and difficulty of communication, two only—the Bishops of Grahamstown and the Orange Free State,—were able to answer the summons.

The Bishop of Natal was in England, but received timely citation to appear, with copies of all needful documents. But he denied the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Capetown, and expressly refused to acknowledge the validity of any of the proceedings. His grounds were these[1]. He maintained that the Privy Council Judgment in the "Long" case had decided that the Bishop of Capetown had no legal coercive jurisdiction whatever; that it had defined the legal meaning of canonical obedience to be obedience to "such commands as the Bishop is by law authorized to impose," and he denied that a citation to appear before the Metropolitan for trial was such a command; that no such jurisdiction was established either (1) by their Letters Patent, because, though such power seemed to be conveyed to the Bishop of Capetown in his Patent, there was no in-

[1] These reasons, though collected from Bishop Colenso's *Letter to the Laity of Natal*, which was written after the trial and as a protest against it, may no doubt be taken as the grounds on which he refused to acknowledge the Metropolitan's jurisdiction in the first instance.

timation of it in his own, which were anterior in date by fifteen days; or (2) by consent, because he was not aware of the tenor of the Metropolitan's Patent until some years after his consecration, and, therefore, could not be supposed to have consented to that of which he knew nothing; that if any jurisdiction was conferred on the Bishop of Capetown by the Bishop of Natal's Patent, it was strictly of the same kind as that possessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, as he was advised, could not by law summon a Suffragan before his tribunal, or exercise jurisdiction over him. On these grounds of ascertained or presumed law the Bishop of Natal repudiated the Metropolitan's authority, and announced his intention to treat all proceedings as a nullity.

Nevertheless the Bishop of Natal did not absolutely refuse to put in any appearance at the Court. Feeling perhaps that some of the legal points were still more or less doubtful, he determined to tender, through Dr. Bleek, together with a protest, a provisional "defence," *i. e.* a defence to hold good in case the asserted jurisdiction should be found to have any legal existence. This course he adopted, and every thing so tendered was fully considered by the Court.

Both parties seem to have been a little in doubt as to the state of the law. Both wished that their proceedings should be legal, be the law what it might. But the vital difference between them was this; that, while the Bishop of Natal repudiated every kind of authority that was not either expressly created or acknowledged by temporal law, the Bishop of Capetown maintained the obligation of a purely spiritual jurisdiction, inherent in the Episcopate, emanating from the Divine Head of the Church, independent of the laws of States, and irresponsible to temporal Courts of Law. On this authority he, as a Bishop and Metropolitan of the Catholic Church, rested his claim to spiritual jurisdiction, whatever might be the fate of the Letters Patent. These latter, which were all in all to the Bishop of Natal, occupied a very subordinate place in the estimation of the Metropolitan. He had two strings to his bow; his Suffragan had only one.

There is no need to enter into the details of the trial. The proceedings are voluminous and of great interest [1]. It is enough to say that the charges were founded on the *Commentary on the*

[1] They are published in one volume, under the title of *Trial of Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, before the Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown*, 1864, London. G. Street, Colonial Agency, 30, Cornhill; Bell and Daldy; pp. 405, price 2*s*. There is also a *Verbatim Report. Trial of Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, &c.* . . . London, 1867; but the other is the work which I have used.

*Epistle to the Romans*, and Parts I. and II. of the book on *The Pentateuch*, the same portions which had been already condemned by the Convocation of Canterbury. The doctrines which the Bishop was specially charged with impugning were those of the Atonement, Justification, Regeneration, the Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, Everlasting Punishment, the Inspiration and Veracity of the Holy Scriptures, and the Verity of the Hypostatic Union in the One Person of our Blessed LORD JESUS CHRIST, by charging Him with ignorance and error; he was also accused of depraving and impugning the Book of Common Prayer: a long and sufficiently awful catalogue.

It does not fall within the province of this Essay to discuss questions of pure theology. The validity or invalidity of the Capetown Sentence is a controversy of Apostolic discipline immediately, and only mediately of faith. I have not to argue whether the Bishop of Natal was guilty of the heresies imputed to him (though that the whole Anglican Communion so regards him will incidentally appear as I proceed), but only whether or not the authority which tried and condemned him was competent to do, and did actually do, what it professed. I need only say that the trial commenced on Nov. 17, 1863; that the charges of the presenting Clergy were sustained with such remarkable ability as to extort encomiums from most unfavourable critics; that after the Assessors had delivered their opinions in favour of conviction, a Provincial Synod was held, to which the proposed Judgment and Sentence of the Metropolitan were submitted and by which they were approved; and that, finally, on Dec. 16, Sentence of Deprivation was pronounced, with four months' grace granted for retractation. The Sentence would therefore take effect on and after April 16, 1864. The Synod also decreed that if the Bishop should presume to exercise Episcopal functions in the Diocese of Natal after his deprivation and before restoration he would be *ipso facto* excommunicate, and that the Sentence must be solemnly pronounced against him.

One other important provision must be mentioned. An appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury was recommended by the Synod (if desired by the deprived Bishop), and allowed by the Metropolitan, for these reasons:—The Letters Patent, says the Bishop of Capetown, gave no right of appeal in such cases as this, where the Metropolitan acts as Metropolitan with the aid of Assessors. Words were, however, inserted to the effect that the Metropolitan of Capetown should be "subject to the general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, and subordinate to the Archiepiscopal See of the Province

of Canterbury." These words, vague as they are, might possibly be taken to imply some right of appeal to the Archbishop [1]. Partly, therefore, on this ground, to be legally on the safe side, the Bishop of Capetown allowed it. Ecclesiastically speaking, the right of appeal was more doubtful. In all ordinary cases, at any rate, Provincial Synods were the final judges of provincial causes; especially when the Province was not included in a Patriarchate, and the Metropolitan had no direct Ecclesiastical superior, as in this case. For though the Archbishop of Canterbury is sometimes called a *de facto* or *quasi*-Patriarch of the

[1] Here are the Bishop of Capetown's words: "The provisions of our Letters Patent, as regards Appeals from Bishops, are as follows:—There is an Appeal from the decisions of the Suffragan Bishops to the Metropolitan; there is no Appeal beyond him. Any Appeal, in such cases, either to Canterbury or the Crown, is expressly excluded. To the Metropolitan is given 'full power and authority finally to decree and determine the same.' There is an Appeal from decisions in causes originally instituted before the Bishop of Capetown as a Diocesan Bishop, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who shall 'finally decide and determine the said Appeal.' Here the Crown is excluded. In cases such as Dr. Colenso's, where the Metropolitan acts as Metropolitan with the aid of Suffragans as Assessors, no right of Appeal, as it appears to me, is given. There is, however, a general and vague sentence which might be construed as implying it:—'We do further will and ordain that the said Right Reverend Father in God, Robert Gray . . . shall be deemed and taken to be the Metropolitan Bishop, . . . subject, nevertheless, to the general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the time being, and subordinate to the Archiepiscopal See of the Province of Canterbury' " (*Statement*, p. 37).

It would of course be presumptuous in me to undertake to interpret Letters Patent which I have not seen, but I cannot help noticing that the Judicial Committee appear designedly to attach a different meaning to the provisions of these Letters. Their Judgment cites them as follows:—"And we do further will and ordain that in case any proceeding shall be instituted against any of the said Bishops of Grahamstown and Natal, when placed under the said Metropolitical See of Capetown, such proceedings shall originate and be carried on before the said Bishop of Capetown, whom we hereby authorize and direct to take cognizance of the same . . . [This hiatus is the Judicial Committee's, not mine]. And if any party shall conceive himself aggrieved by any judgment, decree, or sentence pronounced by the said Bishop of Capetown, or his successors, either in case of such review or in any cause originally instituted before the said Bishop, or his successors, it shall be lawful for the said party to appeal to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or his successors, who shall finally decide and determine the said Appeal" (*Guardian*, March 22nd, 1865).

If this right of Appeal "in any cause originally instituted before the Bishop of Capetown" does not extend to proceedings instituted against the Suffragan Bishops, how came the Judicial Committee to place those clauses in such significant and designed juxta-position? It would have been, to say the least, a very awkward and misleading method of citation. I do not decide between the Bishop and the Judicial Committee; I only draw attention to their apparent disagreement.

whole Anglican Communion, he is not so really, but merely enjoys a precedence of historical and traditional honour. And besides, in whatever legal relation the Metropolitan of Capetown may stand to the See of Canterbury, I think it is a legal relation only, founded on the Letters Patent, and on no ecclesiastical obligation[1]. His *status* in the Church is, I apprehend, that of an auto-cephalous Metropolitan, bound to the chair of Canterbury only by those ties of reverence and affection with which that great See is deservedly venerated throughout the Anglican Communion.

But, notwithstanding the ordinary rules ordained for preventing frivolous and wearisome appeals, the unity of the Episcopate required and the practice of the Church permitted that grave causes, especially where the faith was involved, might be re-heard in larger Synods, and occasionally they reached Œcumenical Councils. There was nothing, therefore, actually unlawful (considering the novelty and importance of the case) in the Synod permitting an Appeal to the Archbishop; and it was natural that the Bishop of Capetown should be willing to share his grave responsibilities with the home Episcopate. At the same time, both he and the Synod were careful to compromise no right of the Provincial Church, as their guarded language shows. "I shall consent," said the Bishop in his Sentence, "to forward my Judgment to his Grace for revision" (which is a different thing, by the way, from the power of reversal), "waiving in this particular case, which is of itself novel and of great importance to the whole Church, any real or supposed rights of this Church." The words of the Synod are, "This Synod is of opinion that if the Bishop of Natal should appeal to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury . . . it would be highly desirable to allow such Appeal in this particular case. . . As, however, the question of Appeals to England from the Churches in the Colonies involves considerations as to the rights of Provinces . . . this Synod does not express any opinion upon the general question."

Under the above circumstances the Appeal was granted, but not accepted. On the contrary, the Bishop protested against

[1] It was, perhaps, rather different, so long as the Bishop of Capetown was only a Diocesan Bishop, as he had taken at consecration an oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop as his Metropolitan. This obligation, however, determined on the resignation of his See, and was not, so far as I am aware, renewed on his assumption of the Metropolitical dignity. It would be, moreover, an ecclesiastical solecism for a real, as distinguished from a titular, Metropolitan to be subject to another holding the same ecclesiastical rank.

the Sentence on delivery, and avowed his intention to treat it as a nullity and to contest its legality, if he should be so advised. Accordingly, in a *Letter to the Laity of Natal*, dated from London April 20, 1864, *i.e.* four days after the sentence took effect, he announced his intention of "procuring, if possible, an authoritative legal settlement of the questions at issue" (p. 2). To this end he was "advised to petition her Majesty, and to pray that this question of jurisdiction might be settled by authority in England before he returned again to Natal" (p. 9). He did so, and the Crown referred the petition to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Bishop Colenso prayed that all the proceedings against him might be declared null and void, that further proceedings might be prohibited, and that the Bishop of Capetown might be forbidden to interfere with him any more in the exercise of his Episcopal office. The only question the Judicial Committee decided was that of Jurisdiction, but this in a way that seemed conclusive, and, at the same time, to change the whole legal aspect of the case. They decided, in accordance with their former Judgment, that the Bishop of Capetown's Patent, so far as it professed to convey any legal jurisdiction, was wholly null and void, as having been granted after the Colony had a Legislative Government of its own; but they also decided that Bishop Colenso's Letters Patent were equally worthless for an exactly similar reason; that neither Bishop had either legal diocese or legal jurisdiction; and, moreover, that no sufficient "consensual jurisdiction" had been established by either the Letters Patent or the Oath of Canonical Obedience, since that must have assumed that both parties were at the time aware of the legal defectiveness of their Patents; and further, that had it been intended it would have been illegal, and so null and void. The whole judicial proceedings were consequently pronounced "null and void in law;" or, in other words, the law ignored them altogether, and regarded them as simple nonentities.

By this remarkable Judgment (delivered on March 20, 1865), "a document of the greatest interest and importance," as the *Times* called it, the whole legal complications seemed to be swept away at once. "The upshot of the matter is shortly this," said the *Times* (March 21, 1865), "that although the Bishop of Capetown has no authority at all over the Bishop of Natal; yet, on the same principles, neither the Bishop of Natal nor any other Colonial Bishop, not created under special legislative provisions, has any authority over any one else. They are Bishops, and nothing more; they are not Bishops of any place or over anybody in particular. . . . . They are, in fact,

as much Bishops in the Feejee Islands as in their nominal Dioceses; and, on the other hand, they are to no greater extent Bishops in their Dioceses than they would be in the Feejee Islands. . . . . It is hard to say which of the contending parties has the more or less reason to be satisfied with this singular result. Dr. Colenso has successfully disputed the authority of the Bishop of Capetown, but only to discover that his own authority is equally shadowy; and the Bishop of Capetown, if he is compelled to surrender his usurped authority in Natal, may console himself by reflecting that Dr. Colenso has no power to assert a counter authority, and that no clergyman need be contaminated against his will by any intercourse with Episcopal heresy."

All pretence of legal authority being thus apparently disposed of, the spiritual authority of the Church was left to stand alone. Neither the present nor the previous Judgment of the Judicial Committee had pretended to overstep the legal bounds of the case before them; the purely spiritual authority of the Church was not questioned. It would not have signified had it been otherwise, for temporal law is no judge in such a matter; but in fact, it was altogether passed by.

Before returning to spirituals, however, as we have gone so far in the legal aspect of the case, we may as well anticipate a little, and finish what has to be said on this branch of the subject, that we may have it before our minds in a clear and connected form.

The Privy Council Judgment left the African Church in the position of a Voluntary Society, exactly as any religious sect is in England; and the Bishops in possession of honorary titles, capable of "consensual jurisdiction" so long as it did not assume a "coercive" form; and, possibly, with the character of Corporations, capable of holding property in trust for the Voluntary Societies of which they are the heads. In consequence of the uncertainty of the law, the Trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund, whence the Bishops of Capetown and Natal's official incomes had been derived, had for some time withheld them, and Dr. Colenso brought an action for the recovery of his assumed share. The case was argued before the Master of the Rolls in the summer of 1866 (about a year after Bishop Colenso had sailed for Natal), and on Nov. 6 Judgment was given in his favour. It was, almost without exception, considered a very singular one. Professing to be based on and to follow the Privy Council Judgments, it was believed to have virtually set them aside, and to have restored to the Colonial Bishops, by a

somewhat circuitous process, all the legal *status* and jurisdiction from which the Judicial Committee was supposed to have excluded them. The only *practical* difference (and nothing could be really more insignificant) seemed to be, that instead of enforcing their spiritual authority by appeal to civil tribunals, with the intervention of legal courts nominally "their own," they must enforce it by appeal to the civil tribunals, without such intervention. If this, indeed, were the case, the Privy Council Judgments had been, with one consent, strangely misinterpreted. Many thought that even these had involved the Colonial Churches in great perplexities, but Lord Romilly's decision made confusion worse confounded. It left the law—no one knew what or where. As I am not criticising but simply recording events, I shall not enter on any analysis of this Judgment, nor contrast it with those of the Judicial Committee. It was decided not to appeal; so, whether compatible or not with the ruling of the Supreme Court, it stands side by side with it unreversed [1].

[1] I believe it is generally allowed that Lord Romilly's Judgment has been received with the least deference by those best qualified to judge of its merits. It has been asserted on high authority, without contradiction, that having been submitted by Government to three sets of law officers of the Crown in succession, all have pronounced it to be worthless. The Professor of International Law in the University of Oxford, in some able remarks on it in connexion with the Privy Council decisions, has said, "This judgment appears to be at variance with that of the Judicial Committee, 'in the matter of the Bishop of Natal,' unless it be true that the words 'jurisdiction,' or the phrase 'authority to deprive' is used by the Judicial Committee in one sense and by the Master of the Rolls in another. Beyond this, there are in the two Judgments dicta, which, taken in their plain grammatical sense, seem to militate against each other, and can with difficulty, I venture to say, be reduced or tortured into harmony by the most skilful master of language." Again, "Upon these decisions I defy anybody to say for certain whether there is or is not a Bishop and a Diocese of Natal" (*Remarks on some late Decisions on the Colonial Church*, by Professor Mountague Bernard, pp. 6—8). Still more emphatic is the Archbishop of York's assertion of the utter confusion in which these judgments have left the legal question: "He [the Dean of Ripon] seemed to think that nothing was more certain than that the original Letters Patent of the Bishop of Capetown were gone. Now I think that in this tangled case nothing is more certain than that the Letters Patent are *not* gone. . . . I venture to say, though I do not presume to dogmatize, for I feel that I am walking in a cloud of thick darkness, with briars crossing my path and pitfalls yawning before my feet, but I venture to say that the original Diocese of Capetown still exists, and that nothing has ever destroyed it. . . . I maintain that the original Patent granted to the Bishop of Capetown remained, and that it made him Bishop of Natal. Subsequently another Patent was granted to the Bishop of Natal, and I am afraid I cannot say which has the greater strength. This may turn out to be a dream, and that

Acting on advice given by counsel before he left England, and fortified by Lord Romilly's Judgment, Dr. Colenso since his return to Natal has pressed his real or supposed legal rights, claiming to exercise full spiritual jurisdiction, to deprive the clergy, and to become possessed of all Church property of every description. Once, at least, the law has failed him; but, generally speaking, he has carried all before him. I must mention the most recent instance, though full particulars are not yet known; but it sufficiently shows how chaos may be made more chaotic. On the application of Dr. Colenso, the Supreme Court at Natal has put him in absolute possession of the Cathedral, the Deanery, and all other Ecclesiastical property. In giving Judgment it declared the absolute validity of his Letters Patent, which one of the Judges had on a former occasion judicially declared to be "as good law as any in the Colony." This decision brings the Supreme Court at Natal into direct collision with both Lord Romilly and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the Judgment of the latter being distinctly passed by with censure[1].

Notice of Appeal was given; so it remains to be seen whether the Judgment will eventually hold good. Meanwhile we have three apparently inconsistent decisions all standing side by side as, *de facto*, law. The decision of the Supreme Tribunal of the Empire set aside by two inferior Courts, the two inferior Courts themselves at variance, and one of them divided against itself. *Quis custodiet legis custodes?* It seems hopeless to ask what is the legal position of the Colonial Churches, for every Court hath its own doctrine and its own interpretation. I certainly shall not attempt to find my way through this Slough of Legal

there may be some subtlety by which all this can be reconciled, so that what I have said may go for nothing. All that I contend for is that the case is not an easy one, and that there is a contradiction, not in word but in fact, which seems to be almost inexplicable. . . . In this enormous perplexity, what steps have been taken?. . . . We want to discover how to escape from this miserable tangle and confusion. . . . We do not know whether the See is legally vacant or not. We do not know whether the Diocese of Natal has ever been constituted. We do not know in whose Diocese Natal is" (Archbishop of York in Convocation, February, 1868: *Guardian* Report). It will be seen that still further complications have arisen since the Archbishop's speech.

[1] But the three Judges could not agree. One adhered to the Privy Council, another seems to have borrowed from Lord Romilly; and the Natal correspondent of the *Church Times* writes: "There is some confusion in this Judgment which seems to have been noticed, for, at another sitting, the Chief Justice said he had been asked to explain it, but thought this was not required" (*Church Times*, March 21st, 1868). Certainly Colonial Church Law is not one of the exact sciences.

Despond. If this be all the stay and strength of the Colonial Church, it is helpless indeed.

We may now retrace our steps and sketch the ecclesiastical events subsequent to the Sentence of Deprivation pronounced by the Metropolitan and Synod of Capetown in December, 1863.

Having passed sentence, the Bishop of Capetown communicated what had been done to the several Churches of his Communion. Resolutions of encouragement, sympathy, and (in most cases) thanks from the Synods of Canterbury, York, Scotland, Canada, and the United States were the results; variously worded, but all substantially acknowledging that the Church of South Africa was maintaining the cause of CHRIST and of the true faith. As examples of their tenor I quote those of the Synod of Canterbury and the United States. The former, bearing date July 28, 1865, is as follows:—

"May it please your Grace: We, the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, in Convocation under Her Majesty's most Royal Writ of Summons lawfully assembled, pray your Grace, as the President of this Synod, and as Primate of All England and Metropolitan, to convey to the Lord Bishop of Capetown, appointed by Her Majesty's Letters Patent Metropolitan of the Province of South Africa, and to the Bishops who assembled with him, to try, under the powers purported to be conveyed by Letters Patent granted by the Crown, a Bishop of the Province accused before them of heresy, the expression of our hearty admiration of the courage, firmness, and devoted love of the truth of the Gospel, as this Church has received the same, which has been manifested by him and them under most difficult and trying circumstances. We thank them for the noble stand they have made against heretical and false doctrine; and we trust that even out of the present difficulties and embarrassments with which they are surrounded, it may please GOD to provide some safeguard for the maintenance of the faith once for all committed to the Saints. All which we pray your Grace to communicate to the Lord Bishop of Capetown (*Chronicle of Convocation*, June 28, 1865, pp. 2358, 2359)."

The Lower House concurred; it became an Act of the whole Synod.

The American Church spoke twice; once to the Provincial Synod of Canada, as follows:—

"Our late distinguished visitors (the Canadian Metropolitan and the Prolocutor of the Lower House of the Provincial Synod) were witnesses of one incident which, it is trusted, they and you

will regard with no ordinary interest. We refer to the emphatic expressions of sympathy with the noble-hearted Bishop of Capetown in his stand against error, which were unanimously adopted in both branches of our body. It is an incident to which we look back with peculiar satisfaction; for while it makes manifest our sympathy with your branch of the Church, and gives additional weight and larger Catholicity to that condemnation of error which has been already pronounced in so remarkable a manner by nearly the whole body of the Anglican Bishops and Clergy, it also suggests the thought of the great benefits which our two branches of the Church may derive in times of trial from united action in support of the Faith once delivered to the Saints; and we earnestly hope and pray that our Communions may ever be found standing together against every assault upon the truth as it is in JESUS" (*Journal of General Convention*, 1865, p. 151).

And, again, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Capetown; in which, having recited nearly *verbatim* the Canterbury Resolution given above, they proceed—

"Resolved, that the said Bishops, Clergy, and Laity deem it due to the holy cause in which the Right Reverend the Metropolitan and other Bishops of the Church in South Africa have borne such timely and efficient testimony in face of so great difficulties, to declare our hearty concurrence in the expression of admiration, thanks, and trust made by the Convocation of Canterbury" (*Journal of General Convention*, page 153).

The day after the deprivation of the Bishop of Natal the Bishops addressed a letter to the diocese, stating what had taken place, and warning the faithful no longer to acknowledge Bishop Colenso as their Bishop after the Sentence should have taken effect. In the following May (1864), the Metropolitan held a visitation of the diocese, and, in a noble Charge delivered in the Cathedral of Pieter-Maritzburg, fully explained and vindicated the course he had felt bound to pursue. Into the history of this visitation I cannot enter, because I have not space for it; and because, intensely interesting as it is, it supplies us with no new facts bearing on the essential points which alone I am professing to examine.

It should be mentioned, because it is of the very utmost importance never to forget it, that the Bishop in this Charge, as every where else, is careful expressly to attribute exclusively *spiritual* effects to the spiritual Sentence. He says, "It simply pronounces the Bishop to have erred from the Faith, and to be deposed from his spiritual office" (*Charge*, p. 12). He expressly

and repeatedly repudiates any idea of interference with Dr. Colenso's *legal* rights or position [1].

The results of the Visitation were soon apparent. In anticipation of the speedy return of Bishop Colenso to Natal, a conference of clergy and lay delegates of the diocese requested the Metropolitan to obtain the opinions of the Canterbury Convocation on the two following points: (1) "Whether the acceptance of a new Bishop on our part, while Bishop Colenso still retains the Letters Patent of the Crown, would in any way sever us from the Mother Church in England? (2) Supposing the reply to the first question to be, That we should not be thereby in any way severed, what are the proper steps to take to obtain a new Bishop?" With these queries the Bishop of Capetown forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury a third from himself, as Metropolitan, in the name of the whole South African Church; *viz.* "Whether the Church of England holds communion with the Right Reverend Dr. Colenso and the heretical Church which he is seeking to establish in Natal, or whether it is in communion with the orthodox Bishops who in Synod have declared him to be *ipso facto* excommunicate, in consequence of the course which he is now pursuing, and with the Church which is in communion with them?"

These questions have given rise to such a storm of controversy and misrepresentation, and are themselves of such extreme importance, that I think it necessary fully to consider the subject.

Preliminaries being settled, the substantial debate came on June 28, 1866. The Bishop of Capetown's query was taken first. It propounds, as its terms show, an alternative. Is the Church of England in communion with Dr. Colenso, *or* with the Bishops who in Synod have declared him to be, *ipso facto*, excommunicate [2]? The answer returned by the Synod, after a very

[1] For example: "Neither they [the "eminent counsel who drew up the sentence"] nor I ever thought of cancelling the Letters Patent of Natal, but simply assumed to remove the Bishop of Natal from a spiritual office" (*Statement*, Second Edition, p. 35). "Thus then matters stand at present: Dr. Colenso is deprived of his spiritual office and functions by the recognized tribunals of a branch of the Church of Christ. He is separated by those tribunals, in accordance with the Canons of the Church, from the communion of the faithful. He has still possession of his Letters Patent" (*Id.* p. 53). "Whatever rights he [Dr. Colenso] has in law have been and will be respected" (Letter to *Times*, October 11th, 1867).

[2] We must remember that Bishop Colenso was not actually excommunicate at the time this question was *sent* by the Bishop of Capetown, because he had not then returned to Natal. It was proposed in anticipation of his publicly

long and extremely interesting and curious debate, was this: "It is the opinion of this House that the Church of England holds communion with the Bishop of Capetown, and with those Bishops who, lately with him in Synod, declared Bishop Colenso to be, *ipso facto*, excommunicate." A direct answer to a direct question. But the strange thing is that the very Bishops who voted for it were desirous of avoiding a direct answer, and the Bishops who wished to answer directly voted against it. And this is how so singular a result came about. The question was a simple alternative. Its two branches were not only contraries, but (communion with one side or other being taken for granted) contradictories, according to the fundamental principles of the Universal Church. The acceptance of one necessarily involved the rejection of the other[1]. Both could not be true; one must be: the question was simply, Which? But the majority of the Bishops (those of London and S. David's being the chief) hoped to escape this necessity of choice, and thought they could affirm one part of the question without denying the other. They imagined, that is, that they could achieve a theological impossibility[2].

announced intention of returning at once. Before Convocation met he had returned and had been formally excommunicated. This was on December 16, 1865.

[1] "The meaning of that reply is this: The question is asked whether the Church of England holds communion with the Metropolitan and Synod of Capetown, or with Dr. Colenso? The answer is 'With the Metropolitan and Bishops of South Africa,' and by implication, of course, not with Dr. Colenso. I have no wish, therefore, to see any thing to that effect inserted, it is clearly implied in the first answer" (Canon Seymour's Speech, *Chronicle of Convocation*, June 29, 1866).

[2] More singularly still, as if to show how remarkably the hand of God was guiding the Synod, the Bishop of London put on record his perception of the real value of the act he was about to do. The following passage from the debate is so remarkable from this point of view, as to be worth quoting in full:—

"*The President.* There is an Amendment upon the Motion proposed. It is proposed by the Bishop of Lincoln 'that the Church of England holds communion with the Bishop of Capetown and with those Bishops who lately with him in Synod declared Dr. Colenso to be *ipso facto* excommunicate.'

"*The Bishop of London.* If I may be allowed to make a remark on the Amendment I would call attention to this: The question puts two sides of a dilemma: you adopt one of them without saying any thing about the other. While you avoid one horn of the dilemma you must take care that you do not adopt the other. The Amendment should stand thus: 'While this House declines to answer the first part of the question, whether the Church of England is in communion with Bishop Colenso, we beg to assure Bishop Gray that it is in communion with the Bishops,' &c.

["*The Bishop of Lincoln.* I should prefer that.

The Bishops who voted in the minority wanted to say more. The Bishop of Oxford proposed to answer each half of the question separately, *i. e.* to cut it up into two distinct questions. With all respect to his Lordship, it was more bold than judicious. A simple answer to the question as asked was sufficient. By trying for more the Bishop risked the loss of all.

But apart from the structure of the answer itself, another

"*The Bishop of Ely.* If you leave out one side of the question you do not answer it.

"*The Bishop of S. David's.* I should be content with either form of the Amendment, but I should prefer the Bishop of London's.

"*The Bishop of London.* I shall take the liberty of proposing 'That this House, looking to the difficult and complicated matters involved in the issue, feels obliged to decline answering for the present as to the relations of the Bishop of Natal,' &c.

"*The Bishop of Ely.* You propose that as a preamble to the Amendment of the Bishop of Lincoln.

"*The Bishop of London.* Yes. If you will adopt that, the two will be put together.

"*The Bishop of Lincoln.* 'That it is the opinion of this House that the Church of England holds communion with the Bishop of Capetown,' &c.

"The Amendment was then put by his Grace the President in the following form:—'It is the opinion of this House that the Church of England holds communion with the Bishop of Capetown, and with those Bishops who lately with him in Synod declared Bishop Colenso to be *ipso facto* excommunicate.'" And in that form, the Bishop of London's preamble suddenly disappearing from view altogether, it was carried.

There is another singular circumstance to which the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol drew attention in the Synod. The original Motion proposed simply "That it is the opinion of this House that the first portion of the question should be answered in the negative, and the second in the affirmative." The Bishop of Gloucester said, "Let me call attention to the Resolution passed yesterday, and especially to the effect that would be produced on the mind of any one who might take the trouble to compare the Resolution that was carried with that which was originally proposed. I remember saying that I should wish it to be observed how careful we had been not to import any words into the Resolution that might seem to press too harshly on the position in which Dr. Colenso now finds himself; and that it was our desire that the language should be left as colourless as possible. But now the Resolution has had interpolated in it words which, when contrasted with the words originally proposed, must fairly be supposed to intimate that the excommunication had some degree of validity. Or else, why add words which had found no place in the original Resolution, and which, in fact, had been excluded from it . . . ? . . . This fact remains and will remain impressed on the discussion, that the words defining the Bishop of Grahamstown and the other Bishops as those 'who had excommunicated Dr. Colenso,' were not in the answer originally proposed . . . . But they are there now, we are responsible for them, and we must consider our present answers with that fact borne clearly in our minds." (*Chronicle of Convocation, Upper House,* June 28th and 29th, 1866, pp. 523—586.) Immediately afterwards he terms it "a rather strong Resolution."

strong argument was pressed by the Bishop of Salisbury. "Our 'Yes,'" said the Bishop, "with regard to the orthodox Bishops, held a 'No' with regard to Bishop Colenso. And my reason for saying so is this. If we profess to hold communion with the orthodox Bishops, we must also believe that they have not done any thing schismatical. We, the Church of England, do not permit ourselves to hold communion with those in schism. . . . . The first part of the question was, in my opinion (I repeat it), settled—received a 'No,' when we decided that we are in communion with the orthodox Bishops" (*Chronicle of Convocation*, June 29, 1866, p. 572). The force of this argument will be apparent to every theological mind, and is much increased by the answer returned to the first question of the Dean of Maritzburg, "Whether the acceptance of a new Bishop on our part, whilst Bishop Colenso still retains the Letters Patent of the Crown, could in any way sever us from the Mother Church?" The answer first proposed was "That . . . . . it is the judgment of this House that the acceptance of a new Bishop would not impair the connexion or alter the relations existing between the members of the Church in the Province of Natal and the Church of England," provided that the Bishop were canonically consecrated, and did not take the title of Bishop of Natal. This was objected to chiefly on two grounds—(i.) That the state of the law was uncertain, and that the *legal* relations of the Churches might be altered. (ii.) That the reply was equivalent to a recommendation to the African Church to elect and consecrate a new Bishop, though the Bishop of London (who, as usual, led the opposition) allowed that such was not its intention. The first objection seems reasonable, because the words were capable of a too wide interpretation. At the same time it was evident that the Resolution meant to pronounce no opinion on open points of law, but only that, as the Colonial Churches had been judicially pronounced to be legally unconnected with the Home Church, they were so far free; and that the acceptance of a new Bishop would make no change in their spiritual relations to the Church of England. The second objection was not reasonable; for the Resolution contained not a single word of recommendation from end to end. It was also again and again insisted on by its supporters that nothing of the kind was meant; that they would recommend nothing; that the South African Province was the proper judge, and must decide for itself; but that, should it decide to appoint another Bishop, it would place it at no spiritual disadvantage towards the Church of England. Accordingly, the

Bishop of Oxford, who moved the Resolution, said :—"I should be very glad to alter a few words in the answer I have suggested, with the view of making this more plain and palpable than it is at present;" [retaining the meaning, changing the words] "I should propose, therefore, to substitute for the concluding words of the Resolution, as moved, the following :—'That the existence of the Letters Patent would not cause the acceptance of a new Bishop to make any severance between you and the Mother Church,' so that the words may most simply answer to the issue which is really raised" (*Chronicle of Convocation, ut sup.*, p. 589).

Finally, in order to make the exclusively spiritual nature of the Resolution still clearer, it was worded thus: "That the existence of the Letters Patent would not cause the acceptance of a new Bishop *to involve any loss of communion* between the members of the Church in the Province of Natal and the Church of England." And so it was carried.

On a review of the whole debate, this is certain; that every successive change was verbal only, designed to make the real and original meaning more clear. From the first draft to the final form it meant one and the same thing. But the words which I have italicized above, taken in connexion with the former Resolution, and bearing in mind the Bishop of Salisbury's argument about schism, have the highest incidental value. By the first Resolution the Synod adhered to the communion of the South African Bishops as an alternative to that of Dr. Colenso. By the second it asserted that the legal status of Dr. Colenso would not cause the Church of Natal to forfeit that communion if it accepted a new Bishop. Now see what the Bishop of S. David's urged in opposition. "I contend," said his Lordship, "that the Bishop of Natal is at present the rightful Bishop of that diocese. Of course, if that is the case, I need scarcely say that there could hardly be a proceeding more glaringly in violation of the first principles of ecclesiastical order than the sending out a new Bishop to that diocese. On that point, then, I need not enlarge, because it would probably be universally admitted" (*Chronicle of Convocation, ut sup.*, p. 581). Undoubtedly it would; therefore "I contend" that this Resolution by itself furnishes a strong, and when taken with the preceding one an irrefragable, argument that the Synod regarded the See of Natal as not full, but vacant, *i. e.* that Dr. Colenso was actually deprived. The third query was, "Supposing the reply to the last question to be that they would not be in any way severed, what are the proper steps for us to take to

obtain a new Bishop?" The Synod answered[1]:—"If it should be decided that a new Bishop should be consecrated . . . . . it is the opinion of this House, First, that a formal instrument, declaratory of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of South Africa should be prepared, which every Bishop, Priest, and Deacon appointed to office should be required to subscribe. Secondly, that a godly and well-learned man should be chosen by the Clergy, with the assent of the lay communicants of the Church. And Thirdly, that he should be presented for consecration, either to the Archbishop of Canterbury (if the aforesaid instrument should declare the doctrine and discipline as received by the United Church of England and Ireland), or to the Bishops of the Church of South Africa, according as hereafter may be judged to be most advisable and convenient."

This was passed as it stood, and by it the Synod declared, (i.) That the South African Church had a right to consecrate a Bishop if it chose, for the Synod would not have given it advice how to perform an unlawful act, and so have made itself an accomplice in the crime. And this alone is sufficient to prove what the Synod judged as to the vacancy of the see. (ii.) That there would be no ecclesiastical objection to the Bishop elect being consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The three Resolutions so adopted were sent to the Lower House, and there passed, thus becoming the formal Act of the Synod. Nevertheless some persons tell us they have no particular meaning, and commit the Province of Canterbury to nothing.

Suppose, then, for a moment, that Dr. Colenso is still spiritual Bishop of Natal, we may then illustrate the position as follows: The Emperor of Austria makes war on Victor Emmanuel, captures and imprisons him. He then sends three questions to the Italian Government—(i.) Do you hold with Victor Emmanuel, or with me who have seized and put him in prison? (ii.) Would the acknowledgment of Victor Emmanuel by your National Church cause the erection of a new King of Italy to sever your alliance with me? (iii.) If not, how should I erect him? The Government answers—(i.) We hold with you who have seized and imprisoned Victor Emmanuel. (ii.) Since the Church has declared Italy to be an independent nation, its recognition of

[1] And that it answered at all, implies that the "supposition" was correct, and therefore that retention of communion was equivalent to being "not in any way severed;" an incidental, and therefore more valuable confirmation of the argument in the text.

Victor Emmanuel would not cause the erection of a new king to sever our alliance with you. (iii.) If you decide to make a new king for Italy, it should be done in such and such a way; and if he consented to rule according to our laws, he may be presented to the Prime Minister for formal recognition and proclamation. Some adherent of Victor Emmanuel says, "You are acting treasonably." The Government replies, "Not so; we have not said that we do not hold with Victor Emmanuel, and have carefully abstained from recommending the appointment of another king." Every honest man would say, "Gentlemen, you are traitors first, and cowards afterwards." And this it is to which some few persons who ought to know better are trying to persuade us that the Canterbury Convocation and (in a less degree) the Lambeth Conference have degraded themselves[1].

[1] Two matters rising out of these debates have been forced into such unpleasant prominence that I cannot quite ignore them, though they need not rise above the notes. One is this: In the copy of the second Resolution, as sent down to the Lower House, the original words were accidentally retained as well as those eventually adopted; a tolerable evidence of their substantial identity. In this form the Lower House passed it, which, though undoubtedly done in great haste, is another proof of the same thing. A great deal has been tortured out of the error; the Resolution as it passed the House has been called a "spurious decree," and I know not what beside. A great fuss about very little. I have already shown that the two forms are substantially identical. It was worth noticing as a very careless blunder, and that is the worst that can be said of it. It was certainly not important enough to be magnified, as the Dean of Westminster and one or two more have tried to magnify it, into a serious grievance. To do so is nothing better than puerile hyper-criticism. Mr. Joyce was justified in saying that the error is practically immaterial. "But," says the Dean of Westminster, "the Archbishop of Canterbury thought it so serious that he said nothing should induce him to vote for this 'spurious decree.'" And this is the second point; the extraordinary liberties that have been taken with the name of the Primate. He has been studiously misrepresented as opposing the appointment of a new Bishop, all because of a few words to which the Dean has never wearied of referring. But it is certain that he has been entirely misrepresented in part, if not altogether. His words were these: "I shall give my vote for the Resolution as it now stands. I could never vote for a Resolution which could be construed as being a recommendation to the Church in South Africa to consecrate a Bishop. I do not view the Resolution in that sense. . . . I am glad that the Resolution has been passed, but I should not have voted for it had I interpreted it to be a recommendation to elect another Bishop" (*Chronicle of Convocation*, June 29, 1866, pp. 95, 96). But, as any one will see who carefully reads the debate, he merely meant that he would give *no* recommendation or advice; that the South African Church had power to act if it would; that it must decide for itself, and if it should decide to have another Bishop, he would recognize him. This is quite certain, because, immediately afterwards he concurred with the Resolution, that under certain

I have dwelt long on this Act of Convocation because of its *exceeding importance* in determining the present position of the Church of England in regard to Dr. Colenso, and also because of its bearing on the subsequent action of the Lambeth Conference. We must now pass on rapidly.

The Resolutions were communicated to the Church at Capetown and Natal, whither Dr. Colenso had already returned, and on endeavouring to resume spiritual functions, had been excommunicated by the Metropolitan, in pursuance of the decree of the Capetown Synod. But before proceeding to this last extremity, the Bishop of Capetown offered to submit his Judgment and Sentence (i.) To the Archbishop of Canterbury with his Com-provincial Bishops; or (ii.) To a Synod of the English Bishops, or of those of the "United Church;" or (iii.) To a Synod of the Bishops of the whole Empire, under the presidency of the Primate of Canterbury. All were declined. Instead of them, Dr. Colenso made counter-propositions; namely, to submit his writings to a Royal Commission, or to the Arches Court, with a Final Appeal to the Queen—*i. e.* to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The Bishop of Capetown saw insuperable objections to these proposals. A Royal Commission would have been, he argues, illegal; a revival of the abolished High Commission Court; with which view Sir Roundell Palmer concurs (*Statement*, p. 52). To the Judicial Committee he objects that it is "a Court of Appeal, and in ecclesiastical matters a Court of Appeal solely for England;" *i. e.*, "from the Metropolitan Courts of York or Canterbury," which "have no jurisdiction over offences committed in South Africa" (*Id.* p. 51). He affirms that it has no jurisdiction "to hear the cause as an original cause;" that therefore there is no way by which it could come before the Judicial Committee in the ordinary process of law; and that he, as Metropolitan, does not feel at liberty to confer on it any "consensual jurisdiction[1]."

conditions, which the Bishop of S. David's said had already been virtually fulfilled, he should be ready to consecrate the new Bishop if elected. From his actual words no more can be gathered than that, as some persons appeared to construe the original Resolution as a direct recommendation to elect, though he himself did not view it in that sense, he should vote for it in the altered form. His recognition of Dr. Colenso's deposition, of the right of the South African Church to consecrate a successor, and his own readiness to acknowledge him if consecrated, are facts too notoriously true to be argued about.

[1] The Bishop of London, however, takes a different view. He declared in Convocation, "I do not see any thing to prevent the case coming before the Court." But it seems evident that it could not come before it on appeal from South Africa, since it has itself declared that the tribunal from which the

His objections to the Court of Arches are substantially the same—that it is a Court of law for the province of Canterbury only; that the Crown neither did nor could give it jurisdiction beyond those limits; and that it would not become the Bishops of the Province of Capetown to accept a single lay judge as an arbitrator in matters of faith.

Every other course having failed, nothing remained but to pass Sentence of Excommunication, which bore date Dec. 16, 1865, and was formally published in the Cathedral Church of Pieter-Maritzburg.

On the receipt of the Resolutions of Convocation, the African Bishops having decided on providing a successor to Dr. Colenso, the clergy and laity of Natal proceeded to elect; a resolution so to do being carried by the casting vote of the Dean among the clergy, and by a large majority of the laity. A second resolution left the choice of the new Bishop to the Bishops of Capetown and Grahamstown, with the concurrence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the event of the Bishop-elect being prevented from accepting the see. Then they elected Mr. Butler, the vicar of Wantage. The Bishops of the Province confirmed the election, one of them expressing some doubt as to its canonicity, because of the narrow clerical majority. Mr. Butler referred the matter to the Primate and his own diocesan, placing himself in their hands. They advised him not to decline, but to suspend his decision till the canonicity of his election and its recognition by the Home and South African Churches should have been ascertained. In consequence of this the Bishop of Capetown ordered a virtual poll of the Diocese. The result was that twelve, *i. e.* nearly three-fourths of the clergy, and nearly three hundred, *i. e.* about six-sevenths of the communicant laity cordially accepted Mr. Butler. One Priest and fifty laymen expressed no opinion. Four Priests and twelve laymen declined. The Bishops con-

appeal would lie is no Court at all in the eye of the law, and where there is no Court there can be no appeal. But I am not sure that jurisdiction to treat it as an original cause may not exist. It was *per incuriam* that religious causes of any kind fell under its cognizance; and I cannot see why, under the comprehensive provision that her Majesty may "refer to the said Judicial Committee for hearing or consideration any such other matters whatsoever as her Majesty may think fit," this "matter" might not be submitted to them, also *per incuriam* no doubt, but still according to "law." But this possibility can impose no obligation on the Bishop of Capetown to try to give it effect; that is Dr. Colenso's business, or that of some of the Home Bishops. There is common sense at least in the Bishop of Capetown's remark, "It would be simply ridiculous for me to appeal against my own judgment to any Court" (*Statement*, p. 50).

firmed the election. The Primate and Bishop of Oxford expressed themselves so far satisfied. So matters stood at the opening of the Lambeth Conference.

There is no need to enter into the circumstances which brought about this great meeting. The idea was unofficially suggested by an individual Bishop; but the growing troubles of the Colonial Church elicited a formal appeal from the Canadian Synod to the Archbishop of Canterbury to convene a Synod of the whole Empire. The proposal expanded into a Conference of the Episcopate of the whole Anglican Communion, every Bishop being specially invited by the Primate. Dr. Colenso was pointedly and of set purpose excluded. About half the Bishops of our Communion attended; many who were absent were absent from necessity; and some, unhappily, from choice. Previously to the assembling of the Conference, great efforts had been made and much pressure brought to bear on the Primate to secure the exclusion of the Natal scandal from consideration. I shall not enter into this subject further than to say, that the gentle-spirited Archbishop allowed himself to become partially hampered by some expressed or implied promise; a concession exceedingly to be regretted, and productive of any thing but good. The controversy, however, was too urgent, and the assembled Bishops too determined, for it to be altogether shelved. In their Encyclical they implicitly condemned two of Dr. Colenso's most prominent errors and heresies, the denial of the Inspiration of the Holy Scripture, and the Very GODHEAD of the One Person of our Incarnate LORD. Besides this, the Conference formally adopted the Resolution of the Province of Canterbury respecting the mode of obtaining a new Bishop for Natal. By so doing they affirmed the lawfulness of the act, with all its necessary consequents of the present vacancy of the See and the validity of the late Bishop's deprivation. They also appointed a Committee to examine and report as to how the Church might be delivered from a continuance of the scandal, and how the true faith might be maintained. Also, in order to counteract as far as possible the injurious effects of the Primate's unhappy concessions, fifty-six Bishops (not including the Primate, three South African Prelates then present, and the Bishop of S. Helena, who was absent, who were all sufficiently pledged already) signed a document formally accepting the spiritual sentence. Thus, out of half the Bishops of the whole Anglican Communion there present, sixty-one out of seventy-six, or between a third and one half of the whole Communion, stood formally committed to what had been done. Several others

were known to be ready to sign the document, though they did not actually sign it, not wishing to seem to act without the Primate[1]. This was in the first Session of the Conference.

At the second the Report of the Committee was presented. Its purport was as follows :—To remove the scandal, it recommended that, seeing the Colonial Bishoprics' Council were paying a stipend to a heretical Bishop, legal opinions should be taken with a view to proceedings in some competent Court, in order that a judicial sentence on Dr. Colenso might relieve them from that necessity, and warrant an appeal to the Crown to cancel his Letters Patent. To maintain the true faith, they concluded, on a review of the spiritual action taken in South Africa, England, Scotland, Canada, and the United States, that the see was spiritually vacant, and that it was the duty of the South African Bishops to consecrate a successor. Want of time for discussion prevented the Report from being formally adopted by the Conference, so, like all the other Reports, it was received and ordered to be printed. And this was the last act of the Council bearing on the subject.

In the interval between the two meetings, great progress had been made in providing funds for the maintenance of the new Bishop, the revenues of the see being at present in the hands of Dr. Colenso, in virtue of Lord Romilly's decision. But personal reasons had induced the Archbishop to advise Mr. Butler to decline the see. This necessitated a fresh choice; and after some delay, Mr. Macrorie, the present Bishop-designate, was chosen by the Bishops of Capetown and Grahamstown, with the concurrence of the Primate (in strict accordance with the second Resolution, already mentioned, of the Conference of the Clergy and faithful laity of the diocese of Natal); the Bishops of the African Province formally confirmed the selection, and the day was fixed for his consecration.

But now fresh difficulties started up. The Bishop of London exerted himself to the utmost to prevent it, on the grounds (putting aside much that was personal) of the illegality of consecrating in England without the Royal mandate, and of the

[1] Perhaps I should mention as a set off (for what it may be worth) that the Dean of Westminister stated in Convocation (Feb. 20, 1868) that "he had been informed, upon authority he could not doubt, that one of those who had affixed their names to the paper had thereby no intention of saying that the see was vacant:" a view of such absurdity, that I believe the Bishop to have been misreported. But, if not, the fact remains that he acknowledges the spiritual validity of Dr. Colenso's deprivation. How far this is compatible with his retention of his see the Church may be left to determine.

extreme uncertainty of the whole legal position. He also hinted doubts of the canonical vacancy of the see. The Archbishop of York followed on the same side, but laying rather more stress on the supposed canonical difficulty. Both pressed for delay till all legal and ecclesiastical doubts should be removed.

The Bishop of Capetown took legal advice as to consecration in England, and, finding the point at least doubtful, resolved not to consecrate where the Act of Uniformity was in force. The canonical questions he affirmed to have been already virtually decided by the Church [1]. Scotland was then fixed on for the consecration, subject to the consent of the Episcopate of that Church. But the Bishop of London and his allies had successfully worked on the constitutional fears of the English Bishops; and the Primate received so many letters urging the abandonment, or at least the delay, of the consecration, that he advised the Bishop of Capetown to wait till Mr. Macrorie's recognition by the English Bishops should be secured. To these representations the Bishop of Capetown so far yielded as to abandon the idea of a consecration at home. A telegram to the Scotch Prelates, who were actually in session on the application for leave to consecrate in Scotland, announced its withdrawal, and soon afterwards the Bishops of Grahamstown and the Orange River were obliged to leave England. In this position the question of the consecration now stands.

But these last proceedings had aroused extraordinary interest and indignation in the minds of the supporters of the South African Church. These feelings were intensified by a public declaration of the Bishop of London, in answer to a direct question of the Bishop of Capetown, that (no doubt in consequence of legal difficulties, and the double signification of the term "Communion") he "could not say he was not in communion with Dr. Colenso." Convocation met in February, and was immediately pressed to declare formally and in so many words its recognition of the spiritual sentences on Dr. Colenso. On the motion of Canon Seymour, the Lower House adopted

[1] His words are these: "At the late Conference of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion, the great majority of the Bishops did, each in his individual capacity, accept the deposition as canonical. The Bishops of the Church in America, as well as their Houses of Clerical and Lay Representatives, have formally and canonically done the same. The Provincial Synod of Canada, other Synods both of the Church of Scotland and of Colonial Churches, have done the same; and I have no intention of submitting such a question again to any inferior authority" (Letter to Archbp. of York; *Corresp.* p. 28).

an *articulus cleri* to this effect; wisely adding that they expressed no opinion on the legal question of temporalities. The Upper House, fearing entanglement in the question of "legal" excommunication, confined themselves to the subject of the deprivation, and appointed a Committee to examine into and report on its canonicity, and also on the character of Dr. Colenso's subsequent teaching. After the matter had left the Lower House, a telegram arrived announcing that the Supreme Court at Natal had affirmed the perfect validity of Dr. Colenso's Letters Patent, thus raising a new cloud of dust to deepen the already impenetrable darkness of "the law." A short time before, in the Convocation of York, the Dean of Ripon had moved a resolution condemning the consecration of a new Bishop till the see should be legally void, which was withdrawn after the Archbishop of York's powerful exposure of the hopeless confusion in which the law was even then involved.

Such is the present position, legally and ecclesiastically, of this most extraordinary controversy. Dr. Colenso's doctrine has grown more and more markedly anti-Christian since his excommunication; openly assailing the New Testament, and denouncing the direct worship of our Adorable LORD. These points the Synodal Committee above-mentioned will have to consider; but it must be remembered that, however flagrant his heresies may be, nothing that he has written since the promulgation of the Sentence can affect its validity either way. It can neither make valid a Sentence inherently invalid, nor invalidate a valid Sentence. What I have now to consider, on a view of the facts already recorded, is, whether the Sentences of deprivation and excommunication are or are not inherently valid, and as such rightfully demand recognition by all true members of the Catholic Church.

## II. THE VALIDITY OF THE SENTENCE.

I have said that I have not to discuss questions of doctrine. The voice of the Episcopate, singly and collectively, has been unanimous in declaring Dr. Colenso to have erred from the faith, and to be unfit to hold his See. But has he been deprived? On this point some are satisfied, some doubt, a few deny it. The antecedent presumption is in the affirmative. His Metropolitan has deprived him both in Court and Synod. The Letters Patent of the Crown, the law and custom of the Church, seem to bear out the Metropolitan. If they do not, the *onus probandi* lies on the challengers. He falls back on his authority, they must invalidate it if they can. It is twofold—legal and spiritual. Both

have been impugned; the one in all sorts of ways direct and indirect, and formally in Courts of Law; the other, directly, by denying its existence or adequacy; indirectly, by ignoring it altogether. But to ignore spiritual authority in spiritual matters is only one way of denying its existence. These two classes of objections are, therefore, really one. Objectors on these grounds must be themselves ignored. They are incompetent to give an opinion. They do not understand the Alphabet of Christianity, the Apostles' Creed. One might as well attempt to argue a geological problem with a man who holds that all fossils were deposited *in situ* by the Noachian Deluge, as ecclesiastical questions with one who holds that spiritual authority is derived from "the law." To those who object that the spiritual authority of the African Church either cannot or has not deprived Dr. Colenso, I shall have plenty to say presently. Not necessarily; because their objections have, as yet, been only hinted hypothetically, not advanced openly and with proof. Till then they cannot claim notice. They shall have it, nevertheless, in good time. But the legal challenge first.

It is asserted that the Bishop of Capetown's jurisdiction, professedly given by Letters Patent, was illegal; that its exercise was imaginary; that the tribunal was a solemn make-believe; that the Sentence was null and void; and that the whole proceedings were invalid. To part of this sweeping charge I know not what to say. Who knows whether the Judicial Committee is right, or Lord Romilly is right, or the Supreme Court at Natal is right? Right they cannot all be. We are not sure what even any one of them means.

The Judicial Committee say the Colonial Churches are voluntary bodies, no parts whatever of the Church of England; and that, the Letters Patent notwithstanding, the Bishops have no dioceses, and no jurisdiction except by free mutual compact. Lord Romilly says, Yes, all that is true, but the Colonial Churches are actual parts and portions of the Church of England; there is not a single power mentioned in the Letters Patent which the Bishops cannot exercise; they are as truly diocesan Bishops as any in the Empire. He says that the Judicial Committee denied none of these things; that is to say, only in a fashion and in a particular sense, though in absolute and universal terms. In fact, things are much as they were supposed to be before the Committee's decision; a little different process, a virtually identical result; nothing more. Then come in succession the several Law Officers of the Crown; and they say, with one voice, that Lord Romilly's Judgment is "not worth a straw;"

but whether wholly or in part, or in which part and how far, the public are not told. After these, the Supreme Court at Natal, affirming that Lord Romilly and the Judicial Committee have egregiously blundered in pronouncing Dr. Colenso's Patent legally invalid in any part. Yet neither there did their witness agree together. Thus we have three venerable Courts, including the highest in the Colony and the highest in the Empire, at variance as to the legal *status* of the Bishop of Natal; two Courts at variance as to that of the Bishop of Capetown; one at variance with itself; and we also have six eminent lawyers questioning the Judgment of a second.

I shall not enter into this controversy, but am quite willing to assume the worst for the Bishop of Capetown, and to stand by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Even there our objectors are over-confident. For the Court did not affirm (and, for its credit's sake, it is well that it did not affirm) that all authority in this matter is derived from and limited by the law. It expressly recognized, on the contrary, another authority. "With the Bishop's authority in spiritual affairs, or Mr. Long's obligations *in foro conscientiæ*, we have not to deal," say their Lordships in the first of the series of South African causes (*Eccl. Judgm.*, p. 311). "Pastoral or spiritual authority may be incidental to the Office of Bishop," they say in the Colenso Judgment, distinguishing it expressly from that jurisdiction which proceeds from the Crown [1]. Consistently with which they do not pronounce the proceedings at Capetown simply "null and void," but "null and void *in law*"—a very different thing, though some persons are apt to forget that the last two words are of any consequence. As proceedings resting on authority of "law," the law simply annihilates them; as resting on authority other than "law," it holds its peace at them, and passes by on the other side. Such authority—"the Bishop's authority in spiritual affairs," that which is "incidental to the office of a

[1] Still more plainly Lord Romilly. "It is not disputed, and indeed it could not be disputed, that the nomination by the Crown of the plaintiff, and his consecration by the Archbishop of Canterbury, have conferred upon him the title and dignity of a Bishop of the Church of England; and also that he is thereby invested with all the powers and authority incidental to the Office of a Bishop, so far as such powers and authority can be exercised without coercive legal jurisdiction over his Clergy." And among the acts of this spiritual power and authority he mentions Ordination, Confirmation, Consecration of Churches, visiting his Clergy, "summoning them before him, and inquiring into their morals, behaviour, and doctrine" (*Guardian*, Nov. 7, 1866).

Bishop"—is neither legal or illegal, but *extra* legal. That it exists is a Gospel verity; that the law knows of its existence we have just seen. Whether it can effect spiritually what the Letters Patent failed to effect legally, the Supreme tribunal neither did, nor could determine. If the spiritual authority cannot do this, the legal Sentence has invalidated the whole proceedings; if it can, the spiritual Sentence may be valid, its legal nullity notwithstanding.

To simplify the argument, I will waive all legal advantages still possibly in store for us, and assume that the Capetown proceedings are, indeed, absolutely null and void in law. So far, then, Dr. Colenso has won. The law has handed over to him all Church property in Natal, to which he has no real right; but justice miscarried, not by the fault of the law. Still it is his by law, and the law must be obeyed. Every legal right which Dr. Colenso can make out must be respected, so long as law does not meddle with "the Bishop's authority in spiritual affairs." No more can be demanded, no more can be granted. I therefore dismiss all legal questions at this point, and betake myself to those which are ecclesiastical.

First, however, a few words on some objections common to both.

The Bishop of Capetown has been accused of haste, precipitancy, prejudice, injustice, domineering, and what not besides. All this I dismiss at once; partly because an impartial student of events will soon estimate them at their true value; partly because, if true, they could not *ipso facto* invalidate the Sentence, though they would be good grounds for appeal, with the chance of reversal. But no appeal whatever was lodged, no rehearing claimed. Therefore, if otherwise valid, the Sentence must stand.

It has been said, that the Bishop of Natal's absence and the want of defence vitiate the trial. But this plea is absurd. He was not absent, except so far as he deliberately chose to be absent. Contempt of Court does not invalidate its proceedings. But Dr. Colenso was there; by proxy if not in person; and his representative was treated with all due regard, while his personal absence was formally regretted by the Court[1]. The

[1] "In common with all engaged in these proceedings, I deeply regret that the Bishop was not himself present on the occasion of his trial. His absence I regard as a serious loss to the Court, and as injurious to his cause. A letter written two years ago, and the preface to which he refers me, very inadequately represent the kind of reply which doubtless he would have made to the charges which have been brought against him, and to the speeches of the presenting

statement that the Bishop was condemned unheard is untrue. He instructed his agent to put in certain documents "as his defence:" and all that was put in was carefully considered. Dr. Bleek was invited to argue in his behalf, and refused. The Bishop might have put in as voluminous a defence as he pleased, and Dr. Bleek might have argued as long as he pleased; the Court would have given every attention to both. If the defence was meagre, it was the Bishop's own choice that it should be so. If he was mute, he was "mute of malice."

But the Bishop denied the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan. Well: what if he did? At the late Fenian trials the prisoners denied the Queen's jurisdiction; but they were tried, condemned, sentenced, and hanged notwithstanding. Was that Sentence, when carried out, judicial murder? The question in both cases was not "Was the jurisdiction denied?" but "Did it really exist?"

There is nothing else, I think, to detain us from the consideration of the spiritual question on its own merits.

This question, in its simplest form, is this:—Has the Bishop of Natal been deprived of his spiritual office, and debarred from the performance of spiritual functions, by a sufficient spiritual power and authority legitimately exercised? If so, the Sentence is valid; if not, the Sentence is invalid.

To answer the question we must begin far back in first principles.

What is spiritual power? It is that gift of God whereby spiritual realities are capable of being called into existence, whose existence would without that gift be impossible. Such are the powers of consecrating the Blessed Eucharist, of conferring the Holy Ghost at Confirmation, of ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, of Absolution, of Excommunication, and the like.

Spiritual authority is that gift of God whereby the Church is governed in all parts of spiritual government, and whereby the exercise of spiritual power is made sometimes (not *valid*, but) legitimate, sometimes valid also. For example: a Bishop separated from the communion of the Church ordaining a man Priest makes him a Priest *validly* (*i. e.* really), but, wanting authority, not legitimately; but the same Bishop excommunicating a

Clergy. And the Court itself, had he been present, would have been assisted in the interpretation of passages which it has often felt to be obscure, and have been saved from the risk of misunderstanding, and consequently misrepresenting, the Bishop's views" (*Bishop of Capetown's Judgment: Trial*, p. 343).

Catholic Priest does it neither legitimately nor validly, his inherent power of Excommunication being in absolute abeyance.

When spiritual power and authority are exercised according to definite laws or "Canons" ordained by the Church, and applicable to the particular case, they are said to be exercised canonically and therefore both validly and legitimately. If against such prescribed rule, then uncanonically and therefore illegitimately, and in some cases invalidly. If without prescribed rule, that is, if there be no rule, or, which comes to the same thing, none applicable to the matter in hand, then neither canonically nor uncanonically, but extra-canonically. And the validity or invalidity, legitimacy or illegitimacy, of the act depends on its essential accordance with or contrariety to the fundamental principles of spiritual power and authority as originally conferred by God.

For it is obvious that "spiritual" and "canonical" authority are not equivalents[1]. Canonical authority is spiritual authority acting according to fixed rule; but the authority ever preceded the rule, and was itself the sole power by which the rule was made. It was antecedent to Canons, and is in full force still wherever (whether in regard to place or circumstances) Canons do not exist. Where Canons exist and apply, it acts through them; where they do not, it exists and may act independently of them. It is essential; they are accidental. It is inherent in the Church from the beginning; they are self-imposed by the Church from time to time. Were "canonical" and "spiritual" synonymous terms, the Church could never have had any law or provided for new and exceptional emergencies. Although, therefore, an uncanonical act is always irregular and may be invalid, an extra-canonical act is not necessarily either one or the other.

Another point must also be clearly understood. We have heard much of "consensual jurisdiction," that authority which is based, not on objective grant *ab extra*, but solely on mutual consent and compact. We have been repeatedly told that, failing "legal coercive" jurisdiction, this is the only Church

[1] And therefore there was a fallacy in principle (whether or not of any practical importance in Dr. Colenso's case) in the Dean of Westminster's attempt to identify them in his speech of Feb. 20. "The Archdeacon complained that the debate had not been confined to the question as regarded from a strictly spiritual point of view. Perhaps it may help to simplify the case if we suppose that by the word 'spiritual' was meant 'canonical.' The question was, therefore, the canonical validity of Dr. Colenso's deposition" (*Guardian*, March 4th, 1868, p. 271). I do not know whether the Dean was conscious of introducing an ambiguity under pretence of simplification; but whether he knew it or not, the fact is certain.

authority of which the law can take cognizance. We accept this as the law. But in spiritual reality it is a mere fiction. The Church stands alone among the religious societies in the world, as possessed of authority by direct gift from GOD. Every other religious society has either no authority at all, or else it is either legal or consensual. The Church's authority is the immediate grant of our LORD, not the result of agreement among men. Consensual jurisdiction is as anomalous in the Church as in the State. I, for example, have made no bargain with the State; I have not subscribed the Acts of Parliament and other laws under which I live and by which I am bound; I am a born Englishman, a subject of the English Crown; and that is enough. It is the same in the Church. The fact of membership is enough. No Church member has a choice as to accepting the authority of the Church. He is bound by it whether he will or not. He is a son and a subject, not a partner in a bargain. To rest the authority of the Church on mutual compact is both theologically and historically false. To import this legal idea into the discussion of the spiritual aspect of the present subject is to make essential spiritual validity depend on irrelevant legal accidents. This error, I may observe in passing, greatly weakens the argument of Mr. Isambard Brunel's, in some respects, able pamphlet[1].

All spiritual jurisdiction resides in Bishops as Bishops, by virtue of their Episcopal Order; and all Bishops as Bishops are equal. What the power and authority of the episcopal office are, Crackanthorp shall tell us; and I refer to him, partly because he has stated it very well, and partly because the Bishop of Ely referred to him by name in the debate on the South African Church, in Convocation (June, 1866). Crackanthorp is distinguishing the ordinary from the extraordinary power of the Apostolate; and, maintaining that the former perpetually inheres in the Episcopate. He says, "The ordinary power, pertaining to that government of the Church which is ordinary and perpetual and to endure to all ages, was given to the Apostles by CHRIST, and given to all the Apostles by those words of CHRIST, 'As My FATHER hath sent Me, even so send I you.' This ordinary power comprises authority and power, in all nations, or in whatever region or part of the world, to teach and preach the Gospel, to administer the Sacraments, to feed and rule the Church, to judge out of GOD'S Word causes and controversies of faith, to exercise

[1] *Remarks on the Proceedings at Capetown in the matter of the Bishop of Natal;* Rivington's, 1868.

jurisdiction, and either bind by ecclesiastical censures or loose others, to institute fit and becoming rites and orders in the Church; lastly, to ordain others to suceeed themselves in the same power until the consummation of time. In these things is situated the very essence of episcopacy and pastoral power, which ought to be perpetual. And even though CHRIST had given to the Apostles no other power, still by this all of them were constituted, in CHRIST's stead, the ordinary pastors and rulers, and strictly Bishops of the Church. . . . . All the ordinary power of all the Apostles has been committed by CHRIST through the Apostles to the successors of all the Apostles; that is, to all Bishops" (*Def. Eccl. Angl.* c. xxvii. § 3, 5).

This is a different principle, *toto cœlo*, from the legal theory of "consensual jurisdiction," and this is the only principle on which questions of spiritual authority can be rightly argued.

All Bishops are equal, and all Bishops make up one undivided Body. That is the key to the whole complex organism of Ecclesiastical Government. There is not in the Church any higher power than the Episcopal, and every Bishop possesses that power in its entirety. He is the equal of every other Bishop, and the inferior of the Episcopate collectively. The Universal Collective Episcopate is the supreme authority in all ecclesiastical matters. The authority of collected units is greater in proportion as it approaches or embodies that of the sum total of all. Where all have equal authority, the co-equality of all units involves the preponderating authority of plurality over individuality, of the greater plurality over the less, and the supremacy of totality over every thing short of it. Every Bishop is a Bishop of the whole Church, has a care of it, is, in fact, a Universal Bishop. This function he exercises ordinarily in General Councils, but on extraordinary occasions otherwise. He is a Universal Bishop by Divine right, a Diocesan Bishop by ecclesiastical disposition. In cases of necessity and special emergence, but not else, Divine right may act independently of ordinary ecclesiastical rules [1].

[1] This is well stated by Crackanthorp: "All Bishops, *in that they are Bishops*, are shepherds of the Universal Church; and *thus* they are shepherds by Divine right. Moreover, every Bishop is shepherd of his own Church in particular; not *in that he is a Bishop*, but *in that he is* [*e. g.*] *Bishop of Rome* or *of Alexandria;* nor is he *thus* a shepherd by *Divine*, but *only by human and ecclesiastical right.* The charge of all the sheep appertains to all, *in that they are Bishops;* the charge of this or that particular fold appertains to this or that man, not in that he is simply *a* Bishop, but in that he is Bishop *of Rome*, or *of Alexandria.* Distinguish these things accurately,

It will follow, I think, from these principles that no single Bishop can judge or be judged by any other one, acting by his own inherent authority only. An equal cannot sit in judgment on his equal. But any number more than one have, in the abstract, this power, because in combination they are not the equal but the superior of the individual; and their authority exceeds his in exactly the same ratio in which their number exceeds unity. Yet even a single Bishop may judge another, provided that he acts not as alone, but in the name and with the authority of more than one; *i. e.* as the true mouthpiece and duly-empowered organ of their united authority. In that case, the judgment is his vocally, but theirs in fact. But the authority of such numbers of Bishops (whether expressed personally or by commission) will itself be subordinate to that of a greater number, *e. g.* the authority of two to that of three; that of three to that of four; and so on till the perfect number be reached.

Now, if this abstract principle were acted on in its original simplicity, there could be no end of controversy, no orderly government, no practical unity. Hence the value (the secondary necessity, so to say) of Ecclesiastical Provinces, each one for most

as in very truth they are to be distinguished, and every Bishop throughout the whole world will keep even pace with your Bishop of Rome. This *Universal and pastoral charge*, which becomes all Bishops, *in that they are Bishops*, puts itself forth and becomes prominent in General Councils. In them all Bishops, *as the supreme judges on earth in determining ecclesiastical causes*, and as *governors of the Universal Church*, define and declare those things which pertain to the faith of the whole Church; and with *supreme authority* and power ecclesiastical teach the things which are to be believed, under penalty of Anathemas and other censures; condemn heretics and cast them forth out of the Universal Church; enact ecclesiastical laws, which bind the whole Church. All these things they then do, *simply in that they are Bishops*, and inasmuch as the charge of the whole Church appertains to them; not *in that they are Roman* or *Alexandrian Bishops*. And furthermore, this same charge of the Universal Church is incumbent on them individually *outside the Council*, so that, as much as in them is, they have regard to the safety of the whole Church, *by giving counsel, exhortation*, . . . &c.; and, when either any heresy or schism shall have begun to make advances in the Church, by *extinguishing* it like a conflagration of public concern, and *providing* that it stealthily creep no further abroad" (*Def. Eccl. Angl.* chap. xxviii., § 1, 2, 3). "Epiphanius felt, and felt with the utmost truth, that the Episcopal order, *as far as it is from God*, as far as it is considered simply and as it is in itself, admits not these diversities, that one ministers or rules in this place, others in *other fixed* and defined localities. All this is *human*, and by human laws. But all human laws give place to the love of God, to public advantage, and to the needs of the Church. *The love of God* and the need of the Church neither *will* be bound down by human laws, nor *ought* to be" (*Id.* § 5).

purposes an independent integral portion of the Church, empowered by the Universal Episcopate to settle finally, by the combined action of its own local Episcopate, all ordinary causes rising within its limits. This liberty does not make the Province independent of the whole body, but is an antecedent ratification of its acts, granted for the preservation of order and to avoid incessant appeals. The Province, so far and for all ordinary purposes, embodies the delegated authority of the whole Church. But every delegate is subject to his principal; and therefore, in grave and obstinate causes, especially those of faith, the Church still exercises the right of supervision, confirmation or reversal; which, being inherent in her constitution, she ought not, and indeed cannot abandon. Hence Patriarchal, National, and here and there Œcumenical Synods, in graduated authority up to the supreme. Every Province is under the care of a Metropolitan or first Bishop, *primus inter pares*. More he cannot be; for the simple Episcopate is the *summum fastigium potestatis*. Alone, he is a Bishop and no more. But he has œconomical privileges; such as to be a centre of action, a President among his Provincial Bishops, and in some measure the acting executive of their collective authority. Collectively they make laws, and by them judge causes; he, as their President, is the guardian of their laws, and in some cases judicially puts them in force. The *authority* is theirs, his in common with them, not over them nor without them, though the *voice* is his alone, subject to an appeal back to them if his judgment be impugned. Ordinarily, and especially in matters of only local concern, there the cause terminates. In great matters, as controversies of faith, other Provinces have been from the first often invited to accept and confirm what has been done by one, that it may stand on a wider and more sure foundation of united authority.

These are, I believe, in brief, the principles of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, essential and practical. By these I have now to try the validity of the action of the Church of South Africa against Dr. Colenso.

The Church of South Africa is either an Ecclesiastical Province under its own Metropolitan, or it is not. Some say it is not; regarding its Metropolitanship as a purely civil dignity, with no true spiritual jurisdiction or power. I will try the case first on this hypothesis.

The Church of South Africa is, on this theory, not an Ecclesiastical Province at all. This at once emancipates it from every existing Canon relating to or presupposing Provincial organi-

zation and government. Laws about things presuppose their existence; if the things do not exist, neither (so far) do the laws. What, then, is the spiritual *status* of that Church? It is a small, outlying, isolated group of Dioceses held together, not only by the essential Oneness of the Episcopate, but by a certain federal connexion somewhat analogous to that of the Scottish and American Churches, but of a less perfect character. In one point, however, its organization is higher than theirs. Although not a Province, and under no Metropolitan, it has fallen into a shape so like a Province as to have assumed the name, and attached a perpetual honorary precedence to a particular Bishop and See, which it calls "Metropolitan;" every Bishop on his consecration even taking an oath of obedience to him under that title. When they act together, the presiding Bishop always occupies a position practically corresponding with his name, especially in summoning them to meet for business affecting the whole group. In the present instance, one of their number, the Bishop of Natal, was charged with heresy; the other Bishops determined to try him, as by virtue of their inherent superior united jurisdiction they had full power to do. The presiding Bishop, as usual, called them all together; one to be tried, the others to try him. Of the latter, all who could appear in person, did so; two could not, but subsequently expressed their concurrence with all that was done. The accused Bishop appeared by proxy, chiefly to repudiate the authority of the Metropolitan, but also to defend himself if necessary. But the Bishop of Capetown, though not really Metropolitan, had always been called so, therefore the mere title could not be objected to; and though he had no real Metropolitical authority, he was the first of the Bishops, was acting as usual as their President, with the full knowledge and approval of his brethren, and as the mouthpiece of their united authority which the single Bishop had no power to resist. Three Bishops were present to conduct the investigation (two would have been enough for valid action in the first instance, as I have said already—the group of Dioceses being under no Provincial rules, but only under the most elementary principles of Episcopal authority); one being called "Metropolitan," the others "Assessors." The case was carefully gone into; every thing alleged on either side was well considered; the whole matter was thoroughly investigated. The Assessor Bishops gave their opinions that the heresy was proved. The presiding Bishop agreeing, and having made a draft of the Sentence he thought expedient, the Bishops met again to consider and determine what should be done. There was no more

information to be given or received either way. The presiding Bishop proposed Deprivation; the rest agreed, and then all together formally ratified it; adding, in case of contumacy, the further penalty of Excommunication. Next day, the collective Sentence of Deprivation was pronounced by the presiding Bishop; and subsequently, the contumacy appearing, the Excommunication also. The cause being novel and grave, the Bishops at the time of decreeing the sentence volunteered that the whole case should be submitted for revision to the Archbishop of Canterbury (the honorary head of all the Communion of which the South African Church was an offshoot); but the offer was rejected. Immediately the Bishops, through their President, communicated all they had done to the other branches of the Church; and before proceeding to excommunication again offered to bring the whole cause before any one of three great Synods in an ascending order. The offer was refused. Finally, to pass over the more or less definite approval which they received from all parts of the Anglican Church, they did their utmost formally to bring the whole case before the great general Assembly of the Bishops of their Communion, and actually obtained from it the virtual recognition of their proceedings, in addition to an express ratification of their sentence by four-fifths of the whole number of Bishops there present.

Now, I ask, what principle essential to the validity of spiritual jurisdiction was wanting here? We are reduced by the hypothesis to the most primary and elementary form of episcopal authority; the equality of individuals, the inferiority of the single unit to units combined. Forms, names, processes of some kind, there must of course be; but these are mere accidents, making the substance to assume a tangible shape. The essentials are these only; the united action of a spiritual power superior to that of a single Bishop, a fair trial, and a formal Sentence. No doubt, on account of the South African Church not being a Province, there would be an appeal: to decide finally is a privilege granted only to Provinces, and that with practical exceptions. Dr. Colenso might, therefore, have appealed to a larger Synod; but, though often invited to do so, he refused. There the African Bishops might have rested; instead of which they took extreme pains to secure the approval and sanction of the whole Church. Whether their Church be a true Ecclesiastical Province or not, what more could they possibly have done than they actually did? For my own part, after much consideration, I cannot tell. I think that the condemnation of the Bishop of Natal was as certainly valid and legitimate

as any act of spiritual jurisdiction since the Church began, even supposing the South African Dioceses to be no Province, and Capetown no Metropolitical See. Those who object to it on this ground really prove nothing, even on their own hypothesis. They may *possibly* show it to have been *extra*-canonical, as a case not ruled by existing Canons; but *un*-canonical it cannot have been, simply because the ordinary Canons were inapplicable, and the Bishops violated none which they had made for themselves; while its validity stands firm on the inherent spiritual authority, *jure Divino*, as Crackanthorp says, which has ante-canonical force and efficacy of its own.

I believe the foregoing account to be perfectly just according to the hypothesis; at the same time it is perhaps a rather clumsy version of the facts. But the fault lies not in the facts nor in the version, but in the hypothesis; from the extreme difficulty of accommodating it to the actual position of the South African Church. For, after all, is it not a regular Ecclesiastical Province, and is not the Bishop of Capetown a true Metropolitan?

What is an Ecclesiastical Province? According to De Marca, following the *dicta* of certain Popes, it must consist of, at least, a Metropolitan and ten or eleven Suffragan Sees[1]. But this is a mere notion. Many Provinces in the Ancient Church had not nearly so many. For example, according to Bingham, in the Patriarchate of Alexandria alone, two Provinces contained eleven sees each, one ten, one nine, one seven. In the African Church, one Province (Tripoli) had but five. In Gaul, the Province of Belgica Prima contained four; Germanica Prima four; Germanica Secunda only two. Canterbury for some time had not half a dozen; York has now but seven. It is clearly not a question of numbers. I cannot discuss the point at length, but I believe it resolves itself into this. A Province is a group of

[1] "We must note in the Epistle of Gregory to Virgilius, that while former Pontiffs had committed the judgment of causes indefinitely to the Bishops of Arles with a competent number of colleagues, he decrees that the number of Episcopal judges is to be twelve, doubtless because it could not be less. . . . . Perchance he had regard to the Epistle (if, however, it be true and genuine) of his predecessor Pelagius, who had thus written to the Bishops who had assembled at a Synod of Constantinople, on the summons of John, the Bishop of Constantinople: 'Know that an undoubted Province is that which has ten or eleven cities and one king, and as many minor potentates under him; and one Bishop and ten or eleven other Suffragan Bishops as judges. . . . .' This same rule, I may say in passing, Urban II. brought forward when he restored the Bishopric of Arras. 'It is clear from the institutions of the Holy Canons that that is a perfect Province, and ought to have its own Metropolitan, which consists of twelve Bishops'" (*Conc. Sac. et Imp.* lib. v. c. 39, § 6).

Dioceses or Sees, more or fewer, recognizing one of their number as having a fixed, hereditary precedence (though, as the African Church was an exception to this rule, even this is not absolutely indispensable), and acknowledging its Bishop as their Primus, and their centre of unity and of united action in all matters of common concern; this acknowledgment being expressed by the oath of "canonical obedience" (*i.e.* obedience to what he may require of them on the authority of the Canons) at consecration (though neither is this essential, as, according to Van Espen, it dates from only the eleventh Century, and the simple promise which it succeeded is traced backwards by him only to the end of the seventh (Pars I. tit. xv. c. ii. § 2, 3)); the United Dioceses meeting in one Synod, and governing themselves as an integral portion of the Catholic Church in submission to the whole body. Such an assemblage of Dioceses I take to be a true Ecclesiastical Province.

And a Metropolitan is simply the Bishop of the Ecclesiastical Metropolis or Mother See, enjoying honorary precedence in all things, and in virtue of his office discharging such functions as the Canons of his own Province, or of some inclusively higher Synod, or of the Church Universal may commit to him [1].

Into the origin of Provinces and Metropoles I need not enter. Whether they sprang from Apostolic or is-Apostolic ordinance; whether, from the beginning of Christianity, they grew by gemmation from the central cities where, generally, the first Bishops were placed; or whether they owe their origin to the sanctified common-sense of the Church, adapting her organization to her gradually increasing needs, is immaterial to the present subject. It is certain that they are older than any existing body of Canons. It is also certain that in the first centuries the principle of their organization and action was of the simplest kind. "It behoves the Bishops of every nation to know him who is first among them, and to do nothing of moment without his advice. . . . . Neither let him, on the other hand, do any thing without the advice of all. Thus shall there be concord, and God shall be

[1] One word as to canonical obedience. The Metropolitan's *authority* is absolutely confined within the Canons or other laws of the Church; any thing beyond is not *authority* but *influence*. The reason is plain; because he is but a Bishop after all, and as such can lay no commands on any of his equals. He can only do it as the organ of some collective authority to which the individuals are subject. But the authority of the Bishop over his clergy and laity is both canonical and extra-canonical, because of his inherent spiritual authority, which cannot possibly be exhaustively expressed by the written law. Hence, to prevent arbitrariness, the importance of Diocesan Synods.

glorified through the LORD JESUS CHRIST" (*Apostolic Canons*, xxxiv). This, the earliest canonical allusion to them, assumes their existence, and that among the Bishops of the district one would, as of course, be first. No formal decree of the Church seems even thought of.

Now what is the ecclesiastical argument in favour of the Province of Capetown? It is this. It was decided by the Bishops of the Church that the Diocese of Capetown should be divided, the Mother See becoming a Metropolis, its Bishop Metropolitan, the Sees formed out of it Suffragans. The new Bishops at consecration took oaths of canonical obedience to him and his Church as the Metropolitan Bishop and Church of Capetown; and this, be it observed, before the legal *status*, whatever it may be worth, was in actual existence. The Church has ever since called itself Provincial, and been recognized as such by other Churches; its first Bishop has been called Metropolitan, the rest Suffragans. They have sat in Conference and passed Resolutions as a Provincial Church. Other Suffragan Sees have been added, each Bishop taking the same oath of canonical obedience to the Metropolitan and his See. The Bishop of Capetown has sat in the highest assembly of Bishops of the Anglican Communion ever gathered together, and signed its Acts as Metropolitan of South Africa. If this be not enough, we may safely assert there were no Metropolitans and no Provinces in the ante-Nicene Church, and perhaps not very many for long afterwards. If we demand a formal ecclesiastical decree in every case, how many Provincial Churches in the world could at this day prove their titles? So that we may thoroughly endorse the emphatic words of the Bishop of Oxford in Convocation: "I claim for this Metropolitanship every single tittle of spiritual authority as Metropolitan which can be claimed for any one of the great Metropolitan centres in the whole world" (*Chron. Conv.*, June 28, 1866).

This being established, the South African Province becomes amenable to the laws made for Provincial Churches, so far as they are applicable to a Church in her local position and special circumstances. Both these must be considered. Merely local Canons, that is, Canons of local Synods, have no *proprium vigorem* beyond the jurisdiction of the enacting Prelates. The laws of a Provincial Synod are in themselves void of all authority even in the next Province. Canterbury cannot bind York, nor York Canterbury, nor both together Dublin, nor all three Armagh. Therefore, seeing that unquestionably the Province of Capetown never formed part of any wider ecclesiastical division, whose

Canons were binding on it *proprio vigore,* before a local Canon can be alleged as obligatory within its jurisdiction it must be proved to have been received by an Œcumenical Synod, or to be merely declaratory of the common law of the Universal Church, or to have been expressly adopted by its own Provincial Synods.

Suggestions have been thrown out here and there that the action of the South African Church has been uncanonical; that is, contrary to the Canons that it was bound to obey. The *onus probandi* lies on the objectors. But they have attempted no proof. The Bishop of Ely has doubted of the Metropolitan's jurisdiction; but that objection, even if valid, would only throw the case back into the category of non-Provincial Churches, which has been already considered. The argument now lies with those only who acknowledge the true provincial character of the African Church.

And when we look into the suggested objections they appear both feeble and few. The Bishop of London contents himself with saying in general terms, "Some of our body, whose authority is very great in such matters, believe that (quite independently of questions of English law) the deposition is uncanonical." (*Correspondence of Bishops,* pp. 7, 8). Of course no one can combat such shadowy antagonists as these. They must speak more plainly or we cannot answer them. The Archbishop of York is more explicit, though still as a questioner and doubter only. "Was the trial of Bishop Colenso in your court conducted according to Canon law? Was it, as the old Canon law requires, a trial before the Bishops of the Province? If only two Bishops of the Province were present, were two sufficient?" (*Correspondence,* p. 20.) The last two queries are either an enlargement of the first, or the first is too indefinite to be answered in its present shape. To the second we can answer directly, "Yes;" the trial was before the Bishops of the Province. All of these were summoned and no others. Probably the point of the Archbishop's question, though hidden, is this. Was Bishop Twells a Bishop of the Province? Now, what constitutes a Provincial Bishop? There are two notes which, whatever their separate or relative value, taken together are sufficient, I believe, to settle this question. These notes are—1. The oath of canonical obedience to the Metropolitan Bishop and See. 2. A seat and vote in the Synod of the Province. Bishop Twells had both. He took the oath at consecration, and had a seat and vote in the Synod. For proof of the former we have the records of the event; of the latter, the fact of his presence in the Synod

that sat coincidently with the Court, and the direct statement in the preamble to its acts: "We, the undersigned Metropolitan and Suffragan Bishops of the Province of Capetown, having met together in Synod upon a summons from the Metropolitan, do sanction and send forth the following Report of the Acts and Constitutions adopted in such Synod." Among the signatures is that of "Edward, Bishop, Orange Free State." In the course of the trial his position was frequently affirmed; the Assessors being spoken of and speaking of themselves as Bishops of the Province, Suffragans of the Church of Capetown. That he is a Bishop of the Province appears also from the fact that his diocese is a portion of the original diocese of Capetown, before that see became Metropolitical. From all these considerations it is certain that the Bishop of the Orange Free State is a Suffragan of the Metropolitan and a Bishop of the Province.

But Mr. Brunel reminds us that there was another Bishop in a somewhat similar position. Was he a Bishop of the Province? Tried by the same tests there seems no doubt of it. His oath of canonical obedience was the same as that of Bishop Twells. But has he a seat and vote in Synod? There is not the same direct practical proof of it in his case; for, except on this one occasion, no Provincial Synod has been held since his consecration. But there are other proofs of his right:—1. The strong presumption arising from his oath of obedience to the Metropolitan. Failing proof to the contrary, this would probably be enough. 2. The assertion of the Metropolitan that all Bishops of the Province were summoned (*Statement*, pp. 27, 29), and his explanation at the opening of the Court of the reason of the non-attendance of "the Bishop of the Zambesi," *i. e.* Bishop Tozer. 3. That the question of a Synod had been considered and settled by the Metropolitan before entering on the trial (*Id.*, pp. 21, 22). 4. That he speaks of the Bishops as coming "to the trial and to the Synod" (*Id.*, p. 36). 5. That all who obeyed the summons to the Court spoke of themselves as also summoned to the Synod (*Proceedings of Synod*, Brunel, p. 26). The natural inference from all which facts is, that all the Bishops of the Province were summoned to both Court and Synod; and as Bishop Tozer's non-appearance at the Court was expressly accounted for, we may assume that he was one of these, and, consequently, that if he had appeared at the Court, he would have been at the Synod also, and that on the same terms as the other Suffragans, that is, with seat and vote.

Here, however, Mr. Brunel meets us with another objection. Granting their ordinary character of Bishops of the Province,

were Bishops Twells and Tozer qualified to act as such in this case? In other words, were they Bishops of the Province *pro hâc vice?* He argues that as Missionary Bishops within the Province, but on foreign ground, they had no vote on questions affecting the Church in the Queen's dominions, because the Convocation of Canterbury, at the request of the South African Church, had "determined" that such a restriction would be expedient; and that as the deprivation of the Bishop of Natal was such a question, they had no vote in that case. To which I answer—(1) That the African Province, being independent, could not be bound by any determination of the Province of Canterbury. (2) That Convocation, in answering the questions proposed, expressly confined itself to "suggesting general rules." They disclaimed all right or wish to dictate. The Bishops in the debate did so most distinctly. So also did the Bishop of Grahamstown, for himself and his brother Bishops in Africa, in a note appended to their Resolution referring the matter to Convocation. (3) The Episcopate of South Africa never, by any binding act, adopted these rules, though in a general way they have practically acted on them. But no previous occasion had arisen to test their acceptance of this recommendation in particular; and on this occasion, as I have proved, in Bishop Twells' case at least, and therefore *pari ratione* in Bishop Tozer's, they either set it aside or regarded it as inapplicable. (4) That Convocation merely said "it is expedient," not "it is necessary." (5) That they added words which in this case would nullify the recommendation; *viz.* "He shall be entitled to a free and equal vote on all questions which may concern the Church beyond the same" dominions, which questions of faith most pre-eminently do, beyond all other questions whatever. I think, then, we may let this objection pass, ingenious as it undoubtedly is.

But the trial was not before *all* the Bishops of the Province? No; because it was impossible for all to attend, some of them being at a distance of 2000 miles, with great difficulty of communication. Unavoidable absence is a contingency distinctly recognized by many ancient Canons. And why should it invalidate Provincial proceedings more than Patriarchal or Œcumenical? All Bishops must be called to Œcumenical Councils, but at Constantinople (A.D. 381) there were twice as many Bishops as at the Lambeth Conference, and no more. Universal or quasi-universal acceptance makes Councils Œcumenical; and, in the present case, omitting the accused, a majority of the Bishops of the Province, including the Metropolitan, were actually present and unanimous, and the rest formally ratified the proceedings

afterwards. There is reason to think that, even without their concurrence, the voice of the majority, with the Metropolitan at its head, would be enough; but with it there is no room for doubt. Unavoidable absence, especially with subsequent concurrence, cannot invalidate such acts, for *necessitas non habet legem.*

Therefore, as all the Suffragans were summoned, and all who were able obeyed the summons, and all who attended were Suffragans, and the trial was before all who attended, the Archbishop's first question is answered. It was a trial before the Bishops of the Province.

Then comes the Archbishop's other question: "If only two Bishops of the Province were present, were two sufficient?"

His Grace refers to "Van Espen, iii. 66" (which scarcely does more than refer us back to Beveridge), in allusion to the Bostra Bishopric case, which I will consider presently. In the mean time I observe that the hypothesis fails, for there were not "only two Bishops of the Province present," but three, including the Metropolitan. So the question is irrelevant. Still, as both the Archbishop and Mr. Brunel (pp. 14, 15) have raised it, let us examine it so far as the principle involved applies to the present case.

It has been already argued that, on first principles and Provincial relations apart, two Bishops can deprive. But can they in an organized Province? That depends, I apprehend, on circumstances. A true Ecclesiastical Province, like a true temporal kingdom, has inherent rights of its own, be it large or small. A Province is a specific term; this or that Province a particular individual of the species. Whatever rights and powers a Province, *quà* Province, may possess, each and every individual Province possesses, because it is a Province, unless it has been expressly disinherited by competent authority.

Now, it is an acknowledged, and even a notorious, principle of the Universal Church that a Provincial Bishop is amenable to the jurisdiction of his Com-provincials (*Can. Apost.* 30, 66; *Cod. Eccl. Univ. Antioch,* 3, 13, 14, 15). "Concilia Provincialia," says De Marca, "quorum suprema erat auctoritas quoad depositionem Episcoporum" (*Conc. Sac. et Imp.* l. vii. c. xiv. § 3). In a Province, then, containing only three Bishops, I suppose two would suffice, under the general prerogatives of Provincial Churches. In Provinces of ordinary size, I suppose not so; because their inherent power as Bishops must be exercised according to Provincial laws, which are the guardians of the equal rights of all. The only satisfactory rule would seem to be this: that in every Province the sentence of the majority

of the Bishops is valid, and if unanimous, ordinarily speaking, incontestable (*Cod. Eccl. Univ. Conc. Antioch,* Can. 15). In the Capetown case, a majority were present, and the subsequent adhesion of the remainder made the Sentence unanimous. It is for the opponents to prove, if they can, that the South African Province has been dispossessed of its birthright.

It is true that some Canons, not of the Code of the Universal Church, direct that more than two or three Bishops should assemble to judge a colleague. For instance, the Twelfth Canon of the African Code prescribes, "If a Bishop fall under any accusation, he shall have a hearing before twelve Bishops, if more cannot be had; a Priest before six, with his own Bishop; a Deacon before three, according to the statutes of ancient Canons." But such a Canon as this is not applicable to the Natal case (even were it binding in the Province of Capetown, which it is not), because it assumes that the Province contains more than twelve Bishops, *i. e.* more than twice as many as are contained in the South African Province. Beveridge, maintaining its conformity with the Canons which decree that a Bishop should be judged by the Provincial Synod, says:—"The Canons of the Apostles, and out of them the Constantinopolitan Fathers [at the Council under Nectarius, A.D. 394], had decreed that a Bishop be judged and deposed by a Synod of Bishops [*i. e.* a Provincial Synod]. But the Carthaginian Fathers, mindful that all or more of the Bishops of each Province cannot always come together, ordain that an accused Bishop should be heard by twelve Bishops at least. . . Therefore, if it be possible, more [than twelve] or all the Bishops of the Province are to be convoked to hear the cause of the accused Bishop" (*Cod. Can. Eccl. Prim.* l. i., c. xiii., § 6).

The object was to secure, not only a fair trial for the accused, but also the judicial rights of every Bishop in large Provinces, and therefore not to reduce the Synod in such cases below twelve of the Provincial Bishops at the least. But if there are not twelve Bishops in the Province the Canon cannot apply, nor can it annul its Provincial *status,* nor cancel its inherent Provincial rights [1]. Besides, it is material to remember

[1] Balsamon regards the Court as a temporary provision in case the Provincial Synod were not sitting. Johnson's view is different, "'Tis probable that the Canon is to be understood of hearing upon an Appeal; because 'tis certain, that a Priest's cause, *at the first instance,* was to be tried before the Bishop (See Can. 10, 11). And therefore the latter part of the Canon can be understood of no hearing but by way of Appeal, nor, by consequence, the former" (*Vade Mecum,* vol. ii., p. 174). Johnson considers it to be a law for

that this was an African Canon only, and that the African Provinces were united into one national Church under the virtual Patriarchate of the Bishop of Carthage, governed by a "Universal Synod," in which every Province was present by its own commissioned representatives, so that it had power to make laws for the National Church as a whole, in a manner quite inapplicable to the circumstances of a single independent and isolated Province like that of Capetown.

The necessity for vindicating the principle of the integral jurisdiction of Provinces, *quà* Provinces, whatever their size, has

Episcopal Appeals from the Metropolitan in person to the Provincial Synod; but this is, at the least, more than questionable. Balsamon, indeed, in his scholion on Canon XXII. of this code, might seem at first sight to give some possible countenance to this idea; saying, "Since it is suitable that the tribunal for the Bishop be that of the Metropolitan, the Canon says that if a Bishop be accused by any one, he ought to be judged by his Primate or Metropolitan" (*Bals.* p. 632). But the "Metropolitan" here, as so often elsewhere, probably stands only as a convenient symbol for the Metropolitan's (*i.e.* the Provincial) Synod. So, for example, in Balsamon's own scholion on the sixth Canon of the Second Œcumenical Council, he says, "The Canon wills that the accusation of a Bishop or Cleric take place first before the Metropolitan [the exact words of the Canon are '*before all the Bishops of the Province*']; but if the Synod of the District cannot resolve the question, then, says it, a greater Synod shall hear it" (p. 311); where the "Metropolitan" and "the Synod of the region" are manifest equivalents.

*Possibly* this twelfth Canon of the African Code may be a rule for Episcopal Appeals from the Synod of a small Province, such as that of Tripoli, which had but five Sees. But Johnson's version of Canon XIV., if correct, would tell strongly against this view; "It shall suffice that . . . . five Bishops there [Tripoli] may try a Bishop or Priest; three a Deacon, his own Bishop presiding." He refers in a note to the former Canon (XII.), and adds in explanation, 'there being few Bishops in that Province;' as if that obviated the need for the usual minimum of twelve Bishops for the trial of a colleague. This, however, would make the "Appeal" Court identical both in number and individuals with the Provincial Synod, which could not, of course, be intended. But Johnson's rendering is wrong. The Canon in the original says nothing of the trial of a Bishop. "It pleased [the Synod] that, on account of the want [of Bishops] in the District, one Bishop should come from Tripoli to represent it [in the Annual General Synod of Africa]; and that a Presbyter should there be heard by five Bishops, and a Deacon by three, as has been said above [in Canon XII.];" which is quite consistent with the supposition that the Appeal Court for the *lower Clergy* of that Province was reduced, to admit of their causes being settled on the spot; while that for Bishops might still stand at the ordinary minimum of twelve, on Appeal from the small Synod of the Province which would be the Judge in the first instance. But even this does not remove all difficulties (*Vide* Canons XXII., XXIII; and Balsamon on the agreement of Canon XII. with the Fourth of the Council of Antioch); so that the way of harmonizing these African Canons is still involved in some obscurity.

unavoidably drawn us off from (even while answering) the particular question as to the sufficiency of two Bishops to deprive. There is one instance, and, so far as I have seen, one only, which the opponents of the South African Church adduce to prove the negative. It is referred to both by the Archbishop of York (though not by name) (*Correspondence*, p. 20), and by Mr. Brunel (p. 15); both relying on the same passage in Van Espen (*Scholion in Can. Apost.* lxxiv. Op. tom. iii. p. 66, ed. Lovan, 1753). The Archbishop merely asks, "Are two sufficient?" Mr. Brunel goes a little further, "Though in the ancient Canons the number of Bishops required varied, apparently in proportion to the size of the Province, two would probably have been deemed insufficient" (p. 15). The case relied on in proof is the famous controversy about the Bishopric of Bostra, claimed by Agapius and Bagadius, and heard by an influential, but apparently not very large Synod at Constantinople, A.D. 394, under the Presidency of Nectarius. Of the Acts of the Synod one fragment only remains, that which refers to this subject. The facts were these, as collected from the Acts themselves, and the comments of Balsamon, Van Espen, De Marca, Fleury, Tillemont, Beveridge, and Johnson.

Bostra was a See in the Province of Arabia, which, according to Bingham, anciently contained twenty-one Sees, with Bostra for the Metropolis. If this was its position at the time of the controversy it greatly increases both its interest and importance; but the history rather points to a different conclusion.

Bagadius was Bishop of Bostra, and, for certain causes unknown, had been deprived in his absence by two Bishops only, neither being the Metropolitan. The two Bishops had proceeded to consecrate Agapius as his successor. Nothing, from first to last, could be more decidedly irregular. There were about twenty Bishops in the Province; only two were present. The rest were not even summoned, so far as can be gathered from the story, for the Metropolitan alone could summon the Provincial Synod, and he was away (even if he was not the accused Bishop himself); for we learn from a complaint at the Council that Agapius was consecrated, contrary to the Nicene Canon, by less than three Bishops, and without the Metropolitan. The accused also was absent. The two claimants presented themselves at the Council, Bagadius to claim his See, Agapius to resist the claim. Now what was the result? The whole proceeding was indefensible on canonical grounds. But the two deposing and consecrating Bishops were dead. The Council resolved that, on that account, they could not pass a vote of personal condemnation

against them. But now follows the important part of the story, and very curious and remarkable it is. They did not reverse the sentence, nor pronounce it "null and void in law" ecclesiastical; nor, though the deposed Bishop was there pressing his claim, did they even restore him to his See. Still more strangely, they did not (so far as appears by the evidence, which seems to be complete) even remove Agapius, though consecrated in the very teeth of the Nicene Canon. They unanimously resolved to leave things as they were; and only, "not condemning what was past, to make sure that the like should not happen again;" which they did by decreeing that "it should not be lawful in future for a Bishop to be tried and deposed by three Bishops, much less by two, but by the sentence of a greater Synod, and that of the Bishops of the Province, as defined by the Apostolic Canons" (*Balsamon in Syn. Const.* pp. 762, 763). So that, however grossly uncanonical, they apparently recognized the *bare validity* of the deposition, *i. e.* the abstract power of two Bishops to deprive a colleague; and actually ratified what they had done.

Thus far, then, this famous case is a direct and striking witness in the Bishop of Capetown's favour. And the actual decree of prohibition for the future justifies on principle the Capetown Sentence. In future no deposition was to be made by two or even by three Bishops, but by a greater Synod of the Bishops of the Province; still referring every thing to the inherent jurisdiction of the Provincial Church. The Council was dealing with a Province of twenty or more sees; it was contemplating Provinces of, at all events, a considerable size. The great object clearly was to defend Provincial rights, and to prevent two or three from assuming to themselves an authority which was the equal heritage of many. But the *validity* of the deposition by two Bishops the Council tacitly recognized. It is these same inherent Provincial rights which we vindicate for the South African Church. It is an integral Province; it is neither its own fault nor ours that it is small. As an individual case, it belongs to a category not contemplated by the Synod; as resting on a broad principle, it rests on a principle which the Synod strenuously asserted. And this is absolutely the only witness the Bishop of Capetown's opponents have called forward to prove his proceedings invalid on the ground of insufficient authority. To myself it seems like a new version of Balaam's curse. It is hard to see why it was mentioned at all. The two cases have scarcely a point in common. Two Bishops deposing in the one case; three in the other: no Metropolitan, or general

summons to the Province, in one case; both in the other: the accused absent in one case; present by proxy in the other: a mere fragment of the Province in the one case; an actually present majority and unanimous acceptance in the other: an uncanonical consecration in the one case; none in the other: an Appeal made and dismissed in the one case; no Appeal attempted in the other: in the one case a great principle unanimously affirmed by the Appeal Court, which was the guiding principle throughout in the other. The Bishop of Capetown need not be much afraid of the controversy about the Bishopric of Bostra[1].

I have now noticed three objections to the spiritual validity of the acts of the South African Church; namely, that it is not a true Province, nor the Bishop of Capetown a true Metropolitan; that the trial was not held before the Bishops of the Province; and that the number of Bishops present was not sufficient to deprive. I have endeavoured to show that all three are unfounded. There remains one more: the last objection of any importance that I have met with. We owe it to the legal acuteness of Mr. Isambard Brunel, and in its way it is certainly very ingenious. It is briefly as follows. The Capetown Court was based solely on the authority of the Letters Patent, as establishing either a legal or a consensual Metropolitical jurisdiction over the Bishop of Natal. But the legal jurisdiction was certainly fictitious; the consensual very doubtful. If it existed at all, it was only such as the Archbishop of Canterbury has by law over his Suffragans. But the law which regulates his jurisdiction is inapplicable to the present case; therefore "the proceedings in the Court of Capetown were bad; and, if so, there was no trial and no sentence" (pp. 7—9). As to Church law; "unless it is found to be the Canon law of the Church that a Metropolitan, unfortified by Papal authority, could deprive a Bishop for heresy in his Metropolitical Court, without appeal to a Council or Patriarch, or to the Holy See, the proceedings in the Court of Capetown were null and void according to that law" (p. 10).

So he dismisses the Court. Then he turns to the Synod; and

[1] It was certainly not from indifference that the Constantinopolitan Fathers decided as they did. The Acts of the Synod amply prove that they felt exceedingly strongly about the violation of ecclesiastical order. That Bagadius was a bad man is probable enough. Theophilus of Alexandria very likely alluded to him twice in a short speech, referring to those who "ought to be deposed," who were "worthy of deposition." But we may at least doubt whether he was less fit for a Bishopric than Dr. Colenso. The President of the Council at all events spoke of him as his "brother."

after alleging the objections as to its constitution, which I have already noticed, argues that the proceedings there were neither a trial on appeal from the Metropolitan Court, because the Synod sat before sentence was given; nor a proceeding in the first instance, because the accused was not cited to the Synod; nor were there any accusers, or pleadings, or evidence; therefore there was no Judgment and no Sentence. Consequently, that the Bishop of Natal was deposed by neither Court nor Synod, *i. e.* not at all (pp. 10—17). Mr. Brunel's whole argument here and elsewhere is based on the "consensual jurisdiction" theory, which is good law but bad Gospel. I have already sufficiently shown that Church authority rests not on mutual contract but on Divine gift, and this disposes at once of the greater part of Mr. Brunel's clever pamphlet.

The special fallacy which underlies the argument I have just reproduced is this. Mr. Brunel treats the Court and the Synod as completely separated from each other, as two distinct and wholly unconnected tribunals. He takes each by itself, disposes as he thinks of its authority, and sums up that two failures do not make one success. But he has no right to do any thing of the kind. The Court and the Synod were so far from being distinct and independent tribunals, that they were, and that by the most deliberate design, closely connected, each to help the other. I must go carefully into this point.

The Bishop of Capetown had, as I have said, two distinct characters, the one legal, the other ecclesiastical or spiritual. These were intended to work together, each helping the other. The legal had already begun to fail, and its supposed authority to look like a broken reed. Still it might have some validity; though how much or how little no one could pretend to say. The Bishop's object was to rely on his spiritual authority, and yet to exercise it in such a way as that, while perfectly efficacious spiritually, it should at the same time be in strict accordance with the form of his legal authority; and if with the form, then, necessarily, with the substance, so far, that is, as it might have any substance at all.

Now the form of his legal authority in the Letters Patent seemed to require that the Metropolitan alone should be the judge and alone pass sentence (*Statement*, pp. 21, 58). With this form, on the principle laid down, it was necessary to comply. He therefore cited the Bishop of Natal to appear before himself as the Metropolitan, and the sentence ran in his name. But that course, however presumably legal, would not satisfy the spiritual requirements of the case. As *primus inter pares* of the Provin-

cial Bishops he had the foremost, but only an equal share of the *unius episcopatus cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*. Beyond this he could do nothing as of himself. A Metropolitan is not a Bishop exceptionally gifted with personal power and authority; he is a Bishop who, in addition to the powers of his personal Episcopate, is the constituted medium through whom, for certain purposes, his co-equal brethren exercise their co-equal powers. He is first among them, but is not independent of them. On this principle the Church requires that a Bishop should be judged, and, if need be, sentenced by the Bishops of the Province[1]. "Had the Suffragans not concurred," says the Bishop of Capetown, "the deposition would have been uncanonical, absolutely null and void" (*Statement*, p. 59). This, then, was the problem: How to conduct the trial so that it might be at one and the same time the act of the Metropolitan by himself to satisfy the Letters Patent, and of all the Bishops of the Province to satisfy the Church. It was solved in this way. The Letters Patent made no provision for Assessors, but did not exclude them. The Metropolitan, therefore, summoned the whole body of his Suffragans to attend the Court in that capacity. Thus the trial became at once a trial before the Bishops of the Province. They did not sit nominally and technically as judges, because that office was confined by the Letters Patent to the Metropolitan alone. But, "so far as the terms of the Letters Patent admitted, the authority was shown to rest, not with the Metropolitan alone, but with the Episcopate of the Province" (*Statement*, p. 59). Throughout the whole trial, till the close of the pleadings, all the Bishops were exhibited on equal terms. In the citation to the Bishop of Natal, in the opening address of the Metropolitan, "the advice and assistance of the Suffragans" is put forward. In delivering Judgment, still more carefully: "The case which has been brought before myself and the Bishops of this Province;" "the Bishops of this Province, called, as they are, to sit in judgment on one who has been their fellow labourer;" "with myself, as Metropolitan, rests the chief responsibility of dealing with this matter" (*Trial*, p. 339). "He has

[1] The Sixth Canon of the Second Œcumenical Council is most express. "If any shall say that they have any ecclesiastical charge against a Bishop, the Holy Synod commands them to prosecute their charges in the first instance before all the Bishops of the Province, and before them to prove the accusations against the accused Bishop. But if it shall happen that the Provincial Bishops are unable to settle the charges brought against the Bishop, then let them go to a greater Synod of the Bishops of that diœcese [Patriarchate] convoked for this purpose."

summoned the other Bishops of the Province to assist him in the hearing of those charges." "I proceed to consider whether the charges warrant the conclusion at which, in common with such other Bishops of this Province as have been able to obey my summons, I have arrived" (*Id.*, p. 341). "It has been concluded that the burden must be laid upon the Metropolitan and Bishops of this Province, all of whom have been summoned as my Assessors on this occasion; though some have, though most anxious to bear their share of responsibility, not been able to be present" (*Id.*, p. 400). Once more: "The proceedings which have taken place before the Bishops of this Province" (*Id.*, p. 401).

These repeated statements of the Metropolitan were not accidental, but were most deliberately introduced with the express purpose of showing that, although in a legal point of view the hearing and Judgment might be his alone, in reality they *were*, and *were intended to be*, the common acts of all. So long as, in the eye of the law, the Suffragans were not present as judges, no legal objection could lie against their action. But as a matter of fact, and for all spiritual purposes, the hearing of the cause was before the Provincial Episcopate collectively[1]. Having heard the whole case, the Suffragan Bishops or Assessors gave their "opinions." As Assessors they could do no more than this. But the form in which it was done amounted spiritually to a formal vote or Judgment. Thus the Bishop of Grahamstown: "I cannot but conclude . . . that by the false teaching proved against him, the Bishop has wholly disqualified himself . . . for bearing rule in the Church of God, and for the cure of souls therein; and that he cannot consistently with the laws of our Church . . . retain any longer the office of Bishop of the diocese

[1] And in truth there was no essential difference between the Court and a Provincial Synod. Stripped of all non-essentials, a Provincial Synod is nothing else than a meeting of the Bishops of a Province for the united exercise of spiritual authority. The particular means by which they are brought together is a non-essential. The highest Synods in the world were convocated by temporal authority. Once get the Bishops together, no matter how, and they can constitute themselves into a Synod by the mere fact of formally entering in common on spiritual business. The distinction between a Provincial Court and a Provincial Synod acting in a judicial capacity is merely verbal. The assembled Bishops at Capetown were really, in a spiritual aspect, a Provincial Court; *i. e.* the Provincial Episcopate assembled for judicial purposes. Names are but accidents. The only question that could be regarded of material importance in the Capetown meeting is that of voting, the Assessor Bishops not having *legally* any decisive voices in the Court, as Bishops have in Synod. But this will be considered further on.

of Natal" (*Trial*, p. 319). Similarly, the Bishop of the Orange Free State: "I am compelled to state my opinion . . . that each of these charges has been proved. . . . . It is a grievous thing . . . no longer to be able to regard him (the Bishop of Natal) as fit to remain in his high office, as a Bishop of the Church of CHRIST. Yet this and no less is the conviction forced upon my mind. This is the opinion I feel bound to give, as before GOD and His Church, to the Metropolitan of this Province" (*Trial*, pp. 338-9). Not only do these passages expressly affirm the condemnation of the Bishop of Natal, but they equally clearly express the judgment of the Bishops, that he ought to be deprived of his spiritual office. They amount, spiritually, to formal votes to that effect. It is impossible to draw any essential distinction between such "opinions" and formal Synodical votes. Worthless, waste paper, if you please, *legally;* spiritually they mount to that level. Compare them with many of the votes in the great Carthaginian Council "De Hæreticis Baptizandis," and the latter will be found far less formal and decisive[1]. I might say the same of the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem, in which the President alone gave a *votum decisivum* in express terms; "My sentence is;" giving utterance by his single voice to the consentient Judgment of all.

Were I then to argue that, for all spiritual purposes, the Capetown Metropolitical Court was the full equivalent of a Judicial Provincial Synod, and the "opinions" of the Assessors the equivalents of formal votes of condemnation and Sentences of Deprivation, I should say no more than the truth. I conceive that these "opinions" were the *judicial* opinions of the Provincial Bishops, and would have sufficiently justified the Metropolitan in giving final Judgment and passing Sentence then and there. He would simply have uttered, with his single voice, the collective Judgment of all.

But to anticipate possible objections and technical difficulties, the Bishop of Capetown had, with singular wisdom and sagacity, made other provisions. He had virtually raised the Court into a Provincial Judicial Synod; but, as it had not sat under that name, and as he knew that an expressly Synodical Sentence was

[1] For example: "Rogatianus a Nova dixit, Ecclesiam Christus instituit, hæresim diabolus. Quo modo potest habere baptismum Christi Synagoga Satanæ?" Zozimus a Tharassa, "Revelatione factâ veritatis, cedat error veritati; quia et Petrus, qui prius circumcidebat, cessit Paulo veritatem predicanti." Lucius a Membresa: "Scriptum est, 'Deus peccatorem non audit. Hæreticus qui peccator est, quo modo audiri in baptismo potest?'" (*Conc. Carth. in S. Cyp. Oper.*, p. 309; Parisiis, 1836).

more in accordance with the Canons, he had taken measures accordingly. The Letters Patent required that the Sentence should should run in the Bishop's name alone. But, lest it should be said that it was his Sentence alone, and therefore incompetent to deprive a co-equal, he had resolved to secure for it the full and express authority of a regularly constituted Synod. Therefore he had summoned all his Suffragans to a Synod as well as to a Court; the whole Provincial Episcopate to sit under two aspects. As a Court Spiritual they heard, investigated, tried the whole cause. As a Court Spiritual the Suffragans had recorded their judicial opinions. But before the Metropolitan gave his formal judgment, and passed the sentence already recommended by his Suffragans, the assembled Bishops assumed the outward form of a regular Synod. They had heard all the case already; there was nothing more to be learnt or inquired into; they were in full possession of every circumstance on which the final judgment and sentence could be founded. To have heard the whole cause *de novo*, as Mr. Brunel intimates they ought to have done, would have been as unnecessary in principle as ridiculous in practice. The Synod met neither as a spiritual substitute for a temporal Court, nor as a parallel and independent tribunal. Its sole function was to link together by a formal Synodical act the individual sentence of the Metropolitan on the one hand with the individual sentences of the Com-provincial Bishops on the other, to concentrate in and accumulate upon the single utterance of the Metropolitan the collective authority and power of the Province. With this theory the practice agreed. The Metropolitan had heard their judgments: now they heard his. It was "submitted before delivery to the Bishops of the Province in Synod assembled" (*Statement*, p. 31). "The Sentence which he proposed to deliver" was also "communicated to them" (*Proceed. of Syn.* Brunel, p. 27): it was "discussed there and agreed upon there" (*Statement*, p. 36). "The Synod desires to express its approval of the sentence about to be passed upon the Bishop by the Metropolitan" (*Proceed. Syn.* p. 27). The Bishops had already individually recommended it; now they collectively approved it, expressly and synodically sanctioning its delivery. When delivered, therefore, it was the Metropolitan's alone vocally and legally, theirs also spiritually and in fact. The deprivation was, accordingly, the act of the Metropolitan nominally, of the Provincial Episcopate really, after a full hearing in a Provincial Court equivalent to a Synod, but with its authority made immovably firm by a regular Synodical decree. The prospective Sentence of Excommunication was added, dependent on no new or

abstruse questions requiring a re-hearing, but on a plain matter of fact, which, if it occurred at all, no person could doubt, much less rightfully deny. The Sentence itself is incontrovertibly in accordance with the law of the Universal Church, and particularly with the Twenty-eighth Apostolic Canon: "If any Bishop, or Priest, or Deacon, justly deposed for manifest crimes, shall dare to meddle with the holy ministration formerly entrusted to him, let him be altogether cut off from the Church;" and the Fourth Canon of Antioch (*Cod. Eccl. Univ.*), "If any Bishop deposed by a Synod shall dare to minister in sacred things, according to his former custom [without restoration, that is, by his own or a higher Synod], it shall no longer be lawful for him to have hope of restitution in another Synod, nor any place of defence." The Canon adds, not irrelevantly to present circumstances, "Moreover, all who communicate with him shall be cast out of the Church, and especially if they shall have dared to communicate with such persons after they have learnt the Sentence issued against them."

And now, perhaps, Mr. Brunel's last and cleverest objection has been sufficiently answered.

Of the two Suffragans of the Province, unavoidably absent from the trial, one at least, on the earliest possible examination of all the documents, concurred in the Judgment and Sentences, and the other has formally accepted the Sentences. Whether he has done more than this I am not able to say; but this is enough; and the absolute unanimity of the Province is thus complete—a matter of great importance in the estimation of the Universal Church, which decreed (*Cod. Eccl. Univ. Conc. Ant.* xv.), "If any Bishop, upon an accusation preferred against him, have been judged by all the Bishops of the Province, and all with accordant voice have given one vote against him, this man is not to be judged again by others, but the accordant Sentence of the Bishops of the Province is to stand firm."

As to the extreme care manifested by the Province to obtain the sanction and support of other branches of the Church, I need only refer to what I have said in an earlier portion of the Essay. What more they could possibly have done I am unable to imagine.

I must make here one remark in censure of the course which these objectors on "canonical grounds" have thought right to adopt. If they really believe these objections to be valid, they ought boldly to avow and to stand by them. It is not right to act in this indirect and evasive manner, preferring charges and

objections chiefly by means of interrogations. I neither make nor mean any charge against individual persons; but I deprecate strongly the recourse to such a system, which has the appearance of leaving an outlet from which to creep, and of securing the opportunity of saying, if expedient, at any future time, "I did not say so and so, I only asked."

One objection of the Archbishop of York's may be answered in a very few words. He, as usual, asks—"From which of the consequences of the Sentence pronounced is Bishop Colenso's Patent sufficient to protect him, if from any?" (*Correspondence*, p. 20) I answer, without hesitation or qualification, "From *none*." The Sentence is spiritual, not temporal. It affects his position in the Kingdom of God and of Grace, not his legal rights and position. All that the law has given him, rightly or wrongly, is his by law. Let him have it according to law. The Universal Church could not, even under the sanction of an unanimous Anathema, cancel one word or letter of his Letters Patent or of the Judgments of the Courts of Law. They belong to the jurisdiction of a kingdom where the Church has no power. But Spiritual Power and Spiritual Authority are the undivided and inalienable heritage of the Church, and earthly realms and potentates have no part in them. What God has joined together man cannot put asunder—Temporal Power and Temporal Authority; Spiritual Power and Spiritual Authority. "Bishops rule within the Church, Kings and Emperors without," as Constantine said. "Let every man," says the Apostle, "wherein he is called, therein abide with God."

The most inflexible assertors of the supreme and independent authority of the Church ought to be, and I trust would be, equally firm defenders of the independent and supreme authority of the State, if impugned by any ecclesiastical power. I can speak, at all events, for myself. But in these days the danger, and consequently the present duty, is all on the other side.

I have met with no other objections to the spiritual validity of the acts of the South African Church worthy of particular notice. Here, then, I close this division of the subject[1].

[1] As some of the arguments in the foregoing Essay (particularly in the passages which have reference to Mr. Brunel) are closely similar to those of the Bishop of Capetown in his *Remarks upon the Published Speeches of the Archbishop of York, and the Dean of Ripon, also upon Mr. Brunel's Pamphlet*, I think it right to say that the whole of the present Essay was in type before the publication, and with no knowledge, of the Bishop's *Remarks*.

## III. Present Position and Duties.

As to the legal position, it may be expressed by the single word, chaos. All we know is that we do not know that we know any thing or that any thing is known *for certain*. We must provisionally accept, I suppose, the sentence of the Supreme Court, that all the Capetown proceedings are "null and void in law." But when we get beyond this, and the fact that, in all Colonies where Letters Patent are not, by Imperial or local legislation, nor yet *proprio vigore* "as good law as any in the Colony, the Church is merely a Voluntary Society, like an English sect, and legal jurisdiction does not exist; when we have passed these landmarks we are fairly in the deep sea, and may float, or swim, or sink, according to the best of our personal judgments and capabilities.

It is a scene of utter, wild, disgraceful confusion. The Law Courts must settle it, if they can; and I earnestly wish it were forced on to a settlement, if such a thing be possible, or, at least, to try whether it be possible or not. If not, the Imperial Legislature had better make short and decisive work with it, once for all.

The ecclesiastical position is this. Dr. Colenso is in unimpaired possession of every atom of his legal rights, including even those which are legal only, and *neither moral nor ecclesiastical*. Beyond this he has nothing. He "is deprived of his Spiritual Office and functions, by the recognized tribunals of a Branch of the Church of Christ. He is separated by those tribunals, in accordance with the Canons of the Church, from the communion of the faithful" (*Statement*, p. 53). He has no spiritual diocese, jurisdiction, or authority. He is to the Church as "a heathen man and a publican." He has been condemned and repudiated by nearly every Province and Church in the Anglican Communion; by the General Anglican Council of Lambeth, in a Resolution necessarily tantamount thereto; and by the formal subscriptions of more than one-third of the whole Episcopate of the Anglican Communion, set to one paper at one time in the presence of that Council. Dr. Colenso's successor has been appointed, and awaits consecration.

A Resolution, expressly asserting the validity of the spiritual Sentence has passed the Lower House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. Part of it is now under the consideration of the Upper House. Part has been passed by for fear of legal entanglements. I must be allowed to say it was a very needless and a most unworthy fear. The Bishops are not called on to excommunicate any one. Had that been necessary they

ought not to have held back. But *that* has been done already elsewhere and by others. The Bishops are simply asked to say that it has been done validly, *i. e. really.* If they are afraid of seeming to invade legal rights, let them say as strongly as they are able that these are and must be absolutely unaffected by any merely spiritual Sentence whatever; that they can be revoked only by the same temporal power which gave them. Our Bishops are not such incapable scholars that they cannot, if they please, distinguish in intelligible words between things spiritual and things temporal, and say, in plain English, what they mean about each. They have said it already by their Synodal Resolutions in June, 1866, unless (and if so, they must plainly and synodically say it) they were uttering nonsense and wilfully trifling with schism. They are only called on to say, *totidem verbis,* what they then affirmed by necessary inference. And they *ought* to say it; for their former acts having been studiously perverted and misrepresented, it has become their duty to re-affirm them with an unmistakable voice. For myself, I believe, and unhesitatingly profess it, that the Church has already done enough to save her orthodoxy. Enough: no more. Not because her official acts were in themselves ambiguous (though they might well have been still more decided), but because of the undignified and evasive, if not dangerously equivocal, language and behaviour with which some of her Prelates, and the unscrupulous vehemence with which some others in lower places, have endeavoured to explain away and neutralize (as far as individuals can) the force of those acts. When one of her Bishops openly avows that he "cannot say that he is not in communion with Dr. Colenso," because of some petty legal quibble which a true Christian Bishop ought to throw to the winds when the honour of his God and Saviour is at stake; when another misuses his great powers of thought and language to cast on the noblest Confessor of God's truth in the Church of to-day imputations which are their own and their author's most crushing condemnation, it is high time to press for greater boldness and more plain speaking. Opponents like the Dean of Westminster are of little consequence. Every one knows, also, what to expect from the *Times,* the *Pall Mall Gazette,* the *Spectator,* and the rest of the World's following. But when Bishops set themselves openly to disparage and oppose the discipline of the Church, and, while conceding that deadly heresy is "dangerous teaching[1]," move

[1] It is scarcely possible to believe, in sight of the comparatively placid indifference of the Bishops of London and S. David's, that they have ever troubled themselves fairly to realize what this "dangerous teaching" is. It

neither hand nor foot to root it out, but labour day and night to discourage and counteract those who do, it is difficult to characterize such conduct as it deserves without letting indignation hurry us over the fine border-line which separates righteous anger from unrighteous evil speaking.

What, then, under these circumstances, is our duty to the State and to the Church?

To the State our duty appears to be this:—To do our utmost to have the law made clear, and to put an end to the scandals which its present confusion has engendered: To obey or submit to it as far as it may be made clear, "because of the fear of God:" To be loyal and self-controlled, and to render to lawful authority the honour which is its due: And to avail ourselves of every help which it may yet be able and willing to give to the Truth.

And our duty to the Church is this:—First, fearlessly to face the truth, that this is an irreconcileable war between Christian Faith and anti-Christian heresy; between the Spirit of God in the Church, and the Spirit of the Devil in the World; and to assure ourselves that it is no isolated or accidental outbreak of infidelity, but a symptom of a wide-spread and deeply-rooted plague which may at any moment break forth among ourselves. Then, and consequently, to set ourselves deliberately and solemnly to carry out the conflict to the end, be the end what it may: To let this our resolution be openly avowed, but above all seen and felt: To be ready, *if need be*, to submit to all lengths, even to the destruction of the Establishment and to the spoliation of all Church property, rather than suffer the Faith to be tampered with or juggled away, for fear it should not be "according to law" to confess and uphold it: To show in

is bad enough that a Bishop should stigmatize large portions of both the Old and New Testaments as forgeries or fables; to deny the doctrines of Original Sin, of the means of our reconciliation to God through the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ, and of the Sacraments of the Gospel; to deny the existence of evil spirits, tempters of mankind; and to repudiate the doctrine of eternal punishment; it is bad enough to be a Nestorian, or, still worse, an Arian; but what can be said of a Bishop who maintains that Incarnate God knew no more of facts and words anterior to His Incarnation than any other educated Jew of the time; who, in plain words, condemns the worship of our Incarnate God; and who having, as he says unknowingly, excluded all mention of His Adorable Name from a Hymn-book compiled by himself for public use in the Church, regards the fact, when pointed out, as a rather curious but unimportant accident, instead of an unconscious self-revelation of thick darkness of soul and the deepest spiritual degradation? It is "dangerous teaching;" and that is all.

all lawful ways that we *know* Dr. Colenso to be a deprived Bishop and an excommunicated heretic; and to press incessantly on the Bishops the duty and necessity of expressly recognizing these truths: To expedite with all our power the consecration of a new Bishop, and the provision of sufficient funds for his maintenance, for the support of the bereaved and despoiled diocese and clergy of Natal, and for the speedy establishment of the additional sees which the Metropolitan is labouring to found: To pray and intercede without ceasing for all these things, and for the conversion of him who has fallen from the faith, and for the pardon of all who knowingly or ignorantly support him: To bear with patience and charity the scoffs and taunts and threatenings of the Church's enemies, knowing that they can neither say nor do any thing that is not foreordained for our good: To insist on those doubtful ones (whether friends or enemies, who can say?) who ask questions and throw uncertainty on the validity of the Church's spiritual acts, saying plainly *what the Church ought to have done,* if they are not satisfied now—let them tell us, if they can, how the Church's purely spiritual authority is to be exercised validly, or else let them hold their peace and cease to censure where they know not how to help. Finally—and it is a much needed warning and a very important duty—not to make things worse than they really are by passion, impatience, and exaggerated language. We must learn to look on the bright side as well as on the dark side; to give the Church full credit for all she has done, and for all that we know she in her heart desires to do. We do no good to any one, and only aggravate our evils tenfold, by the want of "a wise, a sober, a patient understanding; a devout, a religious, a courageous heart, and temperate thoughts." We *know* that the battle we are fighting is the LORD's Almighty; and that He knows when and how to give the victory as shall be most for His own Glory and our good. And as for "the fury of the oppressor?"—We need not be careful; for "the fierceness of man shall turn to THY praise, and the fierceness of them shalt THOU refrain."

A LAYMAN.

THE END.

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